











THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

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I remain, Sir, your obedient and obliged Servant,

Pencrais, July 16th, 1845.

(Signed)

MARY COOKE.

To Mr. KEATING, St. Paul's Church Yard, London.



*Cheetham Hill, July 22nd, 1845.*

DEAR SIR,—Having been for a long time troubled with a bad Cough, which at times was so bad that when I went to bed I could get no rest the night through; I tried a great variety of medicines, from which I received but very little relief, until I made a trial of KEATING'S LOZENGES, which, I am happy to say, have been of great benefit to me; for with taking one or two during the day, and one at bed time, I can rest better than I have done for several years. As they have been of so much service to me, I think it my duty to make this known to the Public, and hope those who are similarly afflicted will make a trial of so valuable a remedy.

I remain, dear Sir, yours respectfully,

To Mr. WALMSLEY, Cheetham Hill.

W. T. HESKETH.

SIR,—I should feel extremely obliged to you if you would send me a *Tin* of your most excellent *Lozenges*, for having tried them, I find they are the best remedy for Cough that can possibly be had; this I can testify from experience, for I have been troubled with a most violent Cough for many years; and have tried many things, but without any benefit, until I met with your *Lozenges* and they afforded me instant relief.

1, North Feltham Place, near Hounslow,

Feb. 12, 1845.

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HENRY WOODERSON.

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
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
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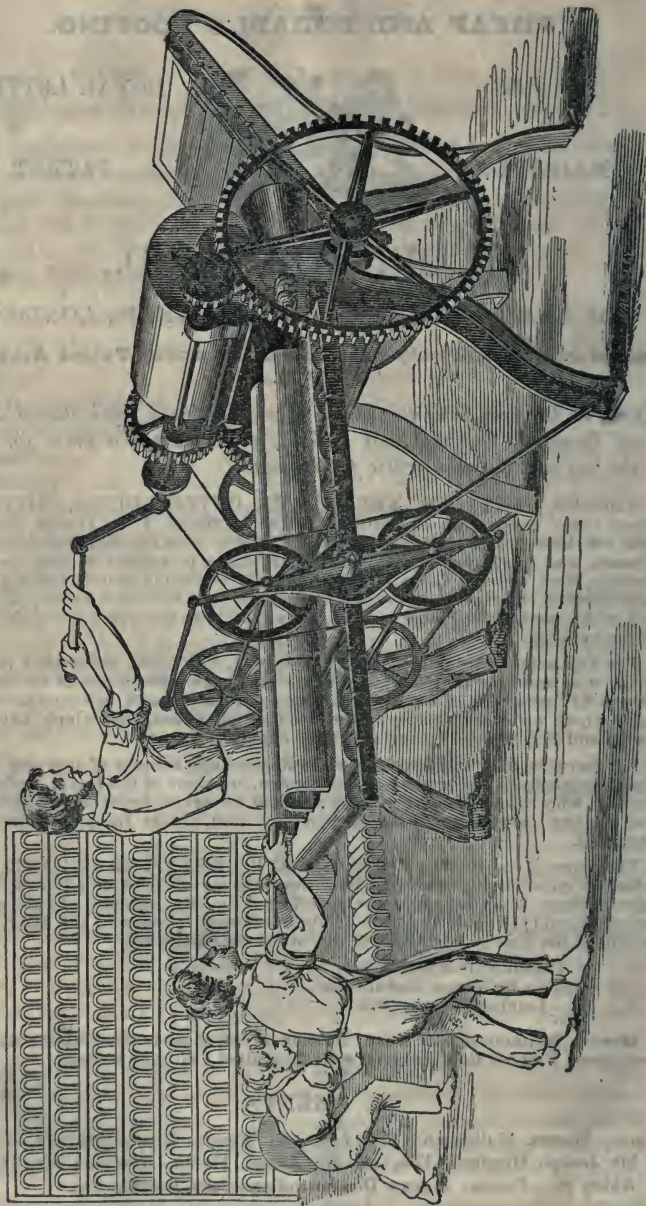
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| 4. Oh! slumber on.                   | 9. Strike the lyre!                         |
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| 4. The Bark dashes wildly               | 13. As the bark dashes wildly         |
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| 6. Sleep, O Sleep                       |                                       |
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
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The extraordinary powers of this invaluable medicine are now proved by a mass of evidence and testimonials, which must convince the most sceptical, that for all disorders of the breath and lungs it is the most effectual remedy ever discovered.

If any persons can have a doubt of this, let them inquire among their friends, or of any Agent throughout the kingdom, and they will hear such a report of this medicine as will at once convince them that there never was such a speedy, safe, and unfailing remedy.

The following are a few Testimonials received by the Proprietor; many hundreds of which may be had from every agent in the kingdom.

**Surprising Cure of Asthma.**

From Mr. Wm. Bowen, Cartlett, Haverfordwest, dated Feb. 4th, 1846.

Sir,—Having been afflicted for many years with a violent cough and asthma, and having tried all other medicines in vain, I was recommended to try Dr. Locock's Wafers; I sent to you for a box, and, to my great astonishment, I found relief the very first night, and have continued to get better ever since. Their effects are really wonderful. My appetite is now good, whereas formerly I could scarcely keep any food on my stomach. I have myself since recommended them to several persons, who have all received the greatest relief from them.

(Signed)

WM. BOWEN

**Another Cure of Asthmatic Cough of long standing.**

City-road, Haverfordwest, Feb. 6, 1846.

Sir,—I am happy to inform you that I have experienced the greatest benefit from taking only two boxes of Dr. Locock's Pulmonic Wafers, which you were kind enough to recommend me. Previously to my taking them I could scarcely walk without the greatest difficulty of breathing, and my cough would then increase to such a degree that I was nearly suffocated. I had not for many months slept for more than half an hour at a time; but I am now able to sleep all night without coughing. I can truly recommend them to those who are similarly afflicted as a most invaluable remedy, and you are at perfect liberty to make my case public if you think proper. I am, &c., JOHN JOHNS, Cabinetmaker.

The above are communicated to the Proprietors by Mr. O. E. Davies, Chemist, High-street, Haverfordwest.

From Mr. John Williams, Surgeon, Horsley-heath, Tipton.

Feb. 14, 1845.

Gentlemen,—The good effects of your Dr. Locock's Pulmonic Wafers, in cases of asthma, obstinate coughs, &c., are truly astonishing. I do not know of a single instance of failure. I can forward you a list of highly respectable and important testimonials, &c.

I am, &c.

JOHN WILLIAMS.

**Another rapid cure of cough**

From Mr. W. Harrison, Coronation-square, Lynn. Dated March 17, 1846.

Sir,—I was troubled with a severe cough for two or three years, which nothing relieved; but by taking one 2s. 9d. box of Locock's Wafers, I have entirely lost it; I shall recommend them to all I know, for they cannot be too highly praised.

W. HARRISON.

**Important to all who sing**

From S. Pearsall, Esq., of Her Majesty's Concerts, and Vicar Choral of Lichfield Cathedral,

Lichfield, July 10, 1845.

Gentlemen,—A lady of distinction, having pointed out to me the qualities of Dr. Locock's Wafers, I was induced to make trial of a box, and from this trial I am happy to give my testimonial in their favour. I find by allowing a few of the wafers (taken in the course of the day) to gradually dissolve in the mouth, my voice becomes bright and clear, and the tone full and distinct. They are decidedly the most efficacious of any I have ever used.

S. PEARSALL.



THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

MARCH, 1846.

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ART. I.—1. *The North British Review*, No. 4. Edinburgh : 1845.

2.—*Hetherington's History of the Church of Scotland*. Edinburgh . 1845.

3.—*Jamieson's History of the Culdees*. Edinburgh : 1845.

TO no order of men has presbyterian zeal been so unjust as to the monks of Scotland. Upon those of the earlier ages, the spiritual sons and successors of St. Columba, it has heaped eulogies which they would have considered a disgrace, while the pious recluses of later times have been assailed by it with undeserved reproaches. The former, we are told, free and independent, enjoyed themselves and communicated to others in ancient days, the pure light of presbyterianism; whereas the latter, yielding to the encroachments of Rome, sank gradually into the lowest abyss of "popish error and idolatry." Were any credit due to Sir James Dalrymple's "Collection," and the ponderous quarto of Dr. Jamieson, it would appear that the creed as well as the "form of government of the Culdees bore a striking resemblance to the presbyterian form."\* Unfortunately, however, for the Scottish Church, her great virtues could not protect her against her wealthier and more worldly Anglican sister, whose corruptions and errors were introduced into Scotland by its "anglicised" kings and nobles. After a long but ineffectual struggle, our virtuous forefathers were obliged to succumb in the year 1297, an epoch, which, according to

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\* See Bishop Russel's Dissertation on the Culdees, page 72.



Dr. Hetherington, may be “taken as the date of the final suppression, by prelatie and papal fraud and tyranny, of the primitive, scriptural, and presbyterian Church of Scotland.\*

This theory has, more than once, been triumphantly refuted by learned writers on both sides of the Tweed. Goodall in the last century, and, in the present, Bishop Russell of the Scotch Episcopal Communion, have made it clear that the primitive christians of Scotland differed in nothing, as far as faith was concerned, from the primitive christians of other early converted countries. If in some disciplinary matters, such as the proper time of observing the paschal solemnity, the Scotch did not agree with their foreign brethren, the cause of this variance is to be sought, not in the superior light and learning of our Caledonian forefathers, but in their lack of knowledge and the remoteness of their country, which made it difficult for them to communicate with the more civilized portion of society. For our own part, deeply as we revere our ancestors, and highly as we prize the virtues they really did possess, we never can persuade ourselves, that in the midst of their trackless forests, and sunk as they necessarily were in great comparative ignorance, they were more able or more inclined to preserve in its pristine purity the gospel truth, than the learned and polished nations of the continent.

The early Scottish monks received every article of the Catholic and Roman creed—the rules of their order, that of St. Columba, obtained the sanction of Rome—they had houses and establishments in France and Italy—they lived in communion with and edified by the holiness of their lives the Catholic people of these countries—all of which they could not have done, had they been at variance with Rome and the christian world on points of faith.

In vain do the pretended eulogists of the Scottish monks maintain, that in the earlier ages there were no bishops in Scotland, or only bishops subject to the monks of Iona and other similar communities. It is an incontrovertible fact that the first Scottish prelates, like St. Palladius, came directly from Rome, and that at no time and in no part of the world, was any bishop as such subject to any abbot or head of monastic institution. When a member of any religious community was raised to the episcopal

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\* History of the Church of Scotland, p. 6.

dignity, he was at liberty, in quality of bishop, to lay aside his monastic habit and live as lived his brother bishops; or he might, unless when engaged in the performance of his episcopal functions, continue, wrapt up in his humble garb of monk, and while within the walls of his monastery, follow the rules of his order and obey his abbot. As bishop, however, he was free and independent—as a monk, he was only one of the fraternity. Now, we know from authentic documents, that many monasteries could almost always reckon one or more bishops among their inmates. Some more favoured institutions, like that of Lobez,\* in Flanders, enjoyed by right the privilege of ever having a prelate within its sacred precincts. And we know for certain, that during many ages the Culdee establishments in Scotland were the favourite residences of our ancient bishops. Their living, however, in the company and under the eye of abbots, did not necessarily place them, like the other members of the community, under the jurisdiction of the abbots. Indeed, they who know aught of the discipline of the Catholic Church; of the internal arrangements of religious houses; of the peculiar and distinguishing privileges of bishops and abbots, will readily understand this: nor will it be easy for them to maintain due gravity of face while they listen to the crude reasoning of Jamieson and others, who pretend to show that there is really no difference between the Culdee bishops of old and the modern presbyterian parsons.

Loud in calumnious praise of the Culdees and other holy ascetics of the earlier times, the Jamiesons and Hetheringtons, with the whole tribe of presbyterian writers, can hardly find words strong enough to reprobate and denounce the alleged vices of the monks who flourished in those ages immediately preceding the sixteenth century.

The pleasant task of keeping this horrid picture of alleged Romish error and superstition before the eyes of the public, agreeable as it is to all bigots, seems to have particular charms for the friends and supporters of the Free Kirk. They are as anxious to put down the catholic religion as they are to diffuse and exalt their own: hence, to render catholicism odious, they grossly misrepresent the conscientious belief of the great majority of christians; and to

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\* Mabillon, *Etudes Monastiques*, part 1. chap. 3. page 28.



turn away attention from the weak points of their own system, which is only of yesterday, they blaspheme what was the religion of their fathers for a thousand years and more. In doing this, they display more or less ability according to the gifts which God gave them; but, in our humble opinion, the *facile princeps* of the party, he who excels them all, M'Crie himself, is the author of an article in the fourth number of the North British Review. Great was our grief to see a writer of no ordinary talents prostitute his noble faculties to such unworthy purposes.

The charges which this writer adduces against the monks are not wholly new: but he pretends to support these charges by new proofs, and there is much novelty in the calm and dignified manner in which these proofs are urged: at the same time the charms of the author's style are such as would deserve the highest commendation, did they not on this occasion go far to make the "worse appear the better cause." Seldom, indeed, since the days of Horace, has any gifted individual been more *splendide mendax*.

Far be it from us, however, to affirm that at the time of the Reformation, and in every age preceding that disastrous epoch, there was nothing to reform in the Church: far be it from us to affirm, that among all classes of men, there were not many vices at the time we more particularly allude to; and, that, even within the sanctuary, all was pure and spotless. This is what no man in his senses will affirm. But it is no less true, that the most enlightened heads of the Church and its holiest members were ever the most ready to reform the abuses that disfigured the Spouse of the Son of God. Gregory the Seventh, and Innocent\* the Third, those great pontiffs, to whom impartial History is now doing tardy justice, were notable Reformers in their day. St. Bernard, a monk, an abbot, the tutor of a pope, and writing to a pope, exclaims, "Oh! who will give me to see, ere I die, the Church of God as she was in the primitive days."† This cry of St. Bernard, says Bossuet, was taken up by other holy men,‡ and for long repeated again and again, alas! too unavailingly. At

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\* See the Life of Gregory VII. by Voigt, and that of Innocent III. by Hurter.

† Bossuet's Variations, Book I. p. 30.

‡ Gerson, Peter D'Ailly, and others.

last the cup of God's wrath was full; he would forbear no longer: them who would not return to him in love, he cast off in his anger.

But while we are willing to admit, in their full extent, the many moral evils with which the Church was afflicted just previous to the Reformation, we deny that she ever lost the sacred deposit of the faith; we deny that its light was ever hid or its brilliancy ever impaired. She admitted no error into her creed, she sanctioned no immoral doctrine, she never lapsed into pagan superstition or "damnable idolatry." Notwithstanding the prevalence of vices in many parts; notwithstanding abuses which she would not sanction and could not remove, many of her members were then, as others had been before, and as thousands upon thousands have since been, eminent for the practice of every good work. She had then many holy pastors, zealous missionaries, learned doctors; she had then many convents of men and women where virtue and knowledge were united; in opposition to much scandal she could offer, in various places, examples of heroic piety worthy of the apostolic days.

Let us not be misunderstood, however; every portion of the Church was not equally good nor equally enlightened. Italy and the South of Europe, as history yet attests, were both in knowledge and in the practice of religious duties, much in advance of the northern kingdoms. The North of Germany, the Scandinavian regions, as well as our own beloved father-land, were beyond other Christian nations merged in ignorance and vice. We agree, and we blush while we do so agree, with Dr. M'Crie in thinking that "the corruptions,\* by which the Christian religion was universally disfigured before the Reformation, had grown to a greater height in Scotland than in any other nation within the pale of the Western Church." But, in proportion as these northern provinces were deficient in knowledge and virtue, were they ready for the bad seed which the pseudo-reformers came to sow: and, indeed, it was only where ignorance and vice abounded that the Reformation ever took root and grew up. This circumstance has not escaped the observation of thinking Protestants. Hallam mentions it in terms not to be misunderstood. "The most striking

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\* For corruptions, a Catholic should read abuses.



effect of the first preaching of the Reformation," says that learned writer, "was, that it appealed to the ignorant:" he might also have added that it was adopted by the depraved.

But we must now return to the Scottish monks, and examine in detail how far they deserved the reproaches so prodigally heaped upon them by their enemies. The author under examination professes to draw his accusations against the monks, and to prove the iniquities of these men, from what must certainly be considered authentic documents—the cartularies of the principal Scottish monasteries. Unfortunately for him, these valuable monuments of by-gone days are not now so far removed from ordinary readers as they once were: we have seen them; we have carefully examined them ourselves—at least as much of them as our author has quoted or referred to, and we hesitate not to say that he has most unfairly dealt by them. He frequently adduces them as a proof of monkish cupidity, cunning, meanness, selfishness, &c. when they make not the slightest allusion to any such vices; and, often too, when they tell in favour of the monastic orders, he tortures them into a malicious sense, and extracts a meaning from them the very reverse of what they imply.

Of all the supposed vices of the monks, the first that attracts the attention and provokes the wrath of the writer in the *North British Review*,\* is their alleged cupidity.

"The benefactors of the monks," he observes, "appear to have been confined to no class of society. In the breasts of kings, the superstitious reverence for their order, and submission to their arrogant demands, were as complete as in the house of the humble burgess. At the same time, the grantors of that vast extent of territory, which could scarce satiate ecclesiastical cupidity, and included the most fertile half of Scotland, may be divided into three classes—of monarchs, who gave for the purpose of obtaining the weighty influence of the priests to the support of an insecure throne; of citizens, whose property was extracted from them on their death-bed by the terrors of an hereafter; and the last species of grant was obtained from the weakness of widows, whose fear or whose affections reduced them to beggary, in order that the souls

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\* The *North British Review* is considered to be the organ of the Free Kirks; we mention this, as in the course of our remarks we shall have frequent occasion to allude to this new aspirant to the favour of the devout.

of their husbands might pass on to eternal happiness by the help of masses and monkish prayers."

This tripartite division of monkish benefactors, and the grounds on which it is based, exist nowhere, save in the imagination of the Reviewer. In vain would they be sought in the cartularies, "these forbidding documents," "these dry records," from whence he professes to draw his accusations against the monks; and the proofs, the irrefragable proofs, that these accusations are but too well founded. But let that pass.

"The benefactors of the monks appear to have been confined to no class of society." That is, persons of every rank, and in every station, high and low, men and women, poured in their gifts upon the monks, until from being the poorest they became the most wealthy portion of the community. To the Reviewer, this circumstance is a satisfactory proof that the monks employed the meanest craft to gratify the most insatiable cupidity. Methinks, however, he does not reason well, and from the same fact, admitting it for argument's sake to be a fact, we draw very different conclusions. "All classes were the benefactors of the monks." Then, say we, this is a circumstance which reflects great credit on these maligned individuals. For if they were rewarded by all, they must, in the opinion of all, have deserved some reward. If all classes were their benefactors, they must have been the friends of all classes—they must have stood well with all classes—they must, in some shape or other, have proved themselves useful to all classes. To talk of the monks extorting money and property from all classes; "from the citizen by the fear of an hereafter," from "the widow, by reducing her to beggary in order that the soul of her husband might be more speedily admitted into heaven," by the application of purchased masses, is worse than nonsense—it is the language of ignorance and intolerance.

We would venture to put a case to the Reviewer. His own Free Kirk has, within these last two years, raised very considerable sums of money; she has been exceedingly successful in collecting funds; she has even boasted (whether with good taste or not we shall not say,) of this very success. Nay, her friends have adduced these large collections as a proof of the popularity of Free-Kirk principles, and of Free-Kirk parsons. No one accuses these



men of cupidity. With what consistency then can these individuals, or indeed any others, blame the monks for enjoying in their day the popular favour and its substantial fruits in the shape of donations from their living, and legacies from their dying friends? Let it be remembered, too, that the generosity of the olden times towards the monks, and that of the present day towards the Free Kirk, were based upon, and prompted by the same feeling—a desire to advance religion and minister to the comforts of its teachers. In other words, men gave money in monkish days, as they give it now, that is, for the good of their souls. Nor is there aught here of which we need be ashamed. Conscience makes prudent cowards of us all, in that sense in which cowardice is no disgrace; and will teach us to purchase imperishable things with those that perish; nor will we ever refuse to open our purse-strings in favour of that religion which our faith adopts, and which our heart loves. We therefore think it very unfair to censure the monks for having been the recipients of many good gifts, which are bestowed, we do not say without blame, but even with applause, on men who have no better claim to them than they had, and who certainly will not share them so generously as the monks did with the public.

But, we are told by the enemies of the monks, that to fill their coffers these men had recourse to arts which now no Christian ministers would condescend to use. This we indignantly deny. The whole history of monasticism, and it is a long one, testifies, and ever will triumphantly testify to the honesty, the single-mindedness, the zeal, the piety, the disinterestedness of the monks. That all were equally good, and that some in every age may not have been positively bad, we will not affirm. Nothing, indeed, is perfect among men. In every numerous flock there are some black sheep; in the noblest forests there are stunted trees: one might, no doubt, have found, from time to time, a faint-hearted man in the intrepid bands of Greece, or among the Roman legionaries; but who on this account would impeach the acknowledged valour of these heroic troops? If then, in the voluminous annals of monasticism, we may occasionally turn up a page, which, for the honour of the religious bodies, one would wish to efface—if sometimes we meet with individual instances of depravity in the cloister, would it be just, for the crime of one weak

and fallen brother, to involve the whole fraternity in one common sentence of condemnation? It would not. Yet such is the justice which an age styling itself enlightened and philosophic, deals out to the monks of by-gone days.

So widely awake is the writer of the article on "The Scottish Monks," in the North British Review, to the failings of these good Fathers, that he everywhere detects convincing proofs of their craft, and cupidity, and selfish meanness. Where others found and admired, what to them seemed to be genuine piety, his keener eye could discover "humiliating evidence of their success in practising on the fears of the dying." For a notable specimen of this humiliating evidence he refers his readers to the *Fragmenta-Scoto-Monastica*, and the priests of Linlithgow. To gratify our own curiosity, and in compliance with his suggestion, we procured the *Fragmenta* and read it again and again, with the greatest care and attention, and lo! and behold, the humiliating evidence in question we have not yet been able to find. Indeed, we took considerable pains in looking out for proofs of monkish delinquency. We searched "throughout the cartularies of the great abbeys" in quest of something confirmatory of the Reviewer's accusations against the monks—in the hope of getting, at least, a glimpse of those "pictures of human weakness" to which he so feelingly refers; and, sad to say, we have toiled and hoped in vain.

On one particular proof of clerical cupidity the Reviewer lays great stress and builds great hopes. "There is," says he, "one document in the Melrose Collection peculiarly illustrative of the policy of the priests, to which we shall specially refer, on account of the celebrity of its author.".....With all our heart we welcome the appearance of this document, and we have no objection that it should be considered decisive of the opinion which we would wish the public to entertain with regard to the character of the Scottish monks.

"Robert Bruce, after the close of all his labours in establishing the independence of his country, found leisure upon his death-bed to write a letter of recommendation to his son, on behalf of the monks of Melrose. In the best Latin of a rude age, he conjures him to guard and faithfully protect the abbey which he loved. He beseeches him to lay his heart in its consecrated precincts, and to *increase the revenues of the monks.*"



In this ordinary readers see nothing to blame ; and, even Mr. Junes, the learned editor of the Melrose Collection, finds in it, as the Reviewer himself admits, “satisfactory testimony to the value of the institution, and he accordingly treats the letter as *the voluntary emission of a sincere feeling.*” Not so the lynx-eyed Reviewer himself.

“The language employed,” he kindly tells us, “is the formal legal phraseology of the time, extremely similar to that of the papal bulls, and beyond all question the law Latin of some ecclesiastical notary. That Bruce should write in such terms, is an assertion which shocks all our notions as to his character, and makes assumptions as to his learning which history denies. The deed, in truth, is only one additional evidence of the universal presence of those priestly harpies, who watched, from the basest motives, the last moments of the dying. Sunk in the weakness of decaying nature, the enfeebled mind of the dying monarch was kept on the rack by the consolations of his confessor. His was a superstitious faith ; and the priestly father who attended him, gave him the security of heaven for the extorted recommendation to his son. Duly prepared in the strongest terms by the monks themselves, the signature which Bruce affixed would have been adhibited at that hour, were it a deed of alienation of the kingdom which his valour had secured. With this nefarious scheme, the labours of the monk appear to have closed ; and, accordingly, when freed from importunity, the last request of Bruce was that made to Douglas, to convey his heart to the Holy Land.”

Here, then, in words as plain as words can be, the monks are accused of fabricating the interesting document in question—here the “priestly harpies” are represented “watching, from the basest motives, the last moments of the dying ;” the monarch, sunk in the weakness of decaying nature, and enfeebled in mind, is seen affixing his signature to a paper “duly prepared by the monks themselves, and in which they are recommended to the kindness and generosity of the king’s successor.” According to our Reviewer, this document supplies the strongest possible, however humiliating, evidence of the greed, craft, and selfishness of these wicked men.

Now, gentle reader, however much you may be inclined to think ill of men, of whom much ill is here boldly spoken, let us, for once at least, judge of them and of our patriot king, and of this document—so honourable, we will venture to say, to him and to them—by the light which, fortunately on this occasion, impartial history so abundantly supplies.

We may begin by observing, that this important document, so “illustrative of the policy of the priests,” and so fatal to their character for integrity, was drawn up and signed on the 11th of May, 1329; that is, nearly one full month previous to the death of Bruce. (He died on the 7th of June, 1329.) The king was not then “sunk in the weakness of decaying nature, nor so enfeebled in mind,” as the Reviewer would have us believe. Though infirm, indeed, in body, Bruce was still in mind the Bruce of Bannockburn; he was still the Christian hero, the chivalrous knight, and the patriot king. He foresaw his approaching end, and with his wonted courage he prepared himself for this last conflict. “Having accomplished the great object of his life, and warned by intimations which could not be mistaken, that a mortal disease had fixed upon him, the king,” says Mr. Tytler, “retired to his palace at Cardross, on the eastern shore of the Clyde. His amusements, in the intervals of disease, were kingly, and *his charities extensive*. He built ships, and recreated himself by sailing; he devoted himself to architecture and gardening, improving his palace and orchard; he kept a lion for his diversion, and, when his health permitted, delighted in hawking; he entertained his nobility in a style of rude and abundant hospitality, and the poor received regular supplies by the king’s order.”

Such was Bruce during his latter days, when he was aware that “a mortal disease had fixed upon him.” He was indulging in *kingly* amusements and extensive charities—he was building ships, and improving his palace and his gardens—he was sporting with lions; and still loved to witness, though he could no longer join in the pleasure of the chase—he continued still to entertain his nobility and feed the poor; but history nowhere says, nor is there any ground for thinking, that he suffered himself to be the slave of abject fear and superstition, or to be imposed upon by wily and designing monks.

Nor is this all; we have other still stronger, indeed incontrovertible proofs, that Bruce was imposed on by no one, and that he retained his noble faculties long after he had adhibited his name to the document under consideration. In it he directs his heart to be buried in his favourite abbey of Melrose; but at an interview, which he subsequently had with his barons, he requested the gallant Douglas to convey his heart to a still more sacred spot—



the sepulchre of the Son of God. "Now," observes Mr. Tytler, "at this or some other interview shortly before his death, Bruce delivered to the Scottish barons his last advice regarding the best mode of carrying on the war against England. They concentrate, in a short compass, the wisdom and experience which he had gained during the whole course of his protracted but glorious wars; and it is, perhaps, not too much to say, that there is no instance in their subsequent history, in which the Scots have sustained any signal defeat, where it cannot be traced to a departure from some of the directions of what is affectionately called, the "Good King Robert's Testament."

Is this the man who could be so easily imposed upon? Is this the prince who, at the bidding of any human being, would, through superstitious fear, sign away his kingdom, or do aught unworthy of a Christian monarch? What! the simple-minded monks of Melrose were more than a match for King Robert the Bruce, at a time when he would assemble his barons around him, and give them such lessons in politics and on war, as would for ever make them invincible! They can be supposed to cheat him in drawing up a document, when we see him altering and changing it to please himself, without even consulting them! "But," says the Reviewer, "the language employed in the document is not that of Bruce—he spoke not so." Well, what then? Is it necessary that a testament should be drawn up in the identical phraseology of the testator? Undoubtedly not. Are we to complain that in this valuable document we find the formal legal phraseology of the age? This would be absurd. Is not the charitable piety of dying Free Kirk Christians indulged with the advice of men learned in the law? Nor was it ever necessary that the bequeather should dictate the very words in which his bequests are made. Did such a necessity exist, a wide door would soon be opened to litigation, and many a gift would be snatched by greedy relatives. If, then, private individuals may avail themselves of such legal advice as shall secure the fulfilment of their dying intentions, may not monarchs be permitted to enjoy the same privilege?

Whatever it may please the Reviewer to assert, impartial history will justify the monks of Melrose in their transactions with Bruce. In his full senses, with sincerity of heart, and in the spirit of grateful and Christian charity, he bequeathed to them substantial proofs of his royal

favour. They knew the gift was valid in law, and that it would not be grudged to them by those who were aware how much, in times of need, he had been indebted to them and their brother monks. If they afterwards wished his son to confirm the grants they had received, it was merely to avoid unnecessary cavils, and in conformity to the spirit and institutions of the age.\*

But, after all, what could be more natural than that Bruce should befriend the church and the monastic orders during his life, and dying, recommend them to the attention of his son? The church and the monks had ever been his staunchest friends. Though others forsook and betrayed him, they never did. They suffered much in his cause. "When Bruce," says Mr. Junes, "friendless and a fugitive, raised the old war-cry of Scotland, the indomitable Wishart, bishop of Glasgow," the early and faithful companion of Wallace, when none else would follow his standard, hastened to join him. This heroic prelate grew infirm, and grey, and blind in his service; and suffered in his old age a protracted captivity for his royal master. Maurice, abbot of Inchaffry, stood by his side, exhorting his warriors on the memorable field of Bannockburn. The clergy, the monks, the monasteries, had all done him good service in his day of need. Melrose, in particular, ruined more than once during his long wars, had special claims on his favour; and he was only indulging the natural feelings of a grateful and noble heart, when, ere he should descend from his throne, he acknowledged the services of those who had been chiefly instrumental in placing and keeping him there.

To the great satisfaction of the Reviewer, sickness, he says, was not always followed by death; and thus the impoverished victims of monkish avarice had sometimes leisure to repent of having sold their inheritance for a mass! There is, he tells us, in the cartulary of Melrose (458) a deed of John de Graham, in which this worthy

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\* Mr. Junes, the learned editor of the Melrose and several other cartularies, speaking of the repeated confirmations of deeds, observes, "So late as the reign of Malcolm IV. the crown was held to be the origin of all real property. Royal confirmations occur so frequently after that period, that we cannot avoid the conclusion that they were considered necessary for the completeness of the titles. It would be more difficult to find a reason for repeated confirmations of crown charters by successive sovereigns to the same individual and to bodies corporate. The practice, however, was not peculiar to the early ages illustrated by the present collection, but extended down to a recent period in the conveyancing of Scotland."—*Preface to Melrose Collection*, p. 10.



informs the monks that, after mature deliberation, he had determined to revoke the grant to them which he had executed under impetuosity and facility of mind; "which brother John, taking advantage of his ignorance of law, had by a pestiferous avarice extracted from him." The cartulary of Melrose does indeed supply the curious reader with a deed in which John de Graham acts a not very enviable part. This worthy gave to his cousin Robert de Graham the patronage of Tarbolton. Three years after he sold the same to the minister of Fala, who gave, as the price of it, a white horse (*equum album*). The good minister, finding he had been cheated, and that he could not get possession of his purchased property, took back his white horse, the price he had paid for it. John de Graham also declared the bargain null and void, and left the patronage of Tarbolton in possession of his cousin. At the same time, two deeds were drawn up by John de Graham—one,\* in which he avowed the cheat practised on the minister of Fala; the other,† in which he annuls the fraudulent bargain made with him, and restores to his cousin Robert the patronage of which he wished so ungenerously to deprive him.

So fast did the good things of time flow in upon the monks, that, according to the Reviewer, they soon forgot those of eternity.

"Being thus easy in their circumstances, the natural result was, the indulgence of all the luxuries which riches could command... Under the demure hood of the monk there lurked more of the lust of the heart, and more insatiate longing after the pleasures of

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\* In the Melrose collection, No. 457, we see John de Graham's humble admission of his guilt in deceiving the minister of Fala, and of his selling to him what he had already given to a relative of his own. *Fatebat idem Joannes de Graham in presentia mea et testium subscriptorum quod idem minister de Fala, sibi dedit unum equum album. rōne concessionis dicti juris patronatus, quem post lapsum temporis idem minister dicti Joanni de Graham manu forti abstulit, eo quod intellexit quod dictus Joannes de Graham dictum jus patronatus Roberto de Graham de Welyston perprius et plenius, ut præmittitur, jam concessit, et illud defendere et fovere ut deabat.* This deed was signed by John de Graham in presence of Thos. Jedworth, John Doget, and Adam de Kinghorn, notary public, in 1343.

† John de Graham seems to have been a man of great humility, who, if he was guilty of very considerable errors, was at least ready enough to avow them. In the deed restoring to his cousin the patronage of Tarbolton, he admits his ignorance of law and of the rules of good breeding, which certainly forbid us to resume gifts gratuitously given. He also confesses that he was somewhat tinged with avarice, and that he very improperly sold to one what he had already given to another, *cupida cecitate percussus*. This is the man whose "name the North British Reviewer delights to record."

a world they had renounced, than could be found in the busy haunts of general society.....Their mode of living may be summed up in a sentence—an utter neglect of the duties of religious teachers, and the untrammelled gratification of every passion.”

This sweeping accusation applies not to the monks of Scotland only, but to the whole fraternity in every part of Europe, monasticism, “presenting,” as it does, to the eyes of the Reviewer, “all the revolting features of the pagan temples.”

Here the blackest slander is dealt out wholesale and undiluted. Here, too, the writer must have felt more than ordinary confidence in the ignorant credulity of his readers. Other protestant authors, honest and learned, take a more just and rational view of monasticism: they are not afraid to speak in severe terms of the injustice inflicted on the monks by interested and would-be popular writers.

“The fact, *which is all that we want*, is, that popular indignation, and hatred of the bitterest kind was excited, and has been studiously kept up, and that for centuries the general notion in this country has been, that a monastery naturally, almost necessarily, is a place dedicated to idleness, gluttony, lewdness, hypocrisy, political intrigue, fraud, treachery, and blood; so that, as a matter of course, a nun is to be supposed something as bad as can be, and a monk no better. Now, certainly, no candid man will deny, that before the period of the Reformation, the monastic system in the Western Church had got into a very bad state. Too many monasteries were really societies of dissolute men; and a vast many more had so far departed from their bounden discipline, that there was nothing to restrain the vicious. That is, the monks lived in them under scarcely, if any, more control from vice than *fellows of colleges do now*. That, under these circumstances, in a dissolute age, a great number of monks became profane and debauched, and a great many more secular and careless of religion, is not to be doubted; but that there ever was truth in the coarse and filthy abuse heaped upon the monastic order as a body by some who were forward in the business of the Reformation, is what I suppose never was believed by any one who had a moderate knowledge of facts. The truth is, and it is such as should satisfy all but the infidel and the profane, that if we take any period whatever in the history of Christianity, and compare the morals of the monks and clergy with those of the laity, we shall find that, however bad the former might be, the latter were worse. In fact, it appears to be the testimony of history, that the monks and clergy, whether bad or good in themselves, were in all times and places better than other people.”—*Maitland's Dark Ages*, pref. x.



This testimony of history in favour of the monks, a testimony loudly and solemnly invoked by an eminent English divine, will have more weight in the estimation of candid men than wholesale accusations and interested calumnies. We have the evidence of history for believing that the monks were ever better than the rest of men, and that the bad among them were not so bad as other classes of society.

Indeed, the very charges made against the monks by our Reviewer, when he condescends to make special charges against them, are refuted by the very documents by which he seeks to substantiate them. Pointing to the Melrose cartulary, (Nos. 37, 41, 72, 73, 196-7-8,) "Hunting," he says, "was a favourite pastime of theirs, and of none of their privileges were they more jealous. Their dependents were dragged before their courts to endure temporal punishment in this world, and to have directed against them anathemas as to the next, for the smallest infraction of their hunting or fishing privileges." We entreat our readers to consult these documents: like us, they will perceive, that, as usual, the Reviewer is mocking or amusing his friends; for which charitable purpose he draws largely on his imagination, as the papers referred to by him do not even allude to the crimes of which he accuses the monks.

Another item laid to the charge of the monks, more serious than that we have alluded to, is, that they were deficient in charity. "We have looked over the rentals of the various abbeys, so far as published, for evidence of their vaunted generosity, and our industry has been repaid by the following entry, (all we found,) in that of the rich abbey of Dumfermline:—'Item, to the puir in ordinar of baiken bread, 8 bolls.'" The value of this yearly benevolence of an abbey which, Lord Hailes tells us, had 200 slaves, may be learned by a reference to other entries:—"Item, to ye porter of Dumfermling, 8 bolls:—Item, to the barbour, 23 bolls."

Suffice it to say, in answer to this, that the Reviewer, if he sought for evidence of monastic charity among the rentals of the monasteries, sought it where he very well knew it was not to be found. The monks, like wise and prudent men, kept an account, no doubt, of their income and of their expenditure: but we no where find that they ostentatiously recorded their charities. To do so, would

have been a work of supererogation, as all the world knew, that the whole of their ample means, when their own few and simple wants had been frugally supplied, were poured into the lap of the poor. The items adduced by the Reviewer, were not alms doled out to the indigent, but wages justly due to servants, or burdens which had been transferred to the abbey with certain portions of its lands. We may add, that if he had been very anxious to discover evidence of the "vaunted generosity" of the monks, he would have found it a line or two below that which he himself quotes; for there, mention is made of a charitable donation on the part of Dumfermling abbey "to the lipper men at Magdalene's besyd Mussiburgh."

Other peccadilloes of the monks are of a more trifling nature. Even to a grim follower of the Knox and Calvin school, they are more a source of merriment than of sorrow. "The Glasgow Fathers appear to have been very much troubled with peculiar affections of the stomach, and have formally preserved in their cartulary a famous pill *ad vitandum omnem ventositatem quæ sit sub umbilico*." This at least proves that some attention was paid by the monks to the healing art. In those days the diseases to which the human family was subject, were as numerous as they now are, but, not so numerous as now, were the men who professed to cure them. Many of the monks excelled in the knowledge of medicine. As was natural, they were the first themselves to profit by their skill, but it is no less true, that it was always exerted in favour of the poor, whose corporal and spiritual wants they were ever ready to relieve.

Other accusations of various kinds, some as frivolous and some as serious, as those already examined, but all equally false and unfounded, are urged at great length by the Reviewer. It were tedious on our part to enumerate them all, and a waste of time to rebut them. Here we might say with great reason, *ab uno disce omnes*; for from those we have discussed, our readers may easily imagine what the remainder would be. We shall therefore devote the rest of our pages to what both to us and to others, must prove more agreeable. We will fall back on the olden times. We will turn over the pages of the monastic writers, and from them, better than from any North British Review, we may learn what monks and monasteries really were.



The word monk is derived from the Greek *monos*, solitary. In the East, during the heathen persecutions, many holy men were driven for safety to the desert. There in solitude they served God, and were called monks. In the West, after the days of persecution had passed away, but while the empire was on the decline, and while society was in a troubled and unsettled state, crowds of thinking and pious men, withdrew from the bosom of *general* society and formed themselves into *small* societies, to study, to pray, to lead together a christian life more perfectly than they could hope to do in the bustle and amidst the dangers of a wicked world. Like their Eastern brethren, they too were called monks, and the place in which they abode was styled a monastery.

Monasteries were first established in Palestine, Egypt, and the neighbouring deserts; they were gradually introduced into the West, and first of all into Italy, Gaul, and the South of Germany; they afterwards found their way into Spain, Ireland, South and North Britain, and the Scandinavian Islands, and Peninsula. At first the monks, the inmates of these venerated retreats, were few in number; they were poor, holy, mortified men. In the course of time they increased in number; they acquired property; they flourished greatly. In the course of time, too, abuses of various kinds, as was to be expected, crept in amongst them. But this was not the case every where, nor with all the monastic institutes; nor with any, until after the lapse of centuries. For ages, and in every part of Europe down to the Reformation, and after it in those countries where the Reformation failed to obtain the ascendancy, monasteries were known to confer on society at large, many and valuable benefits. Interest in some, and in others ignorance and fashion, have concurred to excite popular hatred and indignation against these excellent institutions. Even now, when much of the mist in which monasticism was so studiously involved by its enemies, has vanished away, many are the prejudices which still exist against it. Of these we proceed to notice a few.

It is alleged, that the sacred precincts of a monastery were but so many "temples of indolence." The monks, it is said, were idlers, and wiled their time unprofitably away. They know little of monasteries who speak thus. A good monk was the busiest of men. Read the rules of any order you like, you will find the time of the brethren

most usefully employed. Not an hour but had its allotted occupation. There was a time for sleep, and that a comparatively small one ; a time for manual labour ; a time to cultivate the understanding ; a time to feed the soul with prayer and reading and holy meditation ; a time for innocent recreation, to relieve the mind and invigorate the body. The monks concealed, it is true, much of their labours from the eyes of an unobserving world : still, they were labouring most assiduously ; they withdrew, indeed, from the world, but it was in the hope of saving themselves, and of contributing to the salvation of their brethren in the world. The best and most efficient friends of society are not always those who are most in society. Apart from the haunts of men, the monks could better discern the wants of men, and the means of relieving them. Moses, conversing with God on the mountain, contributed as much to the victory of the Hebrews, as Joshua who was fighting with them on the plain. It is an error to imagine that to retire from the world, or to appear at rare intervals in the midst of it, is to hate those who are in it, or, at least, to be unmindful of their interests. Sophocles spent many a solitary hour in the composition of his immortal poems ; his family accused him of neglecting his affairs, and would gladly have declared him, as a fool and a madman, incapable of managing them. He was arraigned before a jury of the wisest men his country could produce ; in his defence, he was content to lay his works before the court. More was not wanted ; a hasty perusal of his tragedies satisfied at once the bench of the innocence and sanity of the poet.

Well, then let the inmates of the cloister, like Sophocles, be judged of by their works. And who, we would ask, in any age, or country, wrought more busily, more constantly, more industriously than the alleged monkish idlers ? It has been remarked, with mingled feelings of shame and regret, by an English missionary,\* that were the English armies to be withdrawn from India, and the British rule to perish there, soon not a trace would remain in those distant regions of England's creed and form of worship ; not a monument would be found by posterity to speak of England's zeal for the spread of the Gospel. Not so with the monks. On every soil on which they

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\* Claudius Buchanan.



ever trod, their foot-marks are still visible. There is something undying in the works of their hands, as in the faith which enlightened their minds, and in the divine love which warmed their hearts. Roofless and in ruins for centuries, their abbeys are still the admiration of the world; they will outlive the protesting creeds that turned popular indignation against them, proving to future ages that the men by whom they were erected were neither ignorant nor idle.

But, we would ask, were the monks idle when they acted the part of missionaries, "preaching the gospel to every creature?" "In the seventh century, the holy children of St. Benedict spread the light of Faith through the benighted region of Europe."\* In after ages, and as circumstances would allow, they and others of the monastic fraternities carried the same blessed light to other portions of the globe. Thirsting for the salvation of souls, they outran in speed, they surpassed in courage, our adventurous merchants and our conquering armies. From the earliest days of monasticism to the present hour, the missionary monk has ever shown himself the same—zealous, fearless, and indefatigable. He has climbed over the highest mountains, waded through the deepest rivers, travelled through every land, and sailed on every sea. It is admitted on all hands, that of all men the monks of the various orders have been the most successful in extending the pale of the Church. In this good work there seems to have been a keen, but holy and peaceful rivalry amongst them. At all events, idle or not idle, "the holy children of St. Benedict," of St. Francis, and of St. Dominic, and the intrepid Sons of Loyola, have done what indolence can never be able to do—they have, in modern times and in the middle ages, converted all those nations that have embraced Christianity; while Protestant zeal, and boasted learning, and vaunted activity, have, to say the least, hitherto laboured in vain.

Much, too, in the middle ages were the monks engaged in redeeming captives from Mahometan slave-masters. "The difficulty of my task," says Mr. Digby, in Book x. p. 482 of his beautiful '*Ages of Faith*,' "is not to point out the labours of the monks, it is only to know how to convey some faint idea of their multiplicity and ex-

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\* Digby, *Mores Catholici*, Book 10. p. 481.

tent. There is one ministry to which some orders were expressly devoted, of which I must relinquish the attempt to speak in despair. Such was the office of redeeming captives." In a slavery-hating age, the labours of the monks in doing what philanthropists have now so much at heart, will, one would hope, be fully appreciated. Certain, at least it is, that no Wilberforce or Buxton of our day has done one-half so much for the abolition of slavery, as many a hooded friar whose name is unknown, or known only to be laughed at by the ignorant and profane. The fact is, the monks were well acquainted with one art to which worldlings are utter strangers—that of doing much good, which their humility taught them to conceal. They toiled and laboured incessantly; but because their toils and labours were not seen by the vulgar eye, they were set down by the unthinking as ignorant and idle men.

Much as the humble men of the cloister loved to retire from society, society in its hour of need could always command their services. In all public calamities, during wars and famines, and the prevalence of pestilential diseases, they were ever in the midst of the poor and suffering. In 1631, the humble capuchin, Father Vincent of Nevers, devoted himself with his brethren to the care of the sick when the pestilence broke out at Blois and its vicinity. One after another of his charitable assistants sank by his side; "he alone escaped the danger; and he performed the office of magistrate, physician, and pastor."\* He was not surely an idle monk, albeit his acting in capacity of physician may expose him, like "the Glasgow Fathers," to the heartless sneers of a North British Reviewer.

But of all the labours of the monks, none should be so acceptable in the eyes of a utilitarian age as those undertaken in the cause of agriculture. To it they devoted no niggardly portion of time, skill, capital, and energy. This is admitted by their very enemies. Dunham, in his "History of the German Empire," as quoted by Mr. Digby, observes:

"We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that for improvement in agriculture the Germanic Empire was indebted to the monks. In whatever place these *extraordinary* men were located, they soon

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\* Digby, Book 10. p. 483.



showed what could be effected by willing minds, still further influenced by the sacred obligations of duty. From incontestible evidence, we know that luxuriant meadows were soon made to start up from the fens, and ample harvests to wave on the sandy plain or the black mountain.\* It is recorded of St. Ansegisus, abbot of Fontenelle, in the ninth century, that he was sagacious in the precepts of agricultural matters; so that there was never wanting to him an abundant supply of the various fruits of the earth, which he *always gave with a liberal hand to all who were in want.*†

It is often alleged against the monks that they managed to set themselves down in the best parts of the country. Not so, however; they had not always the choice of a site; but they seldom failed to make, by dint of labour, that part of the country the best where they did fix their abode. They drained the marshes, they uprooted forests, they made roads, they straightened meandering streams, they built bridges, they improved all around them. They sometimes, like Aligernus, abbot of Mount Cassino, built cities, and towns, and castles, (Dig. p. 487.) for the defence of the country. Methinks, the men who did all this, and a vast deal more, can hardly be accused of idleness. We shall conclude this part of our subject in the words of the amiable and learned author to whom we are already so much indebted.

“Was it idleness to pray and devote one’s self to God’s service; to give the world an example of detachment and of virtue; to cultivate deserts, to till and embellish lands reputed uninhabitable; to create resources for thousands of families; to teach youth gratuitously; to extend all kinds of succour through the country; to undertake and complete immense works; to offer a retreat to repentance, a refuge to misfortune and to innocence; to exercise a sweet and affectionate hospitality; to satisfy the spiritual and temporal wants of an abandoned population? Could a life that implied such labours be deemed idle, though it was stigmatized as something infamous by the preachers of the new religion, who desolated Europe in the sixteenth century?”

“No,” says an old historian of Durham, who knew them well, “the monks were always virtuously occupied and never idle; but either writing good and godly works, or studying the Holy Scriptures,” (Dig. x. p. 484.) *either*

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\* Digby, Book 10. p. 489.

† Ibidem.

*writing good and godly books*—this leads us naturally to combat another prejudice so injurious to monastic orders. It is supposed by many that the monks were ignorant; and indeed every tyro speaks most flippantly of “monkish ignorance,” “monkish darkness,” “monkish hostility to books and learning.” But of a truth, the monks were not ignorant; nor did they in any way encourage or countenance ignorance. Every monastery had its library—a library rich in all kinds of literature. To fill it with the best books they spared no trouble or expense; a favourite maxim among them was, “*claustrum sine litteratura est vivi hominis sepultura*.” “As well live in the grave as in the cloister without books.” The North British Reviewer sneers at the paucity of books supposed to have belonged to the College Kirk at Crail, a catalogue of which is given by the “Delver in antiquity,” in his valuable *Fragmenta-Scoto-Monastica*. But how does he know that the clergy of Crail had no other books than those mentioned in this catalogue? These were evidently books used in the daily service of the Church, and generally kept somewhere within the sacred precincts. This is no proof that the priests of this church had no other books: as well may we judge of the contents of a parish minister’s library, by the number of Bibles, Testaments, and Psalm-books which the good parishioners leave in the Kirk pews from Sunday to Sunday. We know for certain that there were many valuable books in the hands of the Scottish monks previous to the Reformation, although no doubt the richer and more numerous inhabited monasteries on the continent were, in this respect, better provided for. “The library of Fulda,” says Mr. Digby, “dated from the Carolingians. Down to the beginning of the 17th century, its collections of manuscripts was precious. Twelve monks had always been constantly employed in writing out books for it. This vast library, the admiration of the Italian philosophers of the fifteenth century was divided into forty-eight classes.” The library of Corby, in Germany, was also immense.\* Equally rich and valuable were the monastic libraries in Italy and France. “That of Cluny, which was pillaged and burnt by the Protestants, was deemed one of the wonders of the world, and in fact it equalled that of the emperors of Constantinople.” (Digby.) Indeed,

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\* Digby, *Mores Cath.* Book 10. p. 227.



the monks took great pleasure in buying and collecting books, and would have them at any price. Poor as they were, at least in the earlier times, and poor as they always remained in some respects, they never had any scruples in possessing a rich library. Guibert declares, that to make up in some sort for the austere fasts to which they subjected the body, the earlier Carthusians provided by their well-filled libraries abundant food for the mind.\* Nor were they satisfied with merely begging and buying books: in every house, two or more monks, the ablest of the fraternity, were constantly engaged in the arduous task of collating and transcribing. Fulda, as we have observed, thus employed twelve. At the same time, with a generous liberality, their libraries were thrown open to every learned and inquiring neighbour. Of the studious habits of the monks themselves we have many affecting instances. "They were never idle," says an author already quoted, "but either writing good and godly works, or *studying the Holy Scriptures*." "Nothing is pleasanter," says Trithemius, "nothing more delightful than reading. I have passed nights without sleep, studying the Scriptures, and omitted to take my meals in order to save time for reading."† "The monks," exclaims Richard of Bury, "who are so venerable, are accustomed to be solicitous, in regard to books, and to be delighted in their company, as with all riches, and thence it is that we find in most monasteries such splendid treasures of erudition, giving delectable light to the path of laics. O that devout labour of their hands in writing books!..... Truly the love of books is the love of wisdom, and a sensual and avaricious life cannot be combined with it. No one can serve books and mammon."‡ Can it be that the men who loved books so dearly, were at the same time ignorant men and lovers of ignorance? Impossible. Indeed all the truly learned, however hostile in other respects to the monks, admit that to accuse them of ignorance is to accuse them wrongfully. A living writer observes, "the learning of the monastic bodies has been underrated: the ages in which they lived have been called *Dark Ages*; but they were almost the sole depositories of the learning of the land. They were the historians, the

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\* Mabillon, *Etudes Monastiques*, part 1. chap. 10.

† Digby, Book 10. p. 223.

‡ Ibid.

grammarians, the poets: they accumulated magnificent libraries.”\* But for the monks and the monastic libraries, the works of the Greek and Roman writers, and the very language in which they wrote, would have passed away with the empire of Greece and of Rome. They carefully cleared the fields of ancient literature, and sowed the seeds of that which in modern times days has so luxuriantly grown up. We, their ungrateful posterity, riot and revel in the enjoyment of the rich harvest their industry has prepared for us, and the debt we owe them for so much of mental and so much of manual labour, we discharge by styling them ignorant and idle men.

The monks, then, were learned men and patrons of learning: but, notwithstanding modern calumny, they were as good as they were learned. With the exceptions which we have already made, we are not afraid to vouch for the morality of the cloister. It is now admitted by all save the veriest bigots, that when Henry the Eighth suppressed the monasteries in England, no fault could be found with their inmates. These were pious and God-fearing men.

“What Burnet hath offered against them,” says Hearne, “appears to me to be spite and malice. His proofs are weak and groundless; and I doubt not but that if any monk’s character were strictly and impartially examined, there is not one of them but would appear more innocent and more virtuous than any of the visitors, (King Henry’s visitors), and it may be than any one of their accusers.”†

In the preamble of the very act which annihilates the smaller monasteries, observes Lord John Manners, thanks are given to Almighty God that in the greater houses “*religion is well kept and preserved.*” Dugdale feelingly laments the unjust and ungenerous prejudices, that, in his time, obtained against the monks of the middle ages. Camden speaks of these men in the highest possible terms of praise and admiration. Southey declares they “well deserved the popularity they enjoyed.” Dr. Johnson almost adored them. “I never read of a hermit,” said the sage, “but, in imagination, I kiss his feet; never of a monastery, but I fall on my knees and kiss the pavement.”‡ The learned Fuller declares, among other

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\* Knight’s Life of Shakspeare, p. 184.

† Christian Remembrancer, No. 37.

‡ Boswell.



things, "that their life was constantly spent in prayer, reading, musing, and such like pious employments." "That it *would do one good to think of their goodness.*" Our readers will find in the "Christian Remembrancer" a hundred other testimonies to the virtues and learning of the monks. The very individuals sent by Henry the Eighth, more, as some one justly remarks, to *condemn* the monks than to *inspect* the monasteries, could find no fault with these injured men. This they frankly owned themselves, and by doing so, greatly mortified the tyrant king.

The virtues of the monks recommended them to the esteem and love of all: both in town and country they were general favourites. An English writer, speaking of the accumulation of lands in the hands of churchmen, says, "The nation apprehended that the engaging behaviour of the mendicants would still add to the inconvenience."\* In fact, one could not help loving these charming men: all that can endear a fellow-creature to us, they possessed: they were the most learned men of the day: they were the most refined in language and manners: they excelled in all the arts, in music, in painting, in architecture, in agriculture: their skill in medicine was considerable, and exerted in favour of all, and for nothing. They were the teachers of the people in the pulpit, and a model of virtue to them in the ordinary walks of life. Withal they were so meek, so mild, so affable, so severe to themselves, so tenderly indulgent to the weaknesses and so feelingly alive to the woes of others. Their legends, of which so much ill has been spoken, were often but their familiar instructions to a rude but docile people. Apart from the crowd and in the seclusion of their monasteries, the monks acquired knowledge, subdued their passions, learned the things that are of God. Again, in the haunts of society, in the town and country, in the pulpit, in the confessional, and in the bosom of pious families, they communicated to others the fruits of their hidden labour; they instructed the ignorant, they reconciled enemies, they trained up youth to virtue, they laboured to reclaim the sinner, they visited and redeemed captives, they tended the sick, they encouraged and exhorted the dying, and with prayer and supplication they closed the grave over the Christian dead. Spending almost nothing on themselves,

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\* Digby, ut supra.

they were prodigal to the poor, and their gates were ever open to the pilgrim and the stranger. A cold and phlegmatic disciple of Calvin may accuse them of avarice and of selfishness—he may talk of their not “abounding in charity;”\* but all history will testify against him. Guizot, in his Lectures on Modern History, stops more than once to laud the charity of the good and holy monks. The church at all times loved the indigent; her bosom was ever open to receive them; she styled herself the city of the poor—that is, their refuge, their asylum. St. Gregory the Great, himself a monk, and a rich man ere he entered the cloister, distributed his whole patrimony among the poor; his rule was to give to all who sought relief—*omni petenti da*, said he to his steward. Innocent III., another great pope, who had worn the cowl, like Gregory, was known, in times of public distress, to have fed the famishing crowd to the number of 9,000 persons per day.† It is a notorious fact, related by Mabillon, that in one day, in the monastery of Cluny, there was a stipend given to 17,000 poor.‡ It cannot escape the most unreflecting that poor laws are of modern date. The law of the Gospel sufficed to make men charitable in days of old—in days when, we are told by modern protestors, that the Gospels were a sealed book; and now when the Gospels are in the hands of every one, albeit they enjoin charity to the poor as one of the chiefest of virtues, the poor would starve if the law of the land did not come to the aid of the gospel, and enforce its sacred precepts. The olden unions of monks and holy men are laughed at and sneered at now-a-days; they have given place to unions of parishes, but, oh! what a wretched change! Our unions of parishes dole out a miserable pittance to the poor, fixed by parliamentary decree; the unions of monks knew neither weight nor measure, they gave all they had, they gave all that was wanted, and to all that wanted. Alas now for the suffering poor! The times of the Gregories and Innocents have passed away; and the Clunys, which could feed in one day 17,000 starving men, have fallen a prey to heretic wrath and Jewish cupidity.

We will notice only one more of the many prejudices,

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\* North British Review, on Scottish monks.

† Digby, Book 10.

‡ Digby, *Mores Catholici*, Book 1. chap. 3.



which by evil and interested men, have been excited and industriously kept up among the vulgar against the monks.

The ignorance and arrogance of both are alike. "The monastic life was inimical to learning," says the Northern Sage; pray, then, how does it come to pass that the monastic life has produced so many learned men? Let any one read Mabillon's book on "Monastic Studies," or at least the 5th Chap. Part 1st, of that excellent work, and he will soon perceive that the monastic life was all along a life of learning. It gave to the world its greatest lights. St. Basil the Great, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Gregory Nazianzen, were monks, as were also St. Augustin, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory the Great. In later and less learned times, St. Bernard, St. Anselm, Lanfranc, the Venerable Bede, St. Bonaventure, and St. Thomas Aquinas, were all monks, and reared in the seclusion of the monastic life. Thousands of other monks from the earliest days of monasticism to the very end of the last century, were ever the first in the very first ranks of the learned. What men were ever more learned than the Bollandists, the Benedictines, and others of the various monastic families? Mabillon himself, a monk of the seventeenth century, was presented to Louis XIV. his sovereign, as the most learned and most modest man in the king's dominions. One single house of the Benedictine order, to which Mabillon belonged, was said by Gibbon to have given to the world a greater number of learned books than both the Universities of England. Some of the most valuable discoveries in the arts and sciences were made within the walls of a monastery: to the monks we owe all that is known of the middle ages, and whatever yet remains of Greek and Roman lore: but for them the Scriptures themselves would have perished. Our Humes and Robertsons and other popular writers were pilfering from the monastic authors at the very time they were recommending them to public contempt as ignorant and worthless chroniclers. Our very novelists and writers of romance are deeply indebted to them, as may be seen by consulting one of the papers in Washington Irving's Sketch-Book.

"Among the monks," we are told, "the absence of all impulse to intellectual activity.....extinguished every spark of original genius." If we may credit St. Augustin,

this absence of all impulse to intellectual activity, did not exist among the monks. He tells us that they spent their time in prayer, in study, in literary and philosophic exercises, "*viventes in orationibus, in lectionibus, in disputationibus.*"\* Did not intellect meet intellect here? Were not the powers of reason and the flights of fancy of the younger members of the society excited into life by coming into daily contact with those of the older? Might there not then exist between the monks of the same monastery, and between one monastery and another a friendly rivalry? From the words of St. Fulgentius, quoted by Mabillon,† I think such a friendly rivalry really did exist. The monks, says the saint, eat together, prayed together, and studied together. "*Erat eis communis mensa, communis oratio, simul et lectio.*" Guizot's philosophy differs widely from that of the Reviewer, agreeing as it does with the ideas of St. Austin and St. Fulgentius. "The monastic life," he tells us, "was in its commencement, neither a contemplative, nor a solitary life: it was on the contrary very social and very active: it gave the first *impulse to intellectual development*; it was instrumental in causing people to think and to communicate their thoughts. The monasteries of Southern Gaul were the schools of christian philosophy. In them people thought and discussed and taught—thence issued new ideas, bold theories, heresies. It was in the abbeys of St. Victor and of Lerins that the great questions of Free-will, Grace, Predestination, and Original Sin, were discussed at greatest length."‡ Nor, when we consider this, can we believe that among the monks "every spark of original genius was extinguished." Learned men have always found traces of original genius in St. Austin, St. Bernard, St. Anselm, &c., &c. St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. John Chrysostom, and a host of others, are said to have indulged in flights of fancy not unworthy of the greatest orators and poets that flourished before or after them. Guizot avers that St. Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, in Gaul, in his poem on the Creation, equals often, and sometimes surpasses Milton himself. Indeed, to hear certain moderns talk of monkish

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\* See Mabillon, *Etudes Monastiques*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Guizot, *Civilisation Moderne en France*, vol. 1. p. 139. Brussels Edition.



legends and lying chronicles, one would be inclined to think that the good monks indulged but too freely in the "flights of fancy." From all this, then, we may conclude that the monastic life, that is a life of solitude and quiet study, was not by any means inimical to learning.

This is so true, that the North British Review, in one of its numbers (6) acknowledges the fact: "The authors," it tells us, "not of present discoveries only, but of our greatest practical reforms, *have been bred, and have received their first impulse and direction in the silent nurseries of human thought.*" The mightiest revolution that ever took place in the world, as effected by Luther, *was germinated within the walls of a cloister*, and in the little cell of his own cogitations."\* It was in solitude also, we are told by the same authority, that a university youth planned his future attacks on the slave trade, and that Adam Smith discovered the true principles of commerce. If, then, the cloister, and the calm, contemplative hours which he spent in it, were so useful to Luther—if something akin to monastic seclusion be fraught with so much good to others, by what rules of logic can it be proved that to monks alone the monasteries and monastic quiet and solitude are injurious?

But enough in vindication of men and of a mode of life, that, when properly known, require no advocacy. For twelve hundred years and more, the monks were heaven's chosen instruments of grace and mercy. In countries where the Gospel was already known, they trimmed and kept burning the lamp of faith; and into the regions where the name of Christ was unknown, they carried the good tidings of his Gospel. They loved all men; they toiled for all men. There is no land but what, at one time or another, has been watered by their sweat and their tears, and purpled with their blood. The Society of Jesus alone furnished its quota "of eight hundred *martyrs immolated for the faith.*"†

The mental, the manual, the literary, the missionary labours of the monks are, in many cases, unknown to us; but what we do know of them appear almost incredibly great. Poor at first, for they cast all away to follow Christ, this world's good things were gradually laid at their

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\* North British Review, No. 6. p. 319.

† Father Ravignan, Life and Institute of the Jesuits, p. 35.

feet. They generously gave with one hand what they got with the other; their own treasures were in heaven, and here below they were merely stewards for the poor in those things that were entrusted to their care. If, among those saintly men, there appeared now and then a weak, a faithless brother, we should bear in mind that there was a traitor among the twelve apostles, and a heretic among the seven deacons. There never was, and never will be a society of men without some human failings; that these were so few among the monks will astonish those who are best acquainted with, and can make allowance for, the corruption of our fallen nature.

Such were the Scottish Monks, an illustrious race of men, the like of whom we never may see again. Slander them who may, the records of their many good deeds can never be obliterated. They have passed away themselves; but there yet remains incontestible evidence that they did not live in vain, that they were not idle. They were always in advance of their age in learning, in piety, in every useful art. After the lapse of centuries, the voice of reproach is even now uplifted against them; but it is the voice of calumny, of those who find it easier to censure their failings than to imitate their virtues.

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ART. II.—*The History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, in Germany, Switzerland, &c.*—By J. H. Merle d'Aubigné, President of the Theological School of Geneva, and Member of the Société Evangélique. 3 vol. 8vo. London: 1841.\*

IN the present unpropitious aspect, and precarious tenure of Protestant Ascendancy—that scaffolding of political injustice and perverted doctrine, so long a standing outrage on reason, and mischievous engine of intolerance—M. D'Aubigné's publication has been hailed with acclamations of triumph, as a foreign ally, of congenial feeling and kindred spirit, in misrepresenting the charac-

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\* A fourth volume is announced, but we have not yet seen it.



ters, and falsifying the records of Catholic personages and events. It was the more opportune and welcome, because the previous and recent importations from the continental press had signally disappointed the anti-catholic zealots, who were grieved to find that the laborious research and discriminating impartiality of their expected coadjutors, had, on the contrary, dispelled many of their raised prejudices, refuted manifold calumnies, and disclosed the unscrupulous artifices employed to mislead unguarded credulity, and to foster the delusions so insidiously, and we painfully add, too successfully propagated, in order to portray to the British public the great body of Christians, as profaning that hallowed name, aliens to the great truths attached to its profession, and altogether sunk in the depths and darkness of idolatry. For successive ages have ignorance and malevolence emulously combined to consummate this work of proscription and aspersion. Thus we find a Lady Stewart, in 1826, and in a volume of travels published under the auspices of Sir R. H. Inglis, the representative of England's first University, expressing her deep scandal at, in her interpretation, a blasphemous inscription on the pediment of an Italian church—"Deiparæ Virginis," which the lady is pleased to render—"To the Virgin, the *co-equal* of God," in place of its legitimate and truly christian sense, "the Mother of God." A convent in Syria, we may passingly state, is dedicated to St. Mary Deipara. But, granting all due indulgence for this female solecism, the ministry and education of another traducer, ("traduttore e traditore,") surely disentitle him to any excuse. In Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, (vol. iii. ch. xi.) the preamble to the curse of Ernulphus—"Ex auctoritate Dei omnipotentis, Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.....et intermeratæ Virginis, Dei genitricis Mariæ," is construed—"By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.....and of the undefiled Virgin Mary, Mother and *Patroness* of our Saviour." Now, what in the original can warrant the attribute of *Patroness*, superadded to that of Mother, in this version, of course, to represent our Saviour as subordinate to the Virgin, a doctrine thus covertly imputed by Sterne to the Catholic Church? And this surreptitious slander will be discovered, in literal transcript, under the head of "Gisborne Priory," in Grose's *Antiquities of England*! The

substitution, again, of Mother of our *Saviour*, for the Mother of *God*, by Sterne, is not dissimilar to the Nestorian change of the orthodox Θεοτόκος, to Χριστότόκος, on which Gibbon so complacently dwells, in his eighth volume, page 290, of Milman's edition,\* displaying, at once, his prejudices and his learning.

Limiting our general proofs of those insidious machinations to such cursorily occurring instances, though susceptible of numberless additions, we are arrested at its threshold by the title of M. D'Aubigné's volumes, which challenges some remarks, before we arrive at the text. That title is a high-sounding one, but, in fact, a flagrant misnomer in origin and result, an arrogant self-designation, baseless in right, and, as the source of long and sanguinary contention, deplorable in fact. But words are powerful and seductive—"Les mots sont des choses," was an aphorism of Mirabeau, realized, we may say, in his career; and Livy (lib. xlv. 41.) consonantly observes—"Pleraque nova commenta mortalium in verbis vim habent," adding, what is so appropriate to this usurped, though conventionally allowed, protestant distinction, "experiendo sine ullo effectu evanescent."† Besides, unless the theological school of Geneva differ

\* See the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1839. To this patriarch of our literary journals, we shall have frequent occasion to recur, and to be largely indebted, of which it will be sufficient to give this early and general notice. But whatever we may transfer to these pages, for which, indeed, the subject in its tendency is far more appropriate, can involve no charge of plagiarism, for every word shall be our own; nor will the impeachment more legitimately apply to the introduction here of Sterne's interpolation in the Curse of Ernulphus, although published in the "Reliques of Father Prout," (vol. 2. p. 253.) because the communication to that ingenious effusion was derived also from ourselves.

An association lately formed in America, "to promote religious freedom, &c. in Italy and other papal countries," amongst the books conducive to the purpose, include with special recommendation, M. D'Aubigné's volumes. The instrument is well fitted for the work, which, illusive in aim, will, like Mr. Borrow's mission to Spain, be utterly null in result. It is the speculation of hypocrisy on credulity. Many years ago, some fanatics undertook the respective conversions of the Pope and Grand Turk, a project which this duped society appears satisfied now to restrict, in essay, to the Holy Father. Yet, if less morbidly tainted with fanaticism or folly, their pious exertions would be much better applied at home, where, however, they possibly looked on the late barbarous destruction of Catholic churches and convents, while the officiating attendants and female inmates were exposed to every outrage, as a meritorious act, a bounden duty, like the Iconoclasts of old, or the "Pilgrim Fathers," of intolerent memory, on their own soil.

† Thucydides, lib. iii. § 82, expresses the same thought, which he dilates with complacent extension. "Καὶ τὴν ἐισθύναν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνοματῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ."—The younger Cato, in his speech, (Sallust. Catil. 52.) energetically reproves the misapplication of words, as does Lucretius, IV. 1145, &c. Molière, in his "Misanthrope," (Acte iii. Sc. 5.) follows the Latin poet, whom he had



essentially from the imputed character of that city's religious spirit, it can offer little recommendation, truly, to Christian believers. Two centuries had scarcely passed, (1554—1757,) since the death of Servetus, when D'Alembert, under the article, GENEVE, of his *Encyclopédie*, thus wrote, "Plusieurs des Ministres ne croient plus à la divinité de Jesus Christ, pour laquelle Calvin leur chef, fit bruler Servet." And again—"La religion y est presque réduite à l'adoration d'un seul Dieu, du moins chez tout ce qui n'est pas peuple;" with several confirmatory assertions of the same deistical prevalency of principle in the place. But of their patriarch's rigid code, one characteristic element, almost the sole remaining one—intolerance—retained its empire, as their most celebrated citizen, J. J. Rousseau, while its victim, with such overwhelming eloquence of denunciation, proclaimed to Europe, in his "Lettres de la Montagne," published in 1764. "Les réformés de nos jours," says that powerful writer in the Second Letter, "du moins les Ministres, ne connaissent plus, n'aiment plus leur religion. On leur demande si Jesus Christ est Dieu, ils n'osent répondre.....De tout ceci je conclus, qu'il n'est pas aisé de dire en quoi consiste aujourd'hui la sainte réforme." On the 7th of March of the ensuing year, he wrote to his friend, Dupeyrou—"Il faut quitter ce pays, (Motiers Travers,) il est trop près de Genève; on ne m'y laisserait jamais en repos. Il n'y a guères qu'un pays catholique qui me convienne." And, on the 6th of April following, he wrote to Marshall, (or Earl Marischal,) Keith,—“Toutes mes raisons contre l'Angleterre subsistent; et il suffit qu'il y ait des *ministres* dans ce pays-là, pour me faire craindre d'en approcher.” He did, however, come over, at Hume's urgency, lodged for a while in Craven Street, and thence proceeded to Mr. Davenport's, in Derbyshire; but he and his patron soon

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translated; but of the version, never printed, the only existing remnant is in this scene.

The influence of a name has also tempted the Anglican Protestants to assume that of Catholic, and the followers of Ronge in Germany have likewise adopted it, as with equal right every faction of disputants might do; while the title is refused to the church, which exceeds by seventy millions, (Catholics 126,147,819. Protestants, 56,004,406.) the collected number of all the Protestant denominations in Europe, and which for ages has been distinguished by it. In its proper acceptation, therefore, of relative extension, this claim of comparatively small sections is preposterous to the uttermost; for if made dependent on purity of doctrine, all these heterodox or fantastic offshoots would respectively assert it, and the indiscriminate use would necessarily upset all special application, of course, the object of each.

quarrelled, and he returned to the continent. Similar evidence of Geneva is borne by various other writers, one of the most recent of whom, Mr. S. Laing, in his "Notes of a Traveller," (page 325,) thus describes the state of religion in this birth-place of reform; for *there* the assumed distinction originated, while the Lutherans were designated "Evangelicals, or, more comprehensively, since 1529, Protestants." "Geneva," says Mr. Laing, "the fountain-head from which the pure and living waters of the Scottish Zion flow.....has not the semblance of religion," &c.

After these preliminary observations on the outworks, we now come to consider the body of the work itself, which, we are assured, has produced, on the continent, no impression, in any degree, comparable to the favour created for it in England, by its accordant tone and tenor with the long cherished prepossessions of the people. Abroad, except in the ultra-protestant journal, "*Le Semeur*," it was quickly pronounced wholly devoid of the expanse of view, or largeness of mind, suited to so momentous an undertaking. Seldom, it was declared, had a liberal thought pierced the gloom of Calvinistic dogmatism, or a ray of philosophic light irradiated the abstractions of theological disputation, while, in England, these defects were converted into merits, and every deficiency counterbalanced by its anti-catholic sympathies. The most strenuous efforts have accordingly been made to circulate this fallacious, but, to Anglican bigotry, most acceptable composition. Rapidly translated and by different hands, numerous editions have already spread the mass of mendacious texture, some in complete form, while others, for cheapness of purchase and facility of diffusion, have issued in monthly portions. As a sample of the devices practised to attract the eye and mislead the judgment of the unwary reader, we copy the following exhibition of an opening section in the first volume of the English translation, derived from page 468 of the Rev. S. R. Maitland's "*Dark Ages*," &c.\*

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\* This gentleman is librarian to the Metropolitan Archbishop of England, Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, and though a staunch devoted Protestant, yet, moved by genuine Christian feelings, he vindicates, with impartial appreciation, this misunderstood period from the indiscriminate judgment of utter intellectual darkness too loosely passed on it. He also detects, and exposes with singular clearness of proof, the vile artifices to which Robertson, Jortin, Wharton, Dean Miller, with so many other calumniators, descend, to heap every



“The University— D'AUBIGNE'S REFORMA- Discovery of  
Luther's Piety. TION. the Bible.”

giving the simple reader, of course, to understand, that to Luther was due the discovery of the Sacred Volume. And, indeed, D'Aubigné unequivocally asserts it as a fact. “Un volume qu'il (Luther) ouvre, frappe son attention. Il n'en a pas vu de semblable jusqu' à cette heure..... C'est une bible, livre rare et inconnu jusqu' à ce temps là.” Now, this occurred in 1507, at Erfurth, where he had passed two years, and above half a century after the invention of printing. Indeed, the book bearing the earliest date, the Psalter of Mentz, preceded what is here stated, and which, from its importance, we give in the writer's

vituperation on the church of that era. Mr. D'Aubigné, too, was not inactive in the same unchristian work. But the most powerful light has been thrown on these ages by Mr. Digby's “*Mores Catholici*”—a mine, it may be truly said, of mediæval erudition, and evidence, not only of special, but of the most extensive sphere of acquirements. Few are there, we would undertake to demonstrate, of the great modern advances in arts or sciences, of which the germ, the *πρώτον νόημα*, is not traceable to those undervalued times, though, of course, we may boast of far superior enlightenment.

“*Ἡμεῖς τοι παρίεν μὴ δεινόνες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι.*”

Anxious to claim justice for this interesting epoch, we must not overstep the limits of truth, or suffer our advocacy to transgress, by exaggeration, those boundaries the proceeding beyond which would impair its effect by impeaching its credibility. Like most objects of contention, the Middle Ages have been both underrated and unduly magnified in accruing benefits to mankind.

Perhaps the most extraordinary monument of early mediæval literature now extant is the volume of a nun, “*Hrosvithæ Illustris Virginis et Monialis, Gente Saxonica ortæ, Opera;*” first printed at Nuremberg in 1501, folio, and again at Wittenberg, 1717, 4to. Her birth was probably in 933, and her death in 1002. She passed her religious life at the convent of Gandersheim, in Brunswick, where she composed eight legendary tales, with six dramatic pieces, all in Latin, of considerably superior purity to that of most coeval writers, as Eloisa's was to Abelard's. The dramas are modelled after Terence, “*ad emulationem Terentii;*” whom she read assiduously for this end, as did Nicole preparatory to his translation of Pascal's Provincial Letters, while she studiously avoided the Latin poet's occasionally rather too sensual delineations of passion. One of the dramatic compositions, grounded on the story of Abdias in the apocryphal gospel of St. John, (Joannis Alberti Fabricii Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, tom. ii. p. 542. Hamburgi, 1719.) presents, it has been observed, a singular resemblance to Shakspere's Romeo and Juliet, in various respects—particularly in the catastrophe, the scene in the tomb, &c.; except that the power of St. John is here exerted to recall to life the impassioned lovers, whom our great poet abandons to their mortal fate. We are not aware that the researches of Shakspere's editors have extended to this curious volume; for Stevens, the most industrious of them, refers to Luigi da Porto, who died in 1529, as the earliest narrator of the tale, though contradicted by the title of the book which contains it, because its expressed recent *recovery* necessarily implies an anterior existence—“*Historia nuovamente ritrovata,*” &c. This Italian writer's original was probably our German recluse's production, to the publication of which, after it had been five centuries in manuscript, he was contemporaneous. Of the Legends also, *that* bearing the title of “*Paphnusius and Thais,*” in object and incidents will be found nearly repeated in the Colloquy of Erasmus, “*Adolescens et Scortum;*” and again by old Decker, in his “*Honest W—;*” still untainted in the original with any license of phrase; which may equally be stated of another Legend, the

language, tome i. p. 197, Paris edition, (though our general references shall be to the translation,) by exactly fifty years. But, a short time previously, the first great effort of the art, and *that*, as was meet, the BIBLE, (known as the Mazarine Bible,) had appeared; and, in the succeeding interval to 1507, various editions had been published in Italy, France, and Germany; and many, many thousand copies were disseminated through Europe, more especially in those countries which have remained faithful to the Catholic creed; a proof that it produced not the self-called Reformation. See the seven *prior* volumes of Panzer's *Annales Typographici*, (Nuremberg: 1791—1803,) with "Fred. Ad. Ebert's *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexicon*, (Leipsic: 1821—1830, 2 vol. 4to.) And costly as the manuscripts had previously been, they were by no means so very rare, particularly in the monasteries, where their transcription was the prescribed employment of the cenobites. Even now, unless enhanced in value by great antiquity, or some adventitious embellishments, they are not of difficult acquisition. No library of note is without them; and there are few booksellers who would not provide a copy for the tithe of what the material, uniformly vellum, and the penmanship, would cost. We have seldom seen them, in ordinary condition, though with illuminated initials, produce more, at auction, than from five to ten guineas; and we have made the purchase ourselves,

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"*Passio Sancti Gandolfi*," though the punishment of this nominal saint's guilty wife betrays, in a striking degree, the unrefined taste of the age, exemplifying Boileau's reproach to the language in which the lady wrote—"Le Latin dans ses mots brave l'honnêteté." (*Art Poétique*, Chant ii.) Yet her words on the occasion, however indecorous in social usage, may well, indeed, excite a risible, but can inflame no corruptive sensation. The unseemly privilege granted by the Emperor Claudian, as we read in Suetonius, (cap. 52.) will explain the circumstance. Our old acquaintance, M. Charles Magnin, a late advertisement informs us, has just published a translation of this mediæval production in French. It would well deserve from our reviewers a regular notice; for which, independently of the original, might be consulted, "*L'Esprit des Journeaux*, for April, 1788;" M. Villemain's "*Tableau de la Littérature du Moyen Age*," (tome ii.) and J. Grimm's "*Lateinische Gedichte des X. und XI. Jähr-hunderte*," (Göttingen, 1838, 8vo.) We can discover no advertence to the learned nun's compositions in Mr. Hallam's "*Middle Ages*," nor in Mr. Digby's elaborate "*Mores Catholici*." The Rev. Mr. Berrington appears equally unacquainted with them; and, as far as we can learn, so are all our explorers of mediæval literature. The matter is consequently new in England, and surely not devoid of interest. We may, therefore, trust that this incidental digression will be viewed with some indulgence, were it only for its associated analogy with one of the master-pieces of our mighty bard—

"Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, et omnes  
Restinxit stellas, exortus uti æthereus Sol."

*Lucretius* iii. 1056.



both in England and on the Continent, within those limits. When, therefore, so many have survived the waste of time or wreck of accidents, their original scarcity could not have been so considerable. We could accumulate testimonies of the fact; but one from Sir Frederick Madden's address to the Gentleman's Magazine in December, 1836, on the subject of the celebrated Alchuine Bible, now, at the price of £750, in the British Museum, will be sufficient; as his position in that great literary receptacle, and extensive reading, abundantly exemplified in this letter, cannot be too highly estimated in imparting weight to his evidence. After passing, with rapid notice, the many ancient bibles of peculiar value in Europe, he adds, "If the space would permit, I could increase the list by describing other Bibles, less remarkable," of which he names nineteen, still much appreciated, without reckoning "several more in various monastic libraries of France, Italy, Germany, and Spain." And, of the copies yet subsisting, of the New Testament, or Psalms, "the bare enumeration," he subjoins, "would fill a moderate sized volume," while we confidently maintain that the discoverable manuscripts of the divine volume, in its entireness, amount to many hundreds.\*

Our Genevan theologian is, therefore, perfectly unwarranted in his statement; for Bibles were not only known, but in sufficient supply to answer every demand, when the capacity of reading was comparatively uncommon. In similar opposition to truth, M. D'Aubigné, at page 52 of his first volume in the English version of 1842, introduces, "Thomas Linacre, (not Linacer, as there apparent,) a learned and celebrated divine, who had never read the New Testament, until drawing near his end in 1524, he called for it, but quickly threw it from him with an oath, because his eye had caught the words, '*But I say unto you, swear not at all.*' Either this is not gospel, said he, or we are not Christians." For this no evidence is adduced, nor does any entitled to the least confidence exist. Selden's second volume, "*De Synedriis Ebræorum*," the authority usually referred to, was not published till 1653, or one hundred and twenty-nine years subsequent to the death of the great physician, who instituted the College of his profession, and was, doubtless, one of

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\* See the article on the Bible and Reformation, in No. 6 of this Journal.

the most elegant scholars of the time, but who did not engage in holy orders till his sixtieth year, in 1519, for the enjoyment of a benefice, as we have seen military officers of the present day, after successive campaigns, equally do. But so far was Linacre from being a learned and celebrated divine, as here exhibited in order to show that, even to the most learned men of the priesthood, the Bible was a closed volume, that he is wholly unknown, except as our earliest medical celebrity, while, on divinity he never wrote an existing line or preached a word. And, as for Selden's own sentiments on indiscriminate Bible reading, they are emphatically declared in his "Table Talk," reprinted in 1789 with a Dedication to Charles Fox. "Scrutamini Scripturas," are two words which have undone the world," says he, adding, "because Christ spoke thus to his disciples, therefore must all men, women, and children, read and interpret the scriptures." But truly the boasted right of private judgment or interpretation of Holy Writ, "is more in the word, and less in the thing," as Sterne expressed of French magniloquence. So, likewise, is it construed by the Protestant philosopher, Benjamin Constant, who thus ridicules the pretension in his treatise, "*De la Religion considérée dans sa source*," (tome 1, Paris, 1826,) where he observes that, "while the Catholic Church declares to her disciples—Believe, and do not examine; the Protestant desires her followers to examine, but to believe, as if they had not examined." And similarly, "if the Catholic Church claims infallibility, her rival will not allow that she can err."

Before we proceed further, we beg here to disclaim all intention of entering into the field of theological controversy with our author, whom we commit, for that purpose, to the correction of professionally qualified, and more competent hands. Our animadversions shall only regard the historical narrative, general or personal, when it wanders from fact or fairness of construction, either, as will too often be found, to bend it to the prejudice of Catholicity in demonstrative misstatement, or from any more pardonable source of error. We shall consider him solely as a historian; yet, should we succeed in establishing the charge of frequent and conscious misrepresentation—of the suppression of truth and substitution of falsehood—where the cause we have undertaken may



render it necessary, we shall make him, thus impaired in authority and reduced in confidence, an easier conquest on doctrinal diversities of creed.

To the impeachment of Linacre's ecclesiastical competency and character, cited above, M. D'Aubigné adjoins some remarks on the affectation of Cardinal Bembo, with other Italians, "who translated the word of God into the style of Virgil and Horace." But he withholds the extenuating fact, that this prince of the church was not then in priestly orders, nor for many years after; for he was still more advanced in years than Linacre, when ordained, (1470—1535,) and for the residue of his life to 1547, nothing of conduct or composition, unfitting the sacred profession, could be imputed to him. But as may be seen in the above cited article of Number VI. of this Review, an ultra-reformer, Sebastian Castalio, translated the whole Bible into the same Augustan diction. It was so favourably received in England, that extracts were selected for the use of schools, with the title of "*Dialogi Sacri ad Linguam recte formandam, et ad vitam sancte instituendam*," of which we have now present to our view the eleventh edition, with the date of 1700. At the evangelical salutation, in the opening chapter of St. Luke, we read, "*Gabriel Geniūs Mariæ nūciat*," and the same change of Genius for Angelus, constantly occurs. In St. Matthew, xv. 22. "*ἡ θυγάτηρ μου κακῶς δαιμονίζεται*," is rendered, "*filia mea male a dæmonio vexatur*," in our Vulgate, and here, "*filiam habeo quæ Furia misere agitur*," and at chapter xxi. 25. "*Τὰ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου*" is interpreted "*Lotio Joannis*." These specimens may be opposed, in retort, to the reproof of Bembo.

Melancthon (vol. ii. p. 135,) is stated, in an interview with his mother, "who was urgent in her entreaties that he would continue in the faith of his fathers, to have excused himself with much moderation and reserve, for fear of wounding her conscience." On another occasion, however, he carried this feeling much farther; for he advised her not to change her creed or habit of devotion. "*Ut pergeret hoc credere et orare quod credidisset et orasset hactenus*." So we are assured by Melchior Adam his Protestant biographer. (*Vitæ Theologorum*, in Oppert. tom. 1. Francof. 1706.) Our learned Usher, on the contrary, quarrelled with his mother for maintaining her original faith; but though unquestionably one of the most

eminent men of his age, he was intensely bigoted, as he lost no occasion of showing; most conspicuously, however, in 1627, when he presided at a convocation of twelve bishops, and pronounced the sufferance of Popery, as a religion, quite irrespective of all political objection, or like Milton and Locke, in retaliation of its imputed intolerance, "to be a deadly sin." The fact we learn from the "*Vitæ Selectorum Virorum*," of Mr. Bates; the *Biographia Britannica*, vol. vii. and Aikin's *Life of Usher*, p. 252.

M. D'Aubigné applauds, as we may infer, the rejection by Zuinglius of good works in co-operation with faith, as necessary constituents of justification. The Swiss heresiarch repels in no moderate language, (as we see at page 466, volume the second,) the Catholic tenet, as senseless and impious. "*Sequitur meritum nostrorum operum nihil esse quam vanitatem et stultitiam ne dicam impietatem et ignorantem impudentiam*," following out, adds M. D'Aubigné, the great truth, that salvation is the work of God. And yet in his subsequent "*Christianæ Fidei Brevis et Clara Expositio*," addressed to Francis the First, Zuinglius opens wide the portals of heaven, and dispenses salvation to all good and great men, whether sanctified by Christian faith, or plunged in heathen darkness. Not only the patriarchs of old, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, &c., but the heroes of paganism, Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, Aristides, Numa, the *Fulmina Belli*, or Scipios, and other illustrious names, are called to the enjoyment of the Beatific Vision, in that strange volume, (printed in 1536, 8vo.) page 37. Our author, of course, adverts not to this glaring contradiction; but it passed not unnoticed nor unrebuked with fulminant reprobation, by Bossuet, in his unanswerable *History of Protestant Variations*.

Our Henry VIII. it is asserted by M. D'Aubigné, (pp. 111—114) "boldly advanced the obsolete authority of his crown over the continent, and more particularly over France." Like his predecessors and successors until 1801, he, no doubt, and most absurdly bore the vain title of king of France, but never surely did he pretend to an ascendant power over the continent, where the town of Calais had long been the sole possession of England, whose own imperial claim was even declared derivative from the crown of Ireland, by the Council of Constance, in 1417. The fact will be found in the rare and curious



"Disceptatio super Dignitate Regnorum Britannicorum et Gallicorum, habita ab utriusque Oratoribus, in Concilio Constantiense," printed at Louvain, 1517, 12mo. and republished by Henry Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, London, 1691, 2 vols. folio. Great as the ambition of England may be supposed, it never contemplated the dominion of all Europe.

In a subsequent page, (165) our theologian, in distinguishing the characters of Loyola and Luther, a subject which has also engaged the more impartial consideration of Mr. Macauley, in the *Edinburgh Review*, represents the Jesuit Patriarch, "as a slave to dreams and apparitions, while the great Reformer only owed obedience to the infallible will of God." But the eulogist forgets, or presumes on the reader's forgetting, what he had stated of Luther's vision, and encounter with the demon, at an anterior page, (42) as well as the Elector of Saxony's dream, with the tenor and event of which he seems so unphilosophically struck. Most notorious, truly, is the Reformer's superstitious indulgence in visions, of which so many proofs are produced by Michelet, (*Mémoires de Luther*, Paris, 1836, 2 vols. 8vo.) and which, included in "the many strange things that Luther said and wrote, crowned by his letter to our Henry in 1526, appeared in Mr. Hallam's estimation, almost to justify the supposition, that there was a vein of insanity in his very remarkable character." (*Constitutional History*, vol. 1. p. 80.) Moreover, to say that Luther's sole guidance was the infallible will of God, is a virtual assertion of the Reformer's own infallibility, as that word was made wholly dependent on his interpretation of it, and his Golden Rule, as he termed it, would allow no other. (*Mosheim*, vol. 4. p. 305.)

Pope Adrian VI. is described immediately after, as a monk, which is an error, for that pontiff had never been in monastic orders; and the author is equally mistaken, at page 475, in making Francis I. the cousin-german of his predecessor Louis XII. It was the father of Francis, who stood in that relation to Louis. In the first volume likewise, page 125, the edition of Erasmus by John Le Clerc (*Θιλόπονος*) is erroneously ascribed to the press of Liege, instead of Leyden, where it appeared in 1703, 10 vol. folio.

Mr. D'Aubigné, after claiming as an established fact, an indisputable superiority, the fruit of Luther's innova-

tion, for his creed in every department of intellectual exercise or moral practice, then triumphantly (vol. iii. p. 243.) adds, "Thus every thing progressed; arts, literature, purity of worship, and the minds of prince and people." In the delineation of history, however, we cannot discover much to corroborate these comprehensive vaunts. It surely is not in the character of our Henry and his court, nor in that of the subsequent agents of reform, as revealed to us in the dark exposures of Mr. Fraser Tytler, from documentary evidence, (State Papers, vol. ii.) and Dr. Taylor; nor again, in Scotland, as depicted by the former historian, (History of Scotland, vi. p. 221 and p. 366.) or by Robertson (vol. i. p. 366.) The Danish prince, Christiern II., will hardly sustain our author's encomium; nor will Albert of Brandenburg, Ulrich of Wirtemberg, or Philip of Hesse—all singularly devoid of moral principle, and by whom Catholicity was proscribed, and Lutheranism adopted in their respective dominions. Shortly after, we encounter Henry the Fourth of France, the most licentious of men while marching in front of reform; and his contemporary, our first James, whom Henry, in his Correspondence with the President in 1608, designates by an unutterable epithet, which has unfortunately derived strength from the disclosures of our State Papers. (See Von Raumer's *Beiträge zur Neueren Geschichte*, aus dem Britische Museum, Erster Band, and Mr. Mackay's *Popular Delusions*, vol. i. p. 235.) But this charge repels discussion; and as Tacitus states of the laws of the Germans on such subjects, (*Germania*, cap. xii.) "*flagitia abscondi oportet.*" Far different, truly, was that age from M. D'Aubigné's representation, and most profligate, as well as unprincipled, in the characters of the Protestant courts. And of the people, the sanguinary insurrection of the peasants in Suabia, Thuringia, &c., immediately consequent on the innovation, and the Anabaptist outrages, with the description of every other country at that period, will be fair grounds of judgment. Nothing can less bear the test of history than this claim for improvement in Protestant sovereigns or their peoples, in contradistinction to the Catholics. On this subject we can adduce testimony, which to M. D'Aubigné must be unobjectionable, from the marked favour manifested by himself for its source. At page 241 of his third volume, the Arnauld family, so conspicuous in the annals



of Port-Royal, is mentioned in terms of highest praise, and complacently, though most untruly, aggregated to the abettors of reform, in our controvertist's sense of the word. The chief of the name in talent, celebrity, and influence was, beyond doubt, the younger Antoine, distinguished consequently as "le grand Arnauld; who, in his *"Apologie pour les Catholiques contre les Faussetés de M. Jurieu,"* vol. i. p. 332, thus compares the Catholics and their adversaries: "Cette première ferveur apparente, dont ces prétendus réformateurs tâchaient d'éblouir le monde, s'est bientôt évanouie.....et il ne faut que compter les deux Eglises pour juger sans peine, qui est celle qui a plus de marques d'être la véritable épouse du Fils de Dieu, où reside son esprit, et où il répand ses grâces." This is the evidence of a witness invoked by M. D'Aubigné, as above cited, on his own side! Of Jurieu's reply, we may only notice that, at page 382, tome ii., among the Protestants whose deserts and sanctity would entitle them to the beatification conferred, for their merits and piety, on Catholics, the foremost on the list is our virgin queen Elizabeth! "Nous ferions aussi un gros catalogue des Saints, si nous voulions le composer de tous les honnêtes gens qui ont été de notre parti. Nous y mettrions la reine Elizabeth d'Angleterre," &c. History affords the best commentary on such a choice for heaven. Yet the same Jurieu, in his "Avis aux Protestans," which precedes his "Prejugés Légitimes contre le Papisme," (Amsterd. 1685, 12mo.) acknowledges "que le plus grand de tous les maux des Protestans, c'est leur extrême corruption." And for the people—the emphatically Protestant people—of England, can imagination form a more hideous picture of moral debasement than that exhibited in the parliamentary reports, more especially in Lord Ashley's?

As for the advance in arts and literature here assumed, the delusive paralogism, "post hoc, ergo ab hoc," is truly wielded with reckless confidence, for the intellectual movement had preceded the Reformation; which, like the French revolution, for some time at least, rather impeded than accelerated the progress of rational improvement; and the impulse of civilization, in every sense, was far more extensively felt in France and Italy than in England, or any other seat of reform. During the entire sixteenth century, the English press, as we had occasion to observe in the already quoted article of this Review, No. 6, did not

produce a single citable classic; while to Catholics the learned are indebted *exclusively* for the first publication of *every* Latin one, and of nearly all the Greek. And can a competition be for a moment sustained in painting, architecture, or music? Some misgivings, indeed, escape our historian on this rivalry. "Let Roman Catholicism," he says, (vol. iii. p. 239.) "pride itself on being more favourable than Protestantism to the arts: be it so; paganism was even more so." He quickly recovers, however, from this forced avowal; and concludes, in respect to music, by asserting, "that the impulse communicated to it at the period of the Reformation, has more recently produced those noble oratorios, which have carried the art to its highest point of attainment." The natural inference from this bold assertion would be, that to Protestantism sacred music was most, if not exclusively indebted: while, on the contrary, it was from the sphere of Catholicity that the alleged impulse proceeded, and there, too, has its subsequent progress been ever most conspicuous. With the reserve, in truth of Handel, the family of Bach, and a very few more, it would be difficult to discover a name of first eminence in the opposite ranks. Every Italian composer, from Palestrina,\* the "*Musicæ Princeps*" of the sixteenth century, to Rossini of our own day, as might be expected, was a Catholic. With Palestrina we may associate his Belgian rival, Roland de Lattres, known in Italy as Orlando di Lasso; (See M. Delmotte's *Notice* of him, Valenciennes, 1816, 8vo.) and descending to our modern artists, even of Germany, the most eminent—Haydn, the matchless Haydn, as Dr. Burney (vol. iv. 599) distinguishes

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\* It was on Palestrina's violin, as we have read, that the following antithetic distich was found inscribed:

"Viva fui in sylvis; sum dura occisa securi;  
Dum vixi tacui; mortua dulce sono."

The musical scale—"Ut, (or Do) RE, MI, FA, SOL, LA, SI, corresponding to our C, D, E, F, G, A, B—has been thus expressed; and in the second line embraces, in succession, all these notes (with the exception of Si):

"Cur adhibes tristi numeros cantumque labori?  
Ut relevet miserum fatum solitosque labores."

(See *Bibliotheca Fabricii Med. et Infimæ Latinitatis*, tom. iii.)

However, the names of the notes of the scale are more properly referred to the opening lines of the Hymn of St. John the Baptist:

"Ut queant laxis resonare fibris,  
Mira gestorum famuli tuorum,  
Solve polluti labii reatum,  
Sancte Johannes."



him, Glück, Mozart, Weber, and Beethoven, are surely unsurpassed in merit; all Catholics, too.

The German hymns of Luther, to whom his native tongue is under such obligations, are still read with pleasure for their racy diction; but in chant or harmony, their accompanying music, like the dissonant intonations of some of our sectarian conventicles, was little commendable. Among these early canticles of his church from other contributors, one of the most admired is the "Herr Christ, du einziger Gottes Sohn," generally attributed to the female reformer Elizabeth Kreutziger, but ascertained to have been the composition of Andrew Knoepken (or Knoff), the friend of Buzenhagen, and introducer of Lutheranism into Livonia. Yet, whatever may have been the inspiring power of such religious accessories, it will hardly be compared in influence with the deep pathos of the Catholic hymns, on which the great masters of harmony have for centuries exercised their talents. It was not from his native idiom that Göethe selected the hymn which so sensitively affected poor Gretchen (Margaret) in the cathedral, when the Evil Spirit, "Böser Geist," impressed on her mind her contrasted feelings, on hearing the "Dies Iræ" in her days of former innocence and actual guilt. (Faust, page 225, edit. Tübingen, 1825.) The "Stabat Mater" of Rossini excites at this moment the enthusiastic applause of the musical world; and the touching canticle has ever been the theme of predilection and achievement of renown to the most eminent professors of the art—to Palestrina, to Pergolesi, whose premature decease precluded its termination, and to Haydn, (See Burney's *History of Music*, vol. i., p. 57; with Gretry's "*Essai sur la Musique*," tome i. p. 421.) To the *old* German composers, on the other hand, we may concur with Burney in applying the lines of Hudibras, though somewhat varied in their purpose. (Burney, iv. p. 589.)

"As if *their music* were intended  
For nothing else but to be mended."

A rapid advertence to those Catholic monuments of religious effusion may not here be unacceptable to the reader, as we believe that no special English work exists on the subject; nor, probably, in any other modern language. The rhyming or assonent measure of the hymns, which so greatly facilitates their chanted recitation, was first intro-

duced by St. Ambrose, to whom twelve are ascribed by St. Austin, St. Isidore, Bede, Cassiodorus, &c., as we learn from Alban Butler's Lives of Saints, under the 7th of December. There we find enumerated, as the composition of this ornament of our Church—The “Deus Creator Omnium,” “Jam Surgit Hora Tertia,” “Veni Redemptor Gentium,” “Illuminans Altissimus,” “Æterna Christi Munera,” “Somno Refectis Artubus,” “Consorts Paterni Luminis,” “O Lux, Beata Trinitas,” “Fit Porta Christi Pervia.” From other authorities we also find, that he was author of the “Veni Creator,” sung at Pentecost, and of the “Jesu! Nostra Redemptio,” destined to commemorate the Ascension, as well as the “Audi Benigne Conditor,” forming the forementioned number of twelve. The Paschal Hymn of “Vexilla Regis Prodeunt,” also sung the 3rd of May, the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, was by Venetius Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, who died about the year 609. The poet Prudentius, of the fourth century, composed some of the more ancient, and others are by St. Hilary, St. Gregory the Great, Gregory VII. and Innocent III. Several additional names of Roman Pontiffs also appear in the list, but see, “Opera Georgii Cassandri,” (Paris, 1616, folio.) Among these contributors to our psalmody likewise, stands, as might be expected, the Angelic Doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas, to whom we owe the “*Pange Lingua Gloriosi Corporis Mysterium*,” (for the “*Pange Lingua Gloriosi Prælium Certaminis*,” was by Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, in Dauphiny,) with the “Adoro Te,” and the impressive “Lauda Sion,” in celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi. Some of the latter's stanzas are of striking spirit. We shall instance the fifth and twelfth, to which we may be allowed to annex an anonymous, though, indeed, a very inferior version in Greek.

## V.

“Sit laus plena, sit sonora,  
Sit jucunda, sit decora,  
Mentis jubilatio.”—

## XII.

“Quod non capis, quod non vides,  
Animosa firmat fides;  
Præter rerum ordinem.”

## ε

“Πλήρης ὕμνος οὕς τ' ἔστω  
Ἡδὺς ἔστω ἀλαλαγμός  
Των φρένων καὶ πρέπωδης.”

## ι B

“Ὁ γ' οὐ λαμβάνεις, ορας τε,  
Πίστις πλάθμος, ἐκύρωσε,  
Καὶ παρ' εἰρμόν πραγμάτων.”

The “Gloria, Laus et Honor,” sung in the church-pro-



cession on Palm Sunday, is attributed to Theodolphus, bishop of Orleans in the ninth century; but the avowedly most affecting of those heavenly-inspired orisons, that which produces the deepest emotion, is the "Dies Iræ." It is to Latino Frangipani, (of the illustrious family, whose beneficence to the poor entitled them to that name, as Bayle, in a special article, relates,) a Dominican brother of the thirteenth century, that this pathetic invocation is now generally accorded, although by some claimed for St. Bernard, and by others for Hubertus de Romanis, the fifth general of the Dominican Order. It has even been the supposed production of a penitent criminal, and recited by him on his way to execution; but the weight of testimony is in favour of Frangipani, whom his maternal uncle, Pope Nicholas III. (Gaetano Orsini,) raised to the purple in 1278, and who was not less patronized by the successive Pontiffs, Honorius IV. Nicholas IV. and Celestine V. until his death in November, 1294. He was more usually known as the Cardinal Malabranca.

Of the multiplied translations which we have read of this sublime hymn, none can bear a competition with Lord Roscommon's, whom Fenton, in his "Observations on Waller's Poems," (edit. 1729, p. 136,) represents, as repeating, in his last moments, the touching deprecation of the seventeenth stanza of his own version, (which ends in the original with, "Gere curam mei finis.")

"My God, my Father and my Friend!  
Do not forsake me in my end."

Our young and gifted friend, Ed. Kenealy, Esq., has also made a very spirited translation of this canticle, while a great many others in the foregoing enumeration have found various additional interpreters, such as Dryden and Southwell in England, with Corneille, La Fontaine, and La Harpe in France, besides several in Italy. The second line of the Dies Iræ, originally and usually expressed, "Teste David cum Sybilla," is changed in the Parisian Breviary, we perceive, into "Crucis expandens vexilla," probably to avoid the pagan testimony of the Sybil, which, in juxta-position with that of David, is indeed, somewhat anomalous. Vida's *Hymns*, forming a part of his works, are quite of a different character; and those of Santeuil, which enrich the French breviaries, though far more classical, are much less impressive than

the homely outpourings of mediæval fervour. Like Sancteuil's, the hymns of the Jesuit Oudin, in the *Office* of St. Francis Xavier, are of the purest latinity.

These thrilling emanations of devotion have ever been the theme of admiration. Dante, occasionally, and with reverential allusion, quotes them. Thus, in his *Purgatorio*, we find—

“TE LUCIS ANTE, si devotamente,  
Gli uscì di bocca con sì dolci note,  
Che fece me a me uscir di mente.—*Canto viii. 13.*”

And again, at the close of *Canto IX.*—

“Io mi rivolsi attento al primo tuono ;  
Et TE DEUM LAUDAMUS, mi pareo,  
Udir in voce mista al dolce suono.”

Goethe and Scott have not less sensibly felt their deep impression, and, indeed, to these addresses to heaven may well be applied Milton's sublimity of thought—

“Of charming symphony they introduce  
Their sacred song, and waken raptures high.”

We have now to encounter our reverend historian on another field of contest, that of the relative merits of painters, formed under the auspices of our respective churches; for, in this art, with still less restrained hardihood of assertion than in that of which we have just combated his claim of superiority, he arrogates the pre-eminence also for his side. At page 242, of the third volume, he introduces on this subject, Lucas Crānach, a friend and follower of Luther, as the “great master of the age.” It would not be easy, indeed, to evince greater contempt for the taste or information of his readers than these words betray, and thus confidently to elevate in supremacy of talent, a comparatively obscure artist, in presence of the glories of the profession, and of that age which generated Michael Angelo, Raffaello, Titian, the omniscient Leonardo da Vinci, Sebastiano del Piombo, Giulio Romano, Bastiniano, Correggio, Cellini, Holbein, with so many more, the contemporaries of M. D'Aubigné's little known and most ill-chosen champion. And if, in the comprehensive latitude of the eulogist's language, we stretch our comparison through the succeeding years of that century, what a brilliant mass of Catholic genius, signalizes, by



birth or achievement, its further course, from Paul Veronese to Claude Lorrain, born in 1600, and its last offspring! Until lately the name of Cranach would be vainly sought for in our dictionaries; nor until a recent period were his works apparent in the Louvre, where some now are to be seen. The most admired is, "St. John in the Wilderness," in which Melancthon figures as the Saint; but another, "Hercules and Omphale," represents John Frederick, the *reformed* Elector of Saxony, *encircled by his mistresses*, although the recognized head of Protestantism, and declared chief of its confederation, the league of Smalkalde. But in every sense, Cranach was of subordinate instead of primary talent, "son dessein étant mesquin, et d'un caractère appauvri," as stated by Huber, in his "Catalogue du Cabinet de M. Brindes," (Leipzig, 1793, 8vo.)

To the flood of light poured from the bosom of Catholicity on this ground of contention, what character of commensurate splendour can the adverse side produce, with the single exception of Albert Durer, whose genius, inferior perhaps to none in native power, solely wanted that refinement of taste, or ultimate finish, which the contemplation and rivalry of excellence, then and now chiefly presented in Italy, could alone impart, to rank amongst the foremost of his profession? M. D'Aubigné, however, most unauthorizedly assigns his master-pieces to the period which followed, in order to make them the inspirations of, the reformation; for the best of them, the "Crucifixion," which now enriches the imperial gallery at Vienna, bears the distinct and anterior date of 1511. His "Execution of the Martyrs," is marked 1508, and the "Adoration of the Magi," with his "Adam and Eve," were also of an earlier period, while no subsequent production, during the few years he survived, were, in any degree, of equal merit. As an engraver, he was not less eminent, and, from the wider circulation of his works, much more generally celebrated. (See Jackson's "History of Wood Engraving," 1839, &c.) M. D'Aubigné ventures not an advertence to architects: he is right, and acts more prudently than in engaging in those other equally unsustainable contests; for even in England, her first in renown, Inigo Jones, was a Catholic; and so, we may proudly add, is Mr. Pugin, who now stands in similar eminence of fame. With equal consciousness of inferiority, he eschews all com-

petition in statuary, as he discreetly should have done in painting. "The Church of Rome," wrote Sir D. Wilkie from Italy in 1827, (Life by A. Cunningham, vol. 1.) "has ever been the nurse of arts, but painting has been its favourite child. The art of painting seems made for the service of Christianity—would that the Catholics were not the only sect that had seen its advantages!" Mr. Westmacott, in his Lectures, is not less emphatic, while far more extensive in the assertion of Catholic patronage, embracing, as it has ever done, the whole circle of the Fine Arts. Their effects on man's devotion in temples of worship, contrasted with the coldness of feeling resulting from their absence, is forcibly portrayed in Schiller's "Maria Stuart," by Mortimer, nephew to the royal captive's keeper, Sir Amyas Paulet.

"Ich hatte nie der Künste Machte gefühlt,  
 Es hast die Kirche, die mich auferzog,  
 Der sinne Reiz, Kein Abbild duldet sie,  
 Allein des Körperlose Wort verehrend,  
 Wie wurde mir, als ich ins Innre nur,  
 Der Kirchen trat, und die Musik der Himmel  
 Herunterstieg, und der Gestalten Fülle,  
 Verschwenderisch aus Wand und Decke quoll,  
 Das Herrlichste und Höchste, gegenwärtig,  
 Vor den entzückten Sinnen sich bewegte,  
 Als ich sie selbst nun sah, die Göttlichen,  
 Den Gruss des Engels, die Geburt des Herrn,  
 Die heilige Mutter die herabgestiegne  
 Dreyfaltigkeit, die leuchtende Verklärung."

Thus far, as relates to the FINE ARTS, our historian's pretensions, whether asserted or insinuated, will appear, we trust, neither unsuccessfully nor unfairly opposed, although the refutation for its necessary effect, has been more lengthened than we would have desired. And the same necessity will more or less apply, as we proceed to consider his further assumptions; for, as observed on a former occasion, and as a great French writer remarks, "Une ligne peut renfermer des erreurs, qu'il faut des volumes pour réfuter." Our authorities shall be, as they have studiously been, of M. D'Aubigné's own creed or favour, on any *contestable* point. *No instance* of the contrary, we expect, will be discoverable.

To proceed, then, with our author's claim of precedence for the partisans of Reform, we may ask, whether in litera-



ture, when the study of the classics constituted its leading culture, were the Italian commentators, to whom Europe owes essentially the restoration of letters, were the Manutii, Victorius, Sigonius, Turnebus, Muretus, with numerous others, surpassed in critical acumen, inferior in elucidation, or less felicitous, in defining the genuine texts? And in native productions during that century, what rivals, within the precincts of Protestantism, can be opposed to Ariosto, Tasso, Vega, Ercilla y Zuniga, (author of the epic, "*La Araucana*," ) Camoens, or Cervantes, except the solitary name of Spencer in England? The religion of Shakspeare is nowhere unequivocally announced, a silence which sufficiently establishes its character, at a time when the profession of the dominant creed was the only road to favour, and that of the persecuted faith, a sure exposure to every danger of fortune and person. His father's Catholic belief rests undisputed on the evidence of his extant will, given by Malone, vol. 1. p. 330, of his edition (1780) of the poet. The great and well-founded boast of Holland at that period, Justin Vanden Vondel, abandoned the Anabaptists, and became a Catholic. Again, in France, of which Calvin (p. 641,) is declared both the reformer of the country's creed and language, who does, or patiently could, read his compositions in his native tongue, while Comines, long anterior to him, and Amyot his coeval, are perused with constant pleasure. Yet we are aware that his French style is praised by D'Alembert and Villemain, nor is it depreciated by Bossuet, "*Donnons lui donc*," says his great adversary, "*cette gloire*," (Variations, liv. ix.) words more of concession than conviction, in order not to dispute Calvin's claim to the merit, as advanced in his "*Defensio contra Westphalum*," (Opusc. p. 842.) But, as compared with Amyot, the opinion of a contemporary and most competent judge, Michel de Montaigne, decides the superiority. In his *Essays*, (livre. ii. ch. 4.) he says, "*Je donne avec raison, ce me semble, la palme à Jacques Amyot sur tous nos écrivains François*," and of Comines he is scarcely less laudatory, (liv. ii. ch. 10.) Of the old Flemish historian, Madame de Sévigné, no inferior authority, also observes, in her letter of 14th of November, 1678, "*Son style donne une grâce particulière à la solidité de son raisonnement*." Calvin's Latin diction is, indeed, entitled to praise, and the dedication of his great achievement, "*Christianæ Religionis Institutio*," to Francis I. is classed

with the few worthy of distinction, in that prostituted line of authorship. But the celebrated volume assuredly deserves not the absurd exaggeration of eulogy bestowed on it by its writer's disciple, Thury, (Thurius.)

"Præter Epistolicas post Christi tempora chartas,  
Huic peperere libros secula nulla pares."

As for the reformation of morals in France attributed, as above, to Calvin, we have already discussed the subject; but we cannot pass unrebuked M. D'Aubigné's assertion, at page 241 of his third volume, "that the literary value of the Port-Royal productions was the result of the *first* Antoine Arnauld having been a Protestant." It is possible that in early youth, when following the fortunes of the arch-traitor Bourbon, who fell at the sack of Rome, in 1527, this patriarch of the family may, for a while, have swerved from his native faith; but he most certainly reverted to it when appointed Advocate-General to Catherine of Medicis, and it is beyond doubt that his son and namesake, though adverse to the Jesuits, was not favourable to the Huguenots, much less one himself. Of the two-and-twenty children, fruits of his marriage with Catherine Marion, *all* the surviving daughters, six in number, including "*La Mère Angèlique*," and whom the impartial Peréfixe, archbishop of Paris, and biographer\* of Henry IV. described as "*pures comme des anges, mais orgueilleuses comme des démons*," devoted themselves to religious lives of professed obligation in the monastery of Port-Royal. Four sons reached manhood, of whom the eldest, Arnauld d'Andilly, was author of numerous pious works; another was bishop of Angers, a diocese in which his memory is still revered, as we can attest; and the third, eminent, as previously stated, by the distinction of "*Le Grand Arnauld*," a doctor of Sorbonne, was the most formidable adversary, next to Bos-

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\* An English version by Monsieur Le Moine of this biography, still admired though somewhat antiquated in language, proceeded in 1785 from Didot's Parisian press. This sufficiently attests the merit of its execution; which, indeed, far exceeds the translator's performance. But a copy in our possession derives interest as that presented to the angelic sister of Louis XVI., Madame Elizabeth, whose distinctive royal insignia are impressed on the binding. Given to her unhappy brother while in the Temple, for his son's instruction, it bears some marks of his correction. We obtained it after his death, with a few other articles that had served for the deposed monarch's bodily and mental use in his last trying moments; but, however valued, the fear of detection in our own hour of danger compelled us to destroy nearly all these royal relics.



suet, whom Protestantism had to encounter. To name his works, would be evidence of the fact, such as "*Le Renversement de la Morale de Jésus Christ, par les Calvinistes*," and, above all, "*La Perpetuite de la Foy*," in proof of the early and unvaried Catholic faith in Transubstantiation, written in conjunction with Nicole, as well as several additional volumes of fervent controversy. And yet, this is the family which M. D'Aubigné would fain convert into allies, and force into his camp, because, forsooth, a military youth was said to have been temporarily seduced into the abandonment of his paternal creed! No proof, however, appears to establish this supposition; but granting it, are we to consider it a valid groundwork of his grand-children's literary fame in the productions of Port-Royal? By a parity of deduction the Catholics might claim for their body the genius of Milton, whose grandfather was a zealous adherent of their faith, and disinherited his son for deserting it. A less remote right would assign to them Shakspeare, from his father's ascertained principles, certified by his Will; and were not the parents of all the original reformers professedly Catholics? Such is our author's mode of reasoning! No divergence of creed could, in truth, be greater than between Port-Royal and Calvinism, save possibly, though sternly denied by the former, on the subject of Grace.

"Out of Protestant France," still asserts our veracious historian, "arose all the cultivated portion of the French nation . . . and out of that portion arose also the society of Port-Royal, a society which aimed at introducing into the Catholicism of the Gallican Church both the doctrines and the language of the reformation." Now, in denial of this gratuitous assumption, we hesitate not to assert, that a line in favour of the mis-called reformation never issued from Port-Royal, whence, on the contrary, above a hundred volumes emanated to oppose it; and the inmates uniformly showed themselves amongst the ablest and most ardent antagonists of the religious system of which they are here pronounced so audaciously the advocates. And, embracing the nation at large in intellectual relation, not only did the nine-tenths of her sons, in every avocation of culture or action, adhere to the Catholic worship, but received, for the most part, their education from the Jesuits, to whose colleges even the Huguenots sent their children, notwithstanding the interdict of their synods, as we learn

from one of them, Desmaiseaux, in his "Life of Bayle," (tome i. p. 7.) Yet the latter's consequent, though short-lived conversion, was punished by his family's abandonment. Such was the vaunted freedom of private judgment!

With the exception of Clément Marat, (1495—1544,) whose religion was as vague as his morals were licentious, scarcely can a single protestant writer in French, of literary fame, or scientific eminence, be cited, until we nearly reach our own sphere of recollection. Not one contributed a ray of glory, or imparted a spark of lustre to the constellated mass of genius so refulgent in the "Grand Siècle," the Augustan age of Louis XIV. Pellisson became an early convert, and Bayle, the coryphæus of infidels, according to his own avowal, it is said, to Lord Shaftesbury, a protestant only, as "protesting against all religions," a temporary catholic, too, like Gibbon, but because relapsed, a perpetual absentee from France, and though a learned, certainly no classical or elegant writer, can form no exception. Nor again, in the numerous Huguenot refugees is a name of distinction discoverable, either as an author of renown, or in any high department of intellectual culture. Rousseau, Cuvier, and Constant, were not French by birth. Madame de Stael, indeed, was, but of immediate Swiss descent; so that the first citable protestant writer, as a genuine son of the soil, appears to have been Le Court de Gébelin, whose work, "*Le Monde Primitif comparé avec le Monde Moderne*," is of universally appreciated merit, but was not published until 1773, nor concluded till 1784, in nine quarto volumes. He was head of the Calvinist communion in France, of whom a regular series had succeeded each other from Calvin, and Duplessis Mornai, who was called the Protestant Pope, and who died in 1623. Gébelin had for successor the celebrated Conventionalist, Rabaud de St. Etienne, executed as a Girondin conspirator, the 4th of December, 1793, and whom Morellet, an infidel ecclesiastic, certainly no friend to the Church, represents as the bitterest persecutor of the Catholic priesthood, though while his sect had still to complain of some unrepealed restrictive laws, the most clamorous advocate of toleration—"Devenu membre de la première assemblée, dite constituante, il a pris quelque revanche sur les catholiques, et a contribué peut-être à imprimer à la nation plus d'intolé-



rance envers l'ancien culte que Louis XIV n'en avait jamais eu pour les religionnaires de son temps." (Mémoires, tome i. p. 40.) Such is human nature, unless tempered by the true spirit of the Gospel, panting, with a resilient force of reaction, for revenge, and embittered retaliation, utterly regardless of moral consistency.

"Quod petiit spernit.....

Æstuat, et vitæ disconvenit ordine toto.

Great renown has, indeed, long attached to Port-Royal ; but of its numerous productions, except the "Perpétuité de la Foy" against the Protestants, and perhaps, Lancelot's Logic ; the only one of surviving fame is Pascal's Provincial Letters. Their literary merit no one can contest, and to their publication Voltaire refers the *fixation* of the French language. Still their influence, as well as that of the society whence they emanated, has been greatly exaggerated by our author. Several writers, held more or less classical at this day, certainly owed to Pascal no obligation of style—such as Corneille, Molière, Quinault, St. Evremond, Bussi-Rabutin, La Fontaine, Voiture, La Rochefoucauld, Pellisson, and St. Réal, who were all his seniors. So was Descartes, whose "Discours de la Méthode," published in 1637, or twenty years before the sublime hypochondriac's work appeared, scarcely contains, according to M. Cousin, an obsolete word. But Port-Royal's proudest boast, because its direct fruit, was the education of Racine ; while, so far from our acknowledgments being due to his masters, for those immortal inspirations of the Muses, which shine with brightest effulgence amidst the glories of that golden era, we know, on the contrary, that every exertion of personal authority, and every denunciation of overstrained religious penalty, were urged to divert the appliance of his genius from its kindred pursuit. Madame de Sévigné, again, whose letters may also bid defiance to time, for

"Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale  
Her infinite variety,"

was Pascal's junior only by thirty-one months, and Bossuet by three years ; but to neither was he a model of style, not certainly to the lady in grace, much as she admired his associates, though she could smile at their moral *qalimatias*, (16th July, 1677.) nor to the prelate in

majesty. As for the subject-matter of the "Provincial Letters," Father Daniel's "Entretiens de Cléandre et d'Eudoxe" presents an able, and not sufficiently known refutation of their impeachments against his Order; but, as Voltaire (Siècle de Louis XIV. chap. 33.) truly remarks, "Il ne s'agissait pas d'avoir raison: il s'agissait de divertir le public;" and every Frenchman is intensely sensitive to the power of ridicule, not in Shaftesbury's representation, as a test of truth, but as the probe of feeling.

It is singular enough that the spot consecrated in sanctity of residence, and venerated recollection, by the ladies associated in devotion under Angelica Arnauld, (of whom her eldest brother, Arnauld d'Andilly, said to Madame de Sévigné, "Comptez que tous mes frères, et tous mes enfants et moi, nous sommes des sots en comparaison d'Angélique." Lettre du 29 Nov. 1679.); it is, we say, singular that this locality should now be the site of a *lying-in hospital*, the receptacle, in its distinct attributions, still more of guilt than of poverty. Nearly opposite, too, is the *foundling-hospital*, which covers the ground formerly devoted to the noviciate seminary of the Oratorians!

".....Sic rerum summa novatur  
Semper, et inter se mortales mutua vivunt."

Both establishments are located between the Luxembourg Gardens and the Observatory; and in their immediate vicinity lies the ensanguined field of Ney's execution, which, without engaging in the discussion of its justice, it would surely have redounded more to our illustrious duke's fame to have prevented than suffered. But, to resume.

The reader of Mr. D'Aubigné's volumes cannot fail to remark, that Luther, Zuinglius, with others, continued for years after they had internally abjured the tenets of their original communion to celebrate one of its most distinctive rites, "the Sacrifice of the Mass"—a glaring inconsistency, or rather, in his own definition, a sacrilege; for, at pages 59 and 60, our writer calls the Mass a reproach upon the Son of God, and the great bulwark of Romish dominion. (Vol. iii.) Yet, in page 467 of the second volume, this conduct of the reformer meets indulgence, and is viewed "as an act of prudence." It was thus that Fra Paolo, with his compeer Fulgenzio, who, though not declared dissidents, could hardly be deemed Catholics, Courayer,



Geddes, and the late Blanco White, that transient boast of Anglican conversion, and so many other apostates, betrayed their conscience. But, in reference to the heroes of reform, no legendary hagiographer could more anxiously repel all impeachment of blame from the objects of his veneration, than our historian essays to avert censure from these men. And with no less partiality of judgment, every attempt to repress the advancing innovations on the existing worship is denounced as bitter persecution, (vol. ii. pp. 156—289, &c.) while the injunctions on the monks to “preach the word of God” under the severest penalties—or, in equivalent terms, commanding a forced conformity to the reformer’s worship of that word, intolerance, in fact, and persecution pass unreprieved. On this occasion, the arguments, favourable or adverse to the principle of tolerance, are adduced; but, though Mr. D’Aubigné forbears to interpose his own opinion, it may well be inferred to lean towards the side which, as he says, declares it “to be the duty of the Christian magistrate, in upholding religion, to protect the permanent and vital interests of the community.” This fair-sounding sentence will find its true interpretation in Beza’s work, (1554, 8vo.) ‘*De Hæreticis a Civili Magistratu puniendis*,’ and in Calvin’s “*Déclaration pour maintenir la Vraye Foy*,” (same year and form,) in which he asserts the right of the secular arm to oppose heresy by every means of repulsion—“*Il n’y a que les Athéistes, et les contempteurs de Dieu, qui désirent qu’on ne punisse point les opinions meschantes.....si Jésus Christ a fait l’office de Docteur, il a aussi pris le fouet au poing pour nettoyer le temple.*”

In every Protestant community penal infliction for dissidence from the recognized church was inculcated in doctrine, and enforced in execution, equally as by the Inquisition. The “*Syntagma Confessionum Fidèi*,” or collected Confessions of Faith, published in 1581, by Sarnar, at Geneva, under expressed authority, and approved of in 1583 by the national synod of Huguenots held at Vitré, unanimously maintains the principle, of which history too often records the practice. Our statute, “*De Hæretico Comburendo*,” remained in force of law till 1678, but in no other Protestant country had punishment for heresy been formally abrogated for some years after; and to the present hour the severest enactments existed against Catholics and Jews in Lutheran Scandinavia. Not more

than two or three years since, young Neilson, the artist, forfeited all his civil rights, or incurred a præmunire in Sweden, in consequence of his conversion to the Catholic faith; and still later, two Jewish opticians were fined and expelled from Norway, when discovered to be of that persuasion. The existing and strictly executed laws of Prussia at this day also visit with rigorous punishment the attempt at conversion from the established religion, as exemplified signally in this current month (December, 1845,) by the immediate suppression of a Roman Catholic society of *the Rosary*, which had made some proselytes, with the imprisonment of such of its members, as had not the good fortune to evade the severity of this intolerance by flight. The Berlin papers of the 11th give the details. But of the innumerable proofs producible of this violation of the only valid ground of severance from established Catholicity—the freedom of conscience—we shall confine ourselves to the notice of a few of past time, more particularly of those associated with the history and church of England, beginning, however, with a foreign one, little, we believe, known.

In 1632 Nicholas Anthoine, a native of Lorraine, underwent at Geneva the fate of Servetus. He had apostatised from the Catholic church to Calvinism, and thence to Judaism, for which he was condemned, “a estre lié et mené en la Place ....pour y estre attaché à un poteau sur un bucher, et estranglé.....et en après, son corps bruslé.” The curious details are to be seen in Chauffepié's Dictionary, under the article of Anthoine, from the original documents; and this compiler was an ardent Calvinist. Gibbon justly praises his article of Servetus as the best source of information relative to that unhappy man.\* The history of our own reformers teems with confirmatory examples of Mr. Hallam's assertion, which so well deserves to be repeated, (Constitutional History, vol. i. p. 128) that

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\* A circumstance of aggravation in Calvin's conduct towards his victim as related by B. Ochino in the eighth of the Dialogues, translated into Latin by Castalio (B. Ochini Dialogi xxx., &c. Basilee, 1563, 2 vols. 12mo.) deserves more notice than it has received; and both Ochino and Castalio were fervent innovators. We are there assured, that Calvin stood at a window to contemplate Servetus, as he passed to his fatal destination, with a smile of satisfaction at the sight—“Et arridens dum præteribat,” &c.

The celebrated passage on the *Circulation of the Blood*, erroneously ascribed by Gibbon and Priestley, to Servetus “De Trinitatis Erroribus (Hagenoræ, 1534.) in reality belongs to the “Christianismi Restitutio” (1553, 4to.) where it will be found at page 109; and partially in the Gentleman's



"Persecution is the deadly sin of the reformed churches, that which cools every man's zeal in their cause in proportion as their reading becomes more extensive." Hume, (vol. vi. 183) after reciting the death by fire of two Unitarians, Legat and Wrightman, under James I., adds, "that no one reign since the Reformation had been free from the like *barbarities*." In no instance, indeed, was this expression more apposite than in the following act of Latimer, as we find it in the Cabinet History of England by Mr. Mac Farlane, who cites the Chronicles of Hall and Stowe: "Hitherto, Henry VIII. had burned the Reformers, and hanged the Catholics; but on the 22nd of May, 1539, a monk was hanged up by the armpits, and underneath him a fire was made, wherewith he was slowly burned. There was a pulpit near the stake, from which Hugh Latimer, now bishop of Worcester, preached a sermon," &c. Here we behold one of our most vaunted reformers glutting his appetite for human torture with this appalling spectacle, while the sufferer's imputed guilt could only have been a refusal to follow Latimer's example, and submit his conscience to the tyrant's command; for, on three successive occasions, did he recant and revert to his alternately sworn creed. His metropolitan, Cranmer, even doubled the number of these sacrilegious professions of faith; and must, altogether, be pronounced one of the most unprincipled of men. But see Mr. Hallam's recital of the tergiversations of this protagonist of Anglican reform, who likewise took part in the sanguinary immolations of that period. These pretended reformers became eventually victims, in their turn, of their example and doctrine.

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Magazine for August, 1838, contributed by *ourselves*. We may here subjoin the beautiful image of Perrault on the subject:

....."L'antiquité  
 ..... ignorait jusqu'aux routes certaines  
 Du méandre vivant qui coule dans nos veines."

Mr. Pettigrew, in his *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, part 2, page 41, states, that Servetus had been upwards of two hours in the fire, the wood with which it was made being green and small in quantity—"It was thus that the pagans thought the fire which consumed the primitive Christians too mild, and endeavoured to inflame its intensity; τὸ πῦρ ἢ αὐτοῖς φυχρὸν τὰ τῶν ἀπαθῶν βασιανιστῶν." (Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 1020. Amsterdam, 1713, folio.) But we have heard the celebrated physician of Napoleon, who nobly refused to hasten the death of the *pestiférés* at Jaffa, the 21st of May, 1799—M. Desgenettes—remark that, however desirous Calvin may have been to aggravate the victim's pain, he failed in the means; for the dense smoke of the green wood must have abridged by suffocation his sufferings, in place of prolonging them. Ochino and Castalio were pursued by Calvin and Beza with envenomed hostility for daring to transgress by a step the prescribed boundary of the Genevan creed.

“Nec lex æquior ulla est,  
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.”

“By no artifice or ingenuity,” asserts Mr. Macauley, in his “Contributions to the Edinburgh Review,” (vol. i. p. 124,) “can the stigma of persecution, the worst blemish of the English Church, be effaced or patched over. Her doctrines, we well know, do not tend to intolerance. She admits the possibility of salvation out of her pale; but this circumstance, in itself honourable to her, aggravates the sin and shame of those who persecute in her name.” The inference is warranted, from the assumed premises, but these accord not with the fact. In the Thirty-nine Articles, or Anglican Confession of Faith, the eighth includes among the adopted creeds, the Athanasian, of which the first and last paragraphs explicitly and unexceptionally withhold salvation from all dissentient communions; and the Church’s consonant practice is attested in the blood-stained registers of the Star-Chamber—High Commission Courts—Convocations—Royal Ordinances—and Legislative Statutes. In 1570, we are told by Mr. Macauley of a law, “which provided that, if any Catholic shall convert a Protestant to the Romish Church, both shall suffer death as traitors,” that is, be embowelled, with the other atrocious accompaniments of such executions. The Anglican apologists of the act, says our author, contend, that, provoked by the papal excommunication of Elizabeth, it was founded on a political not a religious principle, on which he fairly observes, that the Massacre of St. Bartholomew might be defended on the same ground,\* “as intended to extirpate not a religious sect, but a political party. For beyond all doubt, the proceedings of the Huguenots from the conspiracy of Amboise to the battle of Montcontour, had given much more trouble to the French Monarchy than the Catholics have ever given to the English Monarchy since the Reformation, and that, too, with much less cause.” Now, we here see the events of only nine

\* A work, published in 1840, “Vita di Caterina de Medici, Saggio Storico di Eugenio Alberti,” (Firenze, 8vo.) essays to vindicate, on the authority of her original and family correspondence, in the archives of Florence, Catherine and her son, Charles IX., from the long believed charge of originating the massacre, which, in her representation, they were forced to sanction by the house of Guise, and the irresistible popular frenzy of the day. A bad excuse, at the best, for a deed characterized by Péréfixe, archbishop of Paris, as, “Une action exécrable, qui n’avait jamais eu, et qui n’aura, s’il plaît à Dieu, jamais de semblable.” (Histoire de Henri IV., p. 14, edition 1662; 12mo.)



years, from 1560 to 1569, during which the insurgents encountered the royal forces in four regular, but unsuccessful, combats, transcend in rebellious outbreaks, the imputed disloyal attempts of the Catholic body for centuries.

“Sprung from brutal passion, nurtured by selfish policy,” equally affirms the same gifted writer, “the English Church continued to be, for more than one hundred and fifty years, the servile handmaid of monarchy, the steady enemy of liberty. The divine rights of kings, and the duty of passively obeying all their commands, were her favourite tenets.” (Ibid. pp. 126—132.) And Lord Campbell, in relating the execution of Ann Boleyn, (to whom Henry VIII. in an evanescent hour of repentance, reproached the death of More, and for that crime richly did she deserve her own,) after dwelling on the multiplied misdeeds of Cranmer, and his compeer, the Chancellor Audley, adds—“It was well that Henry did not direct that the one should officiate as Anne’s executioner, with the other as his assistant; for they probably would have obeyed sooner than give up the seals and the primacy.” (History of the Chancellors, vol. i. p. 604.) This portraiture of the prelate, abundantly confirms that quoted and obviously participated, by Mr. Hallam, as Bossuet’s, “in whose bitter invective the patriarch of our reformed church stands forth the most abandoned of time-serving hypocrites.” (Constitutional History, vol. i. p. 132.) “Such men,” again says Mr. Macauley, (vol. i. p. 132,) “excite a loathing to which it is difficult to give vent without calling foul names.” But, Walpole, (Correspondence, October, 1771,) on designating the conduct of Calvin to Servetus, (which Bayle, in his voluminous compilation, never dared advert to, in protestant and *liberal* Holland,) conduct similar to that of Cranmer, alternately the sufferer and inflicter of persecution, gives broad utterance to the epithet, so well suited to both, foul though it be, and which we, therefore, choose not to repeat. Bonner, it has been remarked by the accomplished Member for Edinburgh, “acted, at least, in accord with his own principles, while Cranmer could vindicate himself from the charge of being a heretic, only by arguments which made him out to be a murderer. If the system on which the founders of the Church of England had acted could have been permanent, the Reformation would have been, in a

political sense, the greatest curse that ever fell on our country." (Same volume, p. 432.)

Here we are bound to observe that, if arraigned of repetition on this subject, its importance, we conceive, demands, and therefore justifies, the impressive reiteration, in order to meet the ever-recurring impeachment of Catholic intolerance. "*Stillicidii casus lapidem cavat*; (Lucretius i. 314.) and Napoleon, in his correspondence with Alexander previous to the Russian disastrous campaign, pointedly asserts, (Letter of April, 1811.) that repetition is the most powerful figure of rhetoric—"la répétition est la plus puissante figure de la rhétorique." (Bignon, *Histoire de France* sous Napoleon, tome x. p. 37.)

Such then, as we have seen, is the picture drawn by Protestants themselves, of the assumed reform, so confidently pledged to us by M. D'Aubigné, as the era of regeneration—the starting point of European "progress in arts and literature, in purity of worship, and the minds of princes and people. (*History*, vol. iii. p. 243.) Never, we repeat, and trust we have proved, was fallacy more audaciously advanced, or so signally self-refuted. Yet, though thus immersed in profligacy of conduct, and debasement of spirit, these reformers and their followers have ever arrogated for their church, this comprehensive superiority attributed to it, and to them, by their Genevese advocate. And equally reckless of truth, with the stain of intolerance flagrantly prominent in their annals—while steeped in guilt themselves, as above evinced, and as energetically expressed by Gibbon, (vol. x. p. 182, Milman's edition,) with consummate effrontery they urge a special claim to liberality, and denounce the Catholics, on whom they accumulate every crimination that perverted facts or covert insinuation could clothe with any semblance of probability, as the sole delinquents; veiling, of course, by every artifice of sophistry or subterfuge, the darker shades and unseemly incidents of their own history, personal or general.

Such, in act and character, has been protestant intolerance! About now to part with M. D'Aubigné, we can assert, truly, that, to the mistatements of facts or inconsistencies of views already admitted, others, to no small extent, could be added, but we shall confine ourselves to one. At page 277, volume the third, we are assured "that nine nuns, who had devoted themselves to the



reading of God's word, in 1523, embraced the reformed worship, and escaped from their convent." But how, at that period, these fugitives had discovered the light that thus beamed on them, is not easy of solution, if these volumes are worthy of credit. In 1507, indeed, as already noted, Luther discovered the then *unknown* (according to our author) bible, of which his version was not completed till 1534; and we find in vol. iii. p. 37, that previously, none in the popular idiom existed. If read at all, a very rare occurrence, we are emphatically here told, it could therefore, be only in Latin, which we must again believe, that no repository of ignorance, such as those monastic institutions are represented to us, could possibly produce nine inmates capable of doing. The story involves its own refutation; and another source of conversion, very foreign in spirit from Holy Writ, must be resorted to, in explanation of the circumstance.\*

This we may offer as a final and decisive sample of our controvertist's, (for such he is, far more than an historian, though *we* only meet him under the latter designation,) reasoning habits, or delusive assertions. The character of the work is, indeed, everywhere transparent; but it has found, in illiberal sympathies, or sordid projects of speculation on insensate bigotry, that zeal for its diffusion, which, with consonant feelings and views, has been so actively exerted in reviving and disseminating, through a diversity of forms, "Fox's Book of Martyrs," forgetful that an antagonist impulse may be provoked, in retaliation, to republish the "*Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum hujus Temporis*," (Antwerp: 1587, 4to,) by Richard Verstegan, the countryman and contemporary of the veracious martyrologist, relative to whom may be consulted, we will not say Doleman's, or rather Person's,

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\* A far different spectacle presented itself to our view in 1794, during that indelible stain on human nature, or rather on the philosophic system arrayed against religion—"the reign, emphatically called, of terror." As *part* of a single day's ensanguined execution, we beheld the sacrifice of eleven nuns to the revolutionary Moloch; martyrs to their faith, surely, for their alleged crime was hearing the mass of a non-juring priest. Mournful in the extreme, and deeply affecting was the sight, yet sublime in the contemplation of its inspiring cause, which lent to humble beings, essentially weak in their nature, an elevation of spirit and fortitude, as we saw, of endurance, unsurpassed, we may truly affirm, by what philosophy could affect, or pride assume.

"Prodigæ vitæ, errore  
Purpuratæ Martyres;  
Auspicatæ morte vitam,  
Pace gaudent perpeti."

"Three Conversions of England," (1595, 8vo,) but the protestant annalists, "Anthony à Wood," vol. i. col. 232, 691 and 622, (1721, folio,) with Strype's Life of Whitgift, book iii. ch. 16, (1718, folio.) But, as we trust, we have no longer to apprehend the recurrence of these mutual enormities, neither the Smithfield fires, nor the fabricated Popish plot, nor the insurrection of 1780, the repression, not propagation of such incendiary engines of evil, should be the desire, and anxious endeavour, of every genuine Christian. If a diversity of creed must engender contention, let it, at least, be conducted in charity, candour, and honour. "*Verum hæc nobis certamina ex honesto maneant.*" (Tacitus, Annal. iii. 55.)\*

The following parallel of the adverse creeds, in principles and influence, by one of the mightiest intellects that

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\* As our direct task, that of counteracting M. D'Aubigné's historical errors, and exposing his inconsistencies, here closes, it will not be unfitting to subjoin a few descriptive words of his character and person, derived from the Rev. G. B. Cheven's lately published travels, under the title, rather an affected one, of "Wanderings of a Pilgrim in the Shadow of Mont Blanc." "A childish simplicity," observes this American traveller, "is the most marked characteristic to a stranger of M. D'Aubigné, whom, for so illustrious a man, he is surprised to find so plain and affable. He is about fifty years old. You would see in him a tall commanding form.....a cheerful, pleasant eye, over which are set a pair of dark shaggy eyebrows, like those of our Webster.....His person is robust, yet his health is infirm..... his appearance is noble, grave, and simple.....He wears spectacles." But the following observations, which occurred in their occasional intercourse, are of more general interest: "He spoke with much anxiety of the future prospects of Switzerland, in consequence of the increase of Romanism. 'We are distressed,' said he, 'and I know not whither to turn. All around us Rome advances; she builds altar after altar upon the banks of the Lake. Quickly the Romish population will exceed the Protestant in Geneva.....But let Rome triumph at Geneva, and she will raise a cry that will echo to the extremity of the universe!'"

These avowals, from such a source, are of pregnant importance; nor is this reaction of truth confined, in its movement, to the precincts of the Genevan Lake. It is not less felt in England, where it embraces the chosen of her people, eminent alike in professional, social, and intellectual rank and distinction, as well as demonstrable disinterestedness, as by most their worldly interest is sacrificed to their spiritual welfare. Above thirty of the present converts were clergymen.

The London riots organized by Lord George Gordon, above alluded to, we may here observe, originated in opposition to Sir George Saville's bill to free the Catholics from the atrocious provisions of the act passed in the 10th of our *Liberator*, William; by which—1. A Catholic priest or Jesuit, who performed the office of his church on English ground, was guilty of felony. 2. An estate descended to the next Protestant heir, if the Roman Catholic was educated abroad. 3. The son or nearest relation of the possessor of an estate or manor, being a Protestant, might take possession of the inheritance of the father during the latter's life-time. 4. No papist could take possession of property by purchase. And for the proposed removal from the statute-book of these stains on the national character, the people of the British capital, the metropolis of the Protestant world, rose in myriads to enact this scene of fire and bloodshed, which had been preceded by a similar outbreak at Edinburgh, and of which, more than once, our own age has had to fear a repetition.



ever animated human frame—the Ex-Emperor Napoleon—will, we may be confident, justify its admission here. It is, in truth, so pregnantly characteristic of his power of elucidation, and energy of expression, that even were it not authenticated by his faithful and habitual amanuensis, Count Montholon, who recorded it as delivered, we should have no hesitation in assigning it to him. We give it in the original words, published, from the communication of Montholon, by the Chevalier de Beauterne, in his “*Sentiment de Napoléon sur le Christianisme.*” Paris, 1843, 8vo.

“Le Catholicisme est la religion du pouvoir et de la société, comme le Protestantisme est la doctrine de la révolte et de l'égoïsme. La religion catholique est la mère de la paix et de l'union. L'hérésie de Luther et de Calvin est une cause éternelle de division, un ferment de haine et d'orgueil, un appel à toutes les passions. Le clergé catholique a présidé à la fondation de la Société Européenne; ce qu'il y a de meilleur dans la civilisation moderne, les arts, les sciences, la poésie, tout ce dont nous jouissons est son ouvrage. Tous les éléments d'ordre qui assurent la paix des états sont encore un de ses bienfaits. Au contraire, le Protestantisme a signalé sa naissance par la violence, par les guerres civiles. Après avoir détruit l'autorité par un esprit de doute, et par une critique de mauvaise foi, l'hérésie a préparé, par l'affaiblissement de tous les liens sociaux, la ruine de tous les états. L'individu livré à lui-même, s'abandonne au scepticisme. Le besoin de croire, de se confier à son semblable, est la base de tous les rapports des hommes entre eux: on a sapé cette base. L'anarchie intellectuelle que nous subissons, est une suite de l'anarchie morale, de l'extinction de la foi, et de la négation des principes, qui a précédé. Si le Protestantisme a vraiment, comme on le dit, développé l'esprit industriel, augmenté le bien-être matériel, cet avantage, qu'on pouvait obtenir avec le Catholicisme, est largement compensé par toutes sortes de maux causés par le libre examen, sans parler de ceux qui sont imminens pour l'avenir. Un protestant honnête homme ne peut pas ne pas mépriser Luther et Calvin, ces violateurs éhontés du second commandement de Dieu. L'idée de Dieu est inséparable de la foi à la parole. Qu'espérer de bon de ces deux religieux catholiques,” (Calvin, though not the final, had taken minor orders,)\* “déserteurs de leurs vœux et de la foi jurée. Ces

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\* Calvin's progress in the church, though invested with more than one benefice when not twenty years old, did not extend to the priesthood. He could, therefore, the more freely marry as he did, not a nun, like Luther and others, but a widow, Idelette de Burie, whom, after a cohabitation of ten years, he lost in 1549. He was, consequently, justified in claiming exemption from the

deux apostats ignoraient-ils que le serment est la base des sociétés ? Ils ont mis de côté le célibat, pour favoriser, pour assouvir leur luxure, et celle des princes qui les protégeaient. Sont-ce la des hommes de Dieu ? Un Henri VIII. un Luther, un Calvin, peuvent ils être des agents, des intermédiaires de la Divinité ; D'ailleurs, qu'est devenu le protestantisme primitif ? Les protestants n'en ont rien retenu, si ce n'est la maxime absurde de ne s'en rapporter qu'à soi sur les matières religieuses. Aussi, de nos jours les protestants ne s'entendent pas plus entre eux qu'avec nous autres catholiques. On compte 70 sectes reconnues, on en compterait 70,000, si l'on consultait chaque protestant sur sa croyance. Et comment en serait-il autrement ? Est il un lien assez fort pour réunir des hommes qui n'admettent ni base fixe, ni autorité ; qui demain, peuvent rejeter ou démentir leurs croyances d'aujourd'hui."

This long extract can demand no apology, we may presume, interesting, as it is from its source, and striking from its vigour of delineation. Long estranged, indeed, had this extraordinary personage been from his early religious feelings. In Egypt, he had even descended to a semblance of christian abjuration in the ostensible adoption of Islamism ; and more than one page of his memorable history stands darkened unhappily by crimes unredeemed by those ambitious aspirations, which are too often allowed to palliate their commission. Yet, various returning gleams of the unextinguished impressions were discoverable, even amidst the tumult of camps, or still more alienating scenes of his dazzling career, necessarily generative of that absorbing pride and unsubmissive spirit, disdainful of all authority and repelling all controul, so opposed to christian humility. Thus, we may refer to his undisguised aversion to Voltaire and Rousseau, "qui out sapé les fondemens de toute autorité divine et humaine," as expressed to Fontanes and Girardin, as well as to his sharp rebukes of the impiety,

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sarcasm of Erasmus, "that the apostasy of a Catholic priest, like a comedy, was sure to end in a marriage." He accordingly says in his treatise, "*De Scandalis*," (Geneva, 1550, 8vo.) "*Fingunt nos mulierum causâ quasi bellum Trojanum movisse: ne saltem ab hoc probro immunem esse concedant necesse est.*" The words of Erasmus, addressed in a letter to Nicholas Everard, the 24th of December, 1523, though of tritest reference, in general import, have so seldom been literally adduced, while sometimes ascribed to others, (See No. XXX. of this Journal, p. 258.) that we may be allowed to quote them: "*Solent comici tumultus fere in matrimonium exire; atque hinc rerum omnium subita tranquillitas..... sinilem exitum habitura videtur Lutherana tragedia. Duxit monachus monacham,*" &c. On the following 26th of March, he pursued the subject with more ludicrous effect. (See Epist. 781—801, edit. Clerici, 1783.)



in deed or utterance, of his generals,\* and to the suppression in the Institute of the class of Moral and Political Science, because chiefly composed, says M. Thiers, (*Histoire du Consulat, &c.*, livre vi.) “de ceux qui professaient la philosophie du dixhuitième siècle, en ce qu'elle avait de plus contraire aux idées religieuses.” Above all, we must appreciate, in compensating mitigation of his errings, not only the public restoration in France of general religion, but the preference of Catholicity to Protestantism, in opposition to the majority of his Council. They urgently recommended a worship based on the Civil Power, the creature and institution of the State, wherever it was established, as more likely to prove the pliant instrument of rule in the hands that implanted it, than a communion that acknowledged a superior foreign jurisdiction. But he was very differently impressed, and felt, in the powerful words of Dr. Doyle, “that being a christian, he could not fail to be a catholic.” This he evinced at his death, which, we are assured, was most edifying, by his attendants. “Faites dresser,” said he to Montholon, “un autel: qu'on y expose le saint sacrement, et qu'on y dise les prières de quarante heures,” &c. He twice received the viaticum; but, affecting as the demonstrated subjection of so great a mind is in contemplation, the details would transgress our fair limits of space, and

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\* Even when refulgent with the glories of his Italian triumphs, and those of Austerlitz and Jena, he with deep emotion declared to his assembled and astonished generals, in reply to their interrogatory, that the happiest day of his life was that of his first communion. For this fact M. Dannat, archbishop of Bordeaux, in a late address, persuasive of the alliance of religious observance with a soldier's profession, named as his direct authority a distinguished officer, present on the occasion, and to whom the emperor, perceiving that to him at least the cause appeared to correspond with the effect, while the others seemed incredulous, tapping him familiarly on the shoulder, said: “Très bien, Drouault, très bien; je suis heureux que tu m'aies compris.” And at St. Helena, on Count Bertrand's withholding all signs of assent to his arguments in proof of our Saviour's divinity, the ex-emperor sharply reproved his favourite, adding: “Si vous ne croyez pas que Jésus Christ est Dieu, eh bien! j'ai eu tort de vous nommer général.” Of Molière's celebrated drama, “Le Tartuffe,” he also declared his surprise that Louis XIV. permitted its exhibition, adding: “Cette pièce présente la dévotion sous des couleurs si odieuses, que si elle eût été faite de mon temps, je n'en aurais pas permis la représentation.” (Las Cases; under the 19th of August, 1816.) The admirable Bourdaloue, whose virtues should alone have redeemed his calumniated order—the Jesuits—from their attributed faults, as expressed by Boileau, equally indicated and reproved the tendency of such representations in his Sermon for the seventh Sunday after Easter. An Italian moralist similarly remarks on the subject: “Il satireggiare sù l'imperfettioni dé relligiosi, pecca in moralità, e scandalizza i huomini pii.” Yet Voltaire succeeded in wresting the approbation of his Mahomet from Benedict XIV.; and Beaumarchais' importunity forced from Louis XVI. the permissive exhibition of Figaro.

they may be seen in M. de Beauterne's volumes above cited.

Numerous are the protestant testimonies which we could adduce, in full accordance with Napoleon's opinion of the salutary action of Catholicism on our moral, social, and political system; but we must confine ourselves to a few, of significant import. Mr. Laing, in his "Notes of a Traveller," already adverted to, pointedly observes, at page 212, "that Catholicism is, in fact, the only barrier in Prussia against a general and debasing despotism of the State over mind and body." Three years later, in 1844, we find a lady, the Countess of Hahn-Hahn, after claiming for herself and her brother the title of steadfast protestants, thus addressing him: "Yet, you must allow that protestantism is a terrible closer of hearts. In the hospital of the Sisters of Mercy at Berlin, no Roman Catholic is admitted. In what Roman Catholic hospital in the world does any such proscription exist? In none, I believe."\* Still more comprehensive is the evidence of Sir Humphry Davy, as we learn from his "Life by his brother," (vol. ii. p. 374.) "The obedience which the Catholic Church requires, the submission of reason, the unlimited faith, he considered favourable to religious feeling, and the surest harbour for the unfortunate and afflicted, the strongest hold against popular schism, scepticism, and fanaticism." In a letter, again, to his wife, the 24th of June, 1827, on occasion of the ceremony of Corpus Christi, he declares himself "struck with the affecting nature and superiority of the Catholic religion, which gives joy and comfort to the heart, by making a festivity, and not a hard duty, of worship;" while another protestant writer, Mr. Thomas Carlyle, in his "Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell," presents us that able but sanguinary man, as the type, or rather, as he terms it, "the culminating point of Protestantism." "Le style, c'est l'homme," affirms the great painter of nature, Buffon; and the maxim is not gainsayed by Mr. Carlyle, whose views of heroic virtues as little accord with moral appreciation or historic truth applied to persons like Cromwell, as his style does with literary taste. Lord Chesterfield's definition of his son's tutor, Mr. Harte's style, (Letter of 16th April, 1759.) will not ill apply to Mr. Carlyle's *latter* publications: "Harte's History of

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\* Orientalische Briefe, von Ida Gräffin Hahn-Hahn. Berlin, 1844, 3 Bände.



Gustavus Adolphus does not take at all.....the style is execrable; where the devil he picked it up, I cannot conceive, for it is a bad style of a new and singular kind. It is full of Latinisms, Gallicisms, *Germanisms*, and all *isms* but Anglicanisms; in some places pompous, in others vulgar and low." See "*Cromwell's Letters*," pp. 58, 74, 76, 124 of the first volume, for Mr. Carlyle's sentiments on Catholicity, and for the usurper's desolating campaign in Ireland, p. 451—456, with the entire Fifth Part, and also his "Introduction," for the ascription of transcendent heroism to the puritan fanatics. Cromwell, prominent, of course, among them, is described as closing his guilt-stained life, in the words of Schiller, "*So sterbt ein held*"—thus died a hero. (vol. ii. p. 668.) With the wonted self-contradiction of his brethren, this extraordinary man proclaimed himself the patron of religious freedom, always excepting the Catholics and their Mass!

And, on the ground which has been the source of loudest reproach against Catholics—"Intolerance"—history gratifies us with the proof, that the first constitutional acknowledgment of religious tolerance emanated from the Catholic colony of Maryland, founded by the Catholic governor and proprietors, the successive Lords Baltimore, George and Lucius Carey. There, in 1634, it was made a fundamental law, that every form of christian worship was equally free, and "there religious liberty obtained a home, its only home in the wide world," observes Mr. Bancroft, in affecting simplicity of language. (*History of the United States*, vol. i. p. 270.) Judge Marshall, in his "*Life of Washington*," (vol. i. p. 108,) had precedingly laid due stress on the same fact, while the Anglicans of Virginia, and the "*Pilgrim Fathers*" of the North, just escaped from persecution, but, "*eo immitiores quia toleraverant*," ruthlessly proscribed each other. In his third volume, page 32, the justly esteemed historian of the United States again remarks, "that in 1704, when Maryland was possessed by the protestants, the catholics alone were disfranchised. In the land which, while catholic, was opened to the protestants, the catholic inhabitants were the sole victims of Anglican intolerance. In every province the same persevering and cruel persecution existed. And in New York, the legislature made a law in 1700, condemning to death every catholic priest that voluntarily came there." (*Ibid.* p. 193.) Most justly,

indeed, does Sir James Macintosh predict that the flagrant inconsistency of all protestant intolerance is a poison in its veins, which must destroy it." (History of England, vol. ii. ch. v.)

But, if the Catholics may vindicate as their right the primary legislative enunciation of religious freedom, we must, on equal evidence, claim for their writers the earliest advocacy of the *principle* of toleration. "Fides suadenda, non imponenda est," is the maxim and recommendation of the last Father of their Church, St. Bernard, (Sermo lxxv. edit. Benedict, 1719,) and where among the reformers shall we meet such language as the following? In his *Utopia*, first published in 1516, at Louvain, (4to.) under the title of "*De Optimo Republicæ Statu, deque Nova Insula Utopia.*" Sir Thomas More, after producing a fanatic preacher of intolerance in his imagined island, adds that the inhabitants "*Talia concionantem comprehenderunt.....siquidem hoc inter antiquissima instituta numerant, ne sua cuique religio fraudi esset. Utopus enim imprimis sanxit uti quam cuique religionem libeat sequi liceat.*" Utopus is, of course, the organ of our liberal and martyred Chancellor's own sentiments. (Barbou's edition, page 178. Paris, 1778.) More, we are aware, has been arraigned of intolerance by Burnet, whose testimony, according to Swift's remarks on his *Contemporaneous History*, is entitled to little credit; but More is triumphantly vindicated by Sir James Macintosh, who concludes his arguments by the emphatical assertion, that the Chancellor, one of the few laymen up to that period, charged with that high function, "must not only be absolved, but, when we consider that his administration occurred during a hot paroxysm of persecution.....we must pronounce him to have given stronger proofs than any other man of his repugnance to that execrable system." Except in two instances, when he ordered a man and a child, on apparently justifying grounds, to be whipped, he declares, in his "*Apology*," which forms the eighth section of his *English Works*, (page 901, col. i. Lond. 1537, small folio.) "that all that ever came into his hand for heresye, so help him God, saving the surekeeping of them, els had never any strype or stroake given them so much as a flyppe on the forehead." (See *More's Life* by William Roper, London, 1731. Preface, page 13.)

Lord Campbell, in his "*Lives of the Chancellors*,"



devotes three chapters of his first volume, by far the most interesting portion of it, to Sir Thomas More, whose fame he concurs with Sir James Mackintosh in rescuing from the charge of persecution, originally advanced by the notorious Fox, (vol. ii.) some of whose recorded martyrs appeared in animated flesh and blood to expose his fallacies. Burnet (History of the Reformation, vol. iii.) repeated the impeachment, moved by equal malignity of purpose and disregard of truth, although forced to render general justice, in the end, to the virtuous chancellor's character. Lord Campbell is not less severe, or rather equitable in portraying our English reformers than Sir James, or Mr. Macauley; "men," he pointedly observes, "generally swayed by their worldly interests, and willing to sanction the worst passions of the tyrant, (Henry VIII., Mr. Sharon Turner's worthy favourite,) to whom they looked for advancement." "With all my Protestant zeal," subjoins his lordship, (p. 583.) "yet I must feel a higher reverence for Sir Thomas More, than for Thomas Cromwell or Thomas Cranmer." To assign, however, a moral superiority over the most abandoned of men to one of the purest, is rather an equivocal homage; but the noble biographer concludes with an ample measure of just retribution to his illustrious co-dignitary. "His (More's) character, both in public and private life, comes as near perfection as our nature will permit." More's innocent pleasantries, we may add, display the amiableness of his temper, as they are read, not only in the volumes of his son-in-law, Thomas Roper, and his great-grandson, Thomas More, both printed in 1726, but in the curious little collection of A. F. Deslandes, "*Réflexions sur les Grands Hommes morts en plaisantant*." (Amsterdam, 1714, 12mo.) The contrast drawn by Lord Campbell, (vol. ii. p. 398.) between More's and Bacon's moral views is striking. How inferior the great philosopher appears to the genuine Christian in the competition !\*

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\* The references made by Lord Campbell to the projected measures of some of the chancellors, for Ireland, are not without interest. See vol. i. p. 168, relative to the Ordinance of 1783, "*pro Statu Hiberniæ*," for the introduction of English laws, and protection of the natives against the rapacity and oppression of the king's officers. At page 392, mention is made of an "Act to oblige Irishmen, born or coming of Irish parents, who reside in England, either to repair to or remain in Ireland, or pay yearly a certain sum for the defence of the same." In effect, an absentee tax, more, however, in our noble author's conception, intended for the relief of England than of Ireland. And at page 423 of the second volume,

Shortly after More's time, a Catholic prelate, Osorio, bishop of Silves and Algarva in Portugal, within the precincts of the Inquisition, thus addressed his late sovereign, Emmanuel, on the persecution of the Jews, after the example of Ferdinand and Isabella, "los reyes," as they were called, or *Kings*, notwithstanding Isabella's sex, of Spain. "Quidenim! tu rebelles animos . . . adiges ad credendum ea quæ summa contentione aspernantur et respuunt? At id neque fieri potest, neque Christi sanctissimum numen approbat. Voluntarium enim sacrificium non vi et malo coactum ab hominibus expectat, neque mentibus inferri, sed voluntate ad studium veræ religionis allici et invitari jubet." These words, noble in sentiment, and elegant in choice, as they must be acknowledged, are extracted from the bishop's work, renowned also for its pure Latinity. "De Rebus Emmanuelis virtute et auspiciis gestis, Hieronymo Osorio, auctore," which first appeared in 1571, at Lisbon. It is likewise included in his collected works, with a treatise, "de Gloria," so classically written that it was supposed to be the lost essay of Cicero on the same subject, all printed at Rome, again under the eye of the Inquisition, in 1592, still without objection; but our consulted copy, perfectly unvaried, is from the press of Francfort, "apud Wechelios," 1571, 8vo.

Hear, besides, the French historian, De Thou, or Thuanus, in his admired dedication to Henri IV. in 1604. "Alia quippe omnia pro arbitrio civilis magistratus, atque adeo principis sanciantur: sola religio non imperatur . . . ad eam cruciatus nihil valent, quin et obfirmant potius animos quam frangunt et persuadent." (*Historia Sui Temporis*, Lond. 1733, tom. 1.) Relative to the persecution of the Jews in 1497, by Ferdinand and Isabella, and, at their persuasion, by their nephew, the great Emmanuel, consult the "*Historia Geral de Portugal*, por D. A. de Lemos Faria e Castro," tome ix. p. 277, Lisbon, 1788, and in defence of Isabella for this, almost the sole blemish of her life, Mr. Prescott's *History*, vol. iii. p. 251.

These are sources of genuine and legitimate exultation to Catholics. "Si sic omnia!" while in their aberrations, on the other hand, all Protestant sects participated. Thus,

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Bacon, in addressing James I. on the settlement of Ireland, is represented as saying: "England, Scotland, and Ireland, *well united*, (the italics are his lordship's) is such a trefoil as no prince except yourself, who are the worthiest (!) weareth in his crown."



the condemnation of Galileo has long resounded with studied perversion of the circumstances, as a damnable charge against science, when the reformed calendar, though an acknowledged truth in science, was rejected by the Protestants of England for 171 years (1581—1752) merely because that truth emanated from Rome, and when the nearly contemporaneous persecution in Holland of Descartes, enforced with a spirit of malignity and bitterness of pursuit, certainly not evinced, as may be seen in Sir David Brewster's "Victims of Science," against Galileo, is comparatively overlooked. The rector of the University of Utrecht, where Descartes resided, Gysbertus Voetius harassed him with incessant impeachments, both as a covert Jesuit (Jesuitaster,) and an atheist. In 1639 this Protestant divine published various theses, clearly, though not declaredly accusing him of atheism, and clandestinely obtained the condemnation of his writings, with a severity of sentence, which would have exposed Descartes to personal danger, or to ignominious expulsion, had not the French ambassador interposed a seasonable remonstrance. (See *La Vie de Descartes par Baillet*, livre vi. chap. 11. 1693.)

In Italy, says the philosophic Biot, the crime of heresy was imputed to Galileo, as in Holland that of atheism was to Descartes, charges of greatest influence on the popular mind, and sure to inflame it with sanguinary desires of repression. The delusive guilt of witchcraft has likewise been expiated by overflowing blood, grounded similarly on the misapplication of a scriptural text. The "Compelle intrare," or "Compel them to come in," of St. Luke, (xiv. 23.) was construed into a forced compliance with an established creed; and the Mosaic ordinance of Exodus, (xxii. 18.) "*Maleficos non patieris vivere*," or in the English version, which changes the number and gender, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," has not been less lamentably perverted to the destruction of human life, under the most futile semblance of the crime. From the words of St. Luke sprung the Inquisition, whose immolations, deplorable as they were, have not been found to exceed the homicidal effects of the misapplied Mosaic command. Scarcely could a domestic casualty occur which popular credulity did not assign to witchcraft. The desolating consequences are well described by Mr. Charles Mackay, in his "*Memoirs of Popular Delusions*," (vol. ii.

p. 192.) where he affirms, "that the Lutherans and Calvinists became greater witch-burners than even the Romanists had been." This, indeed, is evidenced by the hecatombs thus sacrificed in Sweden, Scotland, America, and, in short, every Protestant state, as the history of each demonstrates; but we would particularly indicate Chandler's *Criminal American Trials*, in the first volume. In the holocausts at Salem, (Massachusetts,) during 1693, Cotton Mather bore a most active part. See his "*Wonders of the Invisible World, being an Account of Witches lately executed in New England.*" (London, 1693, 4to.) Judge Sewell, equally ardent in this sanguinary pursuit, in after-life became deeply sensible of the delusion, and repentant of its practical enormity under his magisterial administration. The registers of Geneva for sixty years after the death of Calvin, we are assured by his biographer, M. Audin, certify the incredible sacrifice of above one hundred thousand wretched beings to this direful illusion, a number meant to include, we presume, all the neighbouring territory of Switzerland professing the creed of Calvin, whose Draconian Code, modelled after the literal severity of the Judaic law, in Deuteronomy, (xxii.) punished with death the easily constructive crimes of idolatry, blasphemy, sorcery, &c. The Inquisition, too, was limited in its sphere of action to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, while the punishment of witchcraft was universal; but though the fatal consequences of both unhappy perversions of scriptural sense were equal, a much louder outcry has been raised against that which involved a compulsory submission to a commanded faith, than against the other "witch-persecution," which, though quite as blood-thirsty in its impulse, is far more insensate in its aim, and disorderly in its pursuit. "*Tel était l'excès de cet idiotisme, qu' au crime du monde le plus incertain, on joignit les preuves les plus incertaines,*" as Montesquieu so appositely concludes his observations on the subject. (*Esprit des Lois*, livre xii. ch. 5.) Our great legist, Blackstone, (book iv. chap. 4.) confesses, that it is the example of a Catholic prince, Louis XIV. we owe the repeal of the sanguinary and irrational act of Henry VIII. (33, cap. 8.) and of the more comprehensive statute of James I. (1—cap. 12.) to the great consolation, he adds, of the aged females of Great Britain. Our royal Solomon contributed to the latter enactment, by his work on "*Demonologie*," which urged, that "the witch in Smithfield should



be burnt to ashes;" (Henry IV. act. 2. sc. 3.) and our Statute-book continued thus disgraced till 1736, (9th George II. cap. 5.) These errings of the head and heart of man, "religious persecution, and constructive sorcery," are, we repeat, alike attributable to Protestants and Catholics. When the principle is acknowledged, however, the guilt is not always to be estimated by the numbered victims; for arising circumstances may impress on it a deeper hue of aggravation than its direct consequences. Thus, the single murder of the Duke of Enghien has cast a deeper shade on Napoleon's memory, than the myriads sacrificed to his ambition; and so we must view the condemnations of the Inquisition, in comparison with those of the Protestants. If the latter be less numerous, they are infinitely worse in character, outrages on the principle of their origin, as Gibbon (vol. x. p. 182.) observed of the execution of Servetus. Of the more than dubious crime of witchcraft, as Blackstone terms it, we are rather surprised to find it still, with its cognate offences, "Inchantments, Sorceries, and Magic Arts," classed, in addition to treason, murder, arson, &c. in the list of misdeeds subjected to a magistrate's cognizance. The words are literally copied from the statute above-mentioned of James, so that its repeal only extended to the capital punishment; but it is practically executive only against the impostors, who find dupes in the ignorant and unwary.

Of the universal sway of this delusion, and the resulting effusion of blood, no doubt can be entertained; nor should we exclude from our consideration that its two most powerful opponents, as well as expositors of the cheats practised under it, on the continent, were German monks. The Jesuit, Frederick Spe, (1595—1635.) in his *Cautio Criminalis, seu de Processibus contra Sagas*," (1631, 8vo.) translated into French under the title of "*Advis aux Criminalistes.....sur les procès de Sorcellerie*," first assailed the sanguinary prejudice. His follower in the same field of reason was the *Theatin*, Ferdinand Sterzinger, (1721—1786.) who published a "*Treatise on the Impostures of Magic, and Illusions of Sorcery*," at Munich, in 1767, 4to. We may also passingly remark, that the long preferred edition of Newton's "*Principia*" was the work of two *Minim* fathers, Le Sueur and Jacquier. (1739—1742,

2 vol. \*) These editors are generally, but erroneously supposed to be Jesuits—the Order richest in scientific productions—whence the error; for we preferably lend to the rich, “Ὁρῶσι δὲ οἱ διδόντες εἰς τὰ χρήματα.” It was to a pope, Paul III., that, in the primary movement towards astronomical truth, the famed Nic. Copernicus, a Catholic canon of Frauenburg in Prussia, dedicated his work, in 1543, “*De Revolutionibus Orbium Cœlestium*,” in order, as he there states, to submit his system to the highest jurisdiction, and obtain for it his protection; which was not withdrawn from it until 1616, when condemned by the sentence against Galileo, because contrary to the apparent testimony of Scripture, and of our senses. Nor was the astronomical truth less repelled, as antichristian, by Luther, who thus animadverted on it: “I am now advertised that a new astrologer (synonymous, as with the ancients, to astronomer,) is risen, who presumes to prove that the earth moves and goes about, not the firmament, the sun and moon, nor the stars. . . . . This fool (Copernicus) will turn the whole art of astronomy upside down; but the Scripture shows and teaches him another lesson, when Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, and not the earth.” (Doctoris Martini Lutheri Colloquia Mensalia, chap. lxx. 1788, 8vo.) And not only was the work

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\* In a feeling of still deeper humility than the *Fratres Minores* (Cordeliers or Franciscans) the Order instituted by St. Francis de Paula in 1473 (Butler's Saints, 2nd April) descended to the lowest degree of the scale of depression, and assumed the name of *Minimi*, or Minims. It was, however, pretended that they were so called from the words of the Patriarch Joseph, when all powerful in Egypt, to his brethren: “Non egrediemini hinc, donec veniat frater vester MINIMUS.” (Genesis xlii. 15.) A pleasantry, of course.

D'Alembert, in his volume “*De la Destruction des Jésuites*” (1767, 12mo) asserts that the Order never produced a philosopher; echoed by Robertson with his wonted superficialness, (Charles V. vol. 2, page 456.) and extended to monastic institutions universally, of which the sole exceptional fruit, according to him, was Father Paul Sarpi; but had not Malebranche or Campanella, without recurring to the Middle Ages, no claim to the title? And confining our view to the Jesuits, can they not present *M. A. de Dominis* (a temporary renegade from his creed, but a final penitent), whose work “*De Radiis Visûs et Lucis* (1611, 4to.) evinced some philosophical sagacity in the early stage of the study; followed by *F. M. Grimaldi*, to whom we owe the first exposition of the phenomena of the inflexion of light, in his book “*Physica-Mathesis de Lumine*,” &c. 1665, 4to.; for the value of which may be consulted Montucla's *Histoire des Mathématiques*, (tome 1, page 703, edit. 1799) and Sir David Brewster's *Life of Newton*, chap. viii. Again, we can cite *L. Hoste* (Paul) to whom naval science generally is so much indebted, and nautical *stratégie* in particular, as the originator of the grand manœuvre of *cutting the enemy's line*, in his “*Traité des Etudes Navales*, (1727, folio.) We may surely add *Lana*, (Francis,) in whose “*Prodromo dell' Arte Maestra* (Brescia, 1670.) the first practical view of *aërostation* is discoverable; with Ricciolo, Castel, Fabri, and many more well calculated to rescue the celebrated Order from D'Alembert's and Robertson's sweeping condemnation.



of Copernicus well received by the pope, to whom it was dedicated, but found a zealous patron in Cardinal Schomberg (whose name Mr. O'Connell could not recollect, when taunted on this subject by Sir Robert Inglis,) as his system afterwards did in the catholic Emperor of Germany, when more signally demonstrated by Kepler. Yet many Catholics, not only lay but clerical, have zealously and ably maintained it. We may name the various works of the Jesuit father, J. R. Boscowich — “*De Maculis Solaribus*, (4to. 1736.) so praised by Lalande; the “*Philosophiæ Naturalis Theoria* (1755, 4to.); and his classical poems, “*Philosophia.....versibus tradita* (Romæ, 1755—1760, 4to.); with the admired volume (1760) “*De Solis et Lunæ Defectibus*.” Our Royal Society, of which he was a member, Lalande tells us, had appointed him to observe in California the transit of Venus over the Sun's disk in 1769, when Cook's first voyage for that purpose was also undertaken; but the approaching dissolution of his Order prevented his departure, for which he had the pope's consent. Our readers will pleausurably recollect his interview with Dr. Johnson 1775, related by Boswell. (vol. iii. p. 292, edit. 1831.) Another Jesuit, John Tessaneck, a native of Bohemia, where he died in 1780, published at Prague, in 1766, (8vo.) “*Expositio Sectionis Secundæ, &c., libri primi Principiorum Philosophiæ Naturalis a Newtono inventorum*,” which was followed, in 1768, by his “*Philosophiæ Naturalis Newtoni Principia, cum commentationibus*,” with other analagous works. The French advocates of our illustrious countryman's system are too numerous and well-known to permit or require any advertence to them; but even in Spain, we find among its demonstrators by travel and observations, Jorge Juan, Don Vincente Tafino, Ulloa, Varola, &c.; showing that, like many residuous vestiges of mislegislation in our own Code of Justice, the grounds of Galileo's sentence, if not officially and expressly revoked or disavowed, have long ceased to be operative in principle or execution.

Here, before we close, some cursory reference to Ronge and his sectaries may appear not misplaced. On the first outbreak of this man, the Protestants exulted in the prospective triumph of their cause; and the Prussian sovereign, with a view to remove the existing interdict against the promulgation of all new doctrines, declared his intention to proclaim a general liberty of conscience, (“*eine volkom-*

mene Gewissensfreiheit,") we are told by M. Taillandier. But the religious paroxysm soon appeared far less fraught with danger to Catholicity, immovable on its basis, than to Protestantism, of which it laid open the unsettled principles, by carrying them, in legitimate consequence, to the verge of abruption from all Christian community. The movement, therefore, no longer found favour with the rulers who had cheered its birth: its legality is contested: its chiefs are under arraignment, and it has forfeited, too, in a great measure, the sympathy of its early patrons among the churchmen, who with alarm see themselves abandoned by their own flocks, who join the desultory bands of Ronge and Czerski. It was thus, that nearly three centuries before, many of Luther's followers abjured his sway, as he had done that of the Church, under an equal impatience of subordination, and, not satisfied with his severance of various branches of the tree of life, aimed the axe at its root, and assailed Christianity in its vital being, by the denial of its author's divinity, under the banners of Lælius and Faustus Socinus. This was, indeed, the natural sequence of the Protestant system, in the exercise of individual judgment—a system which in its observance necessarily rends in discordant particles the unity of Christian faith,\* and, in its violation, involves not only the most glaring, but the most criminal of inconsistencies, in the persecution of those who, obedient to its impulse, act under its license, and only pursue, in its progressive march of heterodoxy, the principle and example of their patriarch. At a challenged controversial trial held at Posen, the separatists turned, with powerful effect against their opponents, the arguments on which the earlier Reformers rested their justification of departure from the Catholic Unity, and which, thus derived and directed, were unanswerable, in defence or aggression, by those who had yielded to them their own conviction, and pre-

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\* See the conclusive proofs in an elaborate article of our last number (38) on Dewar's "German Protestantism." It is there shown that, like the painter's critics of old, whose so-called improvements left not a recognizable feature in the artist's picture, these biblical amenders, or expositors, have so estranged the spirit and substance of Holy Writ, resolving the inspirations of heaven into their own illusions of fancy, allegorical visions, with other aberrations of the human brain, intoxicated with the incense of self-pride, when abandoned to its uncontrolled license of judgment, that the written word of God becomes, in their hands, an utter nullity. All direct mediation between the Deity and his creature is disclaimed; revelation, of course, rejected; and the Book of Life sinks into a dead letter!



sented them as the groundwork of their professed faith. The consequent triumph of Socinus, (Faustus, for his uncle no longer survived,) added to the already enjoyed countenance of the king, Sigismund Augustus, the patronage of several Polish Magnates; but elsewhere, these antitrinitarians were repelled under the severest, often capital, inflictions. Independently of the previous victims, our Long Parliament condemned one Paul Best in 1646, to death; nor was it till 1813 that they were relieved from all legal penalty. Valentin Gentilis was executed at Berne in 1566; and the body of George David, long confined in prison, was burnt at Basil for the impieties of his strange volume, "*Boeck de Wolkvomenhad.*" The "*Historia Davidis Georgii*," p. 168. (Deventer, 1642, 8vo.) tells us, that this writer denied the existence of the Devil, maintaining that, "*Diabolum nihil esse nisi inane nomen*," for which Melancthon, who, in his letter to Calvin, dated the 14th of October, 1554, justified the murder of Servetus—the mild Melancthon—had him condemned to prison. Even Servetus admitted the repression of heresy as legitimate, if not extended to death, in his Memorial to the Council of Geneva, the 22nd of August, 1553, and Faustus Socinus obtained from the prince of Transylvania, one of his disciples, the incarceration of the Hungarian, Francis David, for having advanced a step farther in the depreciation of our Saviour, than he himself had dared. The unhappy man died, in consequence, the 5th of June, 1579, on which his biographer Prizpovius, observes, "*Obitus ejus martyrio similis statim omnium in se oculos convertit.*" Bayle, in the article of *Socinus*, note K, of his dictionary tells us, how the Socinians, on the other hand, were proscribed in Holland. Every severed branch of the Catholic Church thus became persecutors, the dominant ambition of each tyrant, as Gibbon expresses the fact, being to dethrone the other. (See *Dictionnaire de Chauffié*, articl. Servet.) Well may we exclaim,

....."Behold the throne  
Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion spread:  
And tumult and confusion all embroiled."

We have already alluded to the persecution of Descartes in Holland, when protected by the French Ambassador; and we may here add, that Tycho-Brahé, the victim

of accumulated wrongs and insults from the court, the nobles, and the university of Copenhagen, under Christian IV., found refuge and favour with the Emperor Rodolph in 1599, and that the same Catholic emperor, as well as his successors, Matthias and Ferdinand II., were the special patrons of Newton's great precursor Kepler, although a Protestant, as was Tycho-Brahé, whose sufferings, just referred to, may be read in the "*Danske Magazin*," published at Copenhagen, vol. ii. p. 319. In this continued demonstration of Protestant persecution, on every ground of its impeachment to Catholics, our object, independently of justice to ourselves, is to arrest as we have said, a constantly recurring crimination on one side by the proof of common aberrance, which it was necessary to produce in order to lower the tone and abate the pretensions of those who expect to shroud their equal criminality in exclusive inculpation of Catholics; and we must not forget, that such delinquency is doubly criminal in professed reformers. It would cost us no great effort of search or memory, largely to extend the evidence here incidentally submitted, that Catholicity is not and cannot be adverse to science. We shall, however, content ourselves with observing, that Rome was the FIRST seat of any European regular Academy of Sciences—that of the Lincei—which was established there the 17th of August, 1663, by Frederick Cesi, duke of Aqua-Sporta, for the cultivation of Natural Philosophy, and included in its bosom Galileo, J. B. Porta, Fabio Colonna, with other eminent men, though we are told by Cancellieri, in his "*Memorie dei Lincei*," (Rome, 1823, 8vo.) that our illustrious Bacon was proposed and rejected; but we can discover no trace of the circumstance in any of his biographers, neither in Mr. Basil Montagu's edition of his works, nor in Mr. Macauley's admirable article in the *Edinburgh Review*, nor, again, in the "*Memorie Istorico-Critiche dell' Accademia dei Lincei, e del Principe Federico Cesi*," by D. B. Odescalchi, (1804, 4to.) nor finally, in Lord Campbell's narrative. Other scientific institutions in Catholic countries also preceded our Royal Society.

And in the propagation of her doctrines, who will place in competition the missionaries of the Catholic church with those in whose hands the sacred volume has too often been the standard of war rather than the symbol of peace? Protestant historians, navigators, and travellers have been



unanimous in proclaiming the paternal affection of the Catholic preachers of the Gospel for the objects or fruits of their conversion, as they had no other children to divide their cares. Praise is even wrested from Southey and Robertson, while the more liberal Protestants are profuse in their commendations of these conscientiously devoted pastors. Their labours have long exhibited to the world one of the most valuable productions of the press—"Les Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," which Fontenelle justly named, "De tous les livres celui qui justifiait le mieux son titre;" and the continued series of this voluminous collection (26 volumes 12mo. of the old, and 10 of the new;) assuredly display no relaxation of zeal, or diminution of success in the renewed exertions of these admirable men. On the other hand, let the Protestant navigators, Kotzebue, our own Beechey, or the American Wilkes, be consulted on the conduct of their co-religionists in the discharge of their similarly undertaken functions. The comparison results in a contrast, as it equally does in the relative demeanour, within the passing year, of the Methodist missionary Pritchard, at Otaheite, and the Catholic bishop Pompalier, both there and in New Zealand. The late colleague of Mr. Pritchard, Mr. Williams, appears indeed to deserve the encomiums generally bestowed on him, and, less than any other, the fate he met with from the savages. A circumstance of incidental occurrence to M. Duflot de Mafras, an *attaché* to M. Alleye de Cyprey's embassy from France to Mexico, and mentioned by that gentleman, in his Exploration of California and the Oregon territory, (1845, 8vo.) signally demonstrates the marvellous influence of the Catholic missionaries in these wide-spread regions. He represents the deep effect produced in his feelings by seeing the natives just then, as if by intuition, emerged from heathen darkness, take from their bosoms a crucifix, and in contemplation of the affecting emblem, recite the hymn or prayer taught himself in childhood, but now so unexpectedly and sensitively recalled to his remembrance.

"Heureux le cœur fidèle,  
Où règne la ferveur !  
Il possède avec elle  
Tous les dons du Seigneur.

In presenting, however, the symbol of redemption to these

neophytes, their teachers never fail to inculcate the essential distinction between the spiritual and material, the real and artificial object, which they are only to view as a figurative type, impressive on the mind of the divine original—a distinction thus emphatically impressed in the well-known distich of the Jesuits.

“Effigiem Christi, dum transis, pronus honora ;  
At non effigiem, sed quem designat, adora.”

The subject of the traveller's work suggests a passing remark, that, alien in spirit as M. de Mafta appears, on every occasion, to England, (like nearly all his countrymen, jealous of their conquerors,) he is obliged by the force of demonstrated facts to acknowledge the superiority of English right in the controverted Oregon question.

In China, we may add, the proportion of Catholic converts, is about a thousand to the unit figure of Protestant proselytes.

Assailed, as is the lot of truth, we may in conclusion add, the church of predestined eternity must ever emerge triumphant from each attack, ever prevailing against evil, and firm as the rock on which her divine author founded her.....“ἡ δ' ἐσταθῇ, ἡῖτε πέτρῃ, Ἐμπεδον.” (Odyss. P. 463.)

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ART. III.—1. *Prayers for the Conversion of England.* By the  
RIGHT REV. NICHOLAS, Bishop of Melipotamus. Derby:  
Richardson.

2.—*Grounds for Remaining in the Anglican Communion.* A  
Letter to a High-Church Friend. By F. W. FABER.  
London: Toovey.

THE juxtaposition of these two publications is a symbol and memorial of the auspicious and impressive fact, that the late influx of converts into the Catholic Church of England, has synchronized with an extensive revival in the spirit and exercise of prayer. Viewing them severally as specimens in their different departments, they stand towards one another as cause and effect; instances of the call in faith and the answer of mercy. Neither do we see



how any good Catholic, taking into account the steady progress which our holy religion has made in England during the last few years, and the entire freedom in the aspect of the later movement, from all appearances calculated to throw discredit upon its depth and seriousness, can allow himself to question that God is signally in the midst of us, hearing the voice of the prisoners, and of those who are continually helping by their intercessions to deliver them.

We are far indeed from wishing to lay exclusive stress upon the effect of such prayers as have the conversion of our beloved country for their special aim, though it is of these more immediately that our present subject leads us to speak. For it must never be forgotten that prayer, in order to be effectual towards a given end, need not be verbally, nor even so much as mentally, directed towards that end. God hears the supplications of His Church, and (may we not add ?) of those also, who, like Cornelius, are earning to themselves grace, in a state external to it, not according to the words, nor even the intentions, of the offerers, but according to His own immutable wisdom and all embracing love. We remember, then, with grateful hearts, that the Catholic Church throughout the world is, not now and then only, but continually in prayer ; and thus continually reaping, through the Spirit of Christ which pervades her entire body, the fruits of prayer in the augmentation of her own holy resources, and the accession of new members to her pale. Despite the apathy of individuals within her ; despite their errors of judgment, or their subordinate differences as to means, or even objects, the Church on the whole, and as such, instinct with the energy of her divine life, and strong in the sanctions of her Redeemer, is ever winning the best of gifts through the efficacy of her daily Sacrifice and by the merit and prayers of her countless Saints ; some in glory some in warfare, some in suffering ; some conspicuous, more hidden. And the same remark is true, with whatever necessary deduction, of those who are anywhere honestly opening their hearts to Almighty God, and desiring only to do His will in the way He shall point out. How indefinite soever the prayers of such ; nay, how mistaken soever in the *intention* with which they may be offered, who yet can doubt that, in their measure, they may be accounted as involuntary contributions to the common fund of the Church ?

For the only conditions of effectual prayer, as it is most consolatory to remember, are faith in the Divine power, and resignation to the Divine will; and where these exist even in that imperfect form which virtue must ever wear in the midst of heresy and schism, (whether conscious or otherwise,) we question not that they have their proportionate fruits in an increase of blessing to the Church at large, as well as to those who offer them. And since, as Catholics, *we*, at least, cannot doubt that conversion to our own Holy Mother is the one great and palmary blessing of this earth, so when we know that individuals have lately been brought into her bosom, who for months and even years had prayed, though out of her communion, yet with a pure intention, albeit an imperfect knowledge, for light and guidance, we would be far from refusing even to those sincere, however feeble efforts, a share in the happy results which we have been allowed to witness.

But chiefly, of course, are we bound to ascribe these results to the intercessions of the Church herself. And why, indeed, need *we* hesitate in so ascribing them, when testimony to this effect has been of late not reluctantly extorted, but generously volunteered, if we must not say by an enemy, at least by one of whom we grieve to think as still an alien?\*

But while we acknowledge, with all thankfulness, the fruits of prayer in general, of sincere and generous prayer everywhere, and of prayer, though without any particular intention, in the Catholic Church, we desire to make a special reserve in favour of prayers for the direct end of our country's conversion. If it be allowable to pray specifically for *any* good, and even any harmless, object, (though in ignorance, and possibly under mistake,) much more unquestionable is the duty of praying, with a view to an object which has the stamp of the Divine sanction, and the certain encouragement of the Divine promises, to guarantee its legitimacy and ensure its success. That earnest persons *out* of the Church should not recognize conversion *to the Church* as the paramount object, but should prefer to pray for some less definite issue, such as the conversion of their country to "religion" (according to their own very insufficient view of that term,) or according to another theory,

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\* Vid. Dr. Pusey's letter on Mr. Newman's conversion, published in the *English Churchman* of Oct. 16. 1845.



the "re-union of Churches," this is both natural and allowable. It is but the consequence, unhappy, as we should say, but inevitable, of their own untoward circumstances. And even for *such* prayers, we say, we are thankful. For doubtless sincere prayer is ever a gain, *pro tanto*, and they who are out of the Catholic Church can hardly be expected to pray simply for her ascendancy; such prayer being a virtual condemnation of themselves.

Catholics, at any rate, will pray with more and more earnestness as their faith is enlivened by evident blessing, and their devotions inflamed by the reflection of their own success, definitely and specifically, for the conversion of England to the faith of the Holy Roman Church. Such definite and special prayers are not merely acts of homage, but acts of faith and of gratitude. Far from limiting the scope of God's providence (the common objection to prayer for a definite result), they rather embody in continual exercises of devotion the overpowering convictions, the burning aspirations, the unutterable thankfulness, of the worshipper's heart. They are prayers and thanksgivings at once; it would not be resignation, but disloyalty in a Catholic to couch *his* prayers for his country in vague generalities of expression, or to utter them with a faltering voice. Neither are such prayers a mere offering to God; they are also a testimony before men. Anglicans are familiar with the words, "Come, and I will tell you what things the Lord hath done for my soul." And since Christians cannot speak publicly in direct terms of their own blessed experiences without some violation of modesty, or some suspicion of forwardness, therefore they say the same thing indirectly, by their persevering prayers for the conversion of their brethren, and generally of their unhappy country, to the Faith in which it is their own unspeakable privilege to live. Thus, by one, and that a sufficient act, may they acquit themselves of the obligations of charity and of patriotism. Let their brethren and their countrymen at least acknowledge, in that act, the intensity of their convictions, and the fervour of their experience. *Direct* efforts towards the salvation of our brethren, are not only always difficult, and always more or less dangerous (without much self-discipline) to humility and quietness of spirit; they are often simply impossible. Let this consideration drive us the more upon Prayer, which, as it is ever the most efficacious, so is it ever also the most

practicable of all remedies for the ills of others as well as of ourselves. There are, for instance, whose vocation is to the Religious State; there are others, whom God visits with disabling sickness; others are children, in fact or in heart, and "cannot speak;" others are poor, out of sight, and out of mind; and others, lastly, have been brow-beaten, and are dispirited. Half the Church, whether from choice or of necessity, cannot, or will not, or at any rate does not employ itself in active efforts towards the spiritual good of others. The more needful, then, is it that all should betake themselves to that especial act of charity, of which no external disadvantages of situation can preclude the exercise, and of which nothing but wilful sin can prejudice the issue. Could we, then, get those, who are not as yet among us, to contemplate steadily the *fact* of these prayers, on the part of Catholics, so unanimous, so ardent, so persevering—surely we might dispense with many a wearisome discussion, and be resigned under many a harassing disappointment. For such prayers disclose far better than books and eloquence of speech the common experience, as well as the common desires, of Catholics, not only of those elder brethren who have ever been in their Father's confidence, but of those also whom, in His mercy, He has at a later time gathered into His household. Nay, if there be one who throws himself into such devotions with more of the fervour of grateful conviction than another, is it not he who knows the blessedness of the Church, not only by trial but by contrast; and who throws into his acts of devotion the spirit of an emancipated captive? "*Dirupisti vincula mea; Tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis.*"

The manifest connexion, then, between the late Catholic reaction and the prayers which Catholic England, not to say Europe, has now, for some time past, been offering to the Throne of Mercy in behalf of that blissful consummation, of which it suggests the animating, however distant hope, is the first and principal circumstance from which we derive our confidence in the character of the reaction itself. But there are other appearances belonging to it, inherent in itself, which alike suggest the happy and hopeful persuasion, that it is no superficial excitement or ephemeral outbreak, but a gracious work of the Spirit of God, characterised by those accompaniments of order and tranquillity, which are the especial tokens of His majestic, and deepening, and soothing Presence.



An evident proof of this is, we think, to be found in the diversification of the ways by which several, and those very different persons, have been landed in a common conclusion. Instances there have been, in this as in other countries, of extensive secessions, which may indeed have attracted much notice in their day, but which have yet left behind them no very certain traces of depth and power. Large bodies of conscientious men have, at other times, severed themselves from the communion of their birth, under provocation of urgent circumstances, or in vindication of some outraged principle. Under this head may be classed the late defalcation from the Established Church of Scotland. Nor has the case been unfrequent, especially among dissenters from the Anglican communion, of congregations seceding *en masse*, with their minister at their head. Not such as these has been the late defection from the Established Church. In several, perhaps in the majority of the cases, the plea of provocation cannot be even decently alleged; and in the cases where it may be imagined, we should hope that the character of the parties would be sufficient to protect them against the suspicion of any such disgraceful motive. Neither, again, is there any appearance in the late events of a confederacy, connected, as in the case of the Free Kirk disputes, by some binding tie, and pledged to the maintenance of a right, or the redress of a grievance. Those who have left the Church of England for the Catholic Church, have done so not in the spirit of opposition, but under the influence of attraction. We deny that the movement is rightly denominated a *secession*. It is something positive, and not merely negative—an act of homage, not of desertion—an affectionate surrender, not a critical selection.

An explanation of it has certainly been fetched from a circumstance, of which we deny not the truth, but the relevancy—the extraordinary influence of one of the seceding party. Now, as this hypothesis has been deliberately maintained, and with much colour from appearances, we propose to address at once some remarks to the subject of it.\* The following, then, may be regarded as a definite, and we hope not unfair, exhibition of this hypothesis; and an hypothesis it is which, as we freely admit, would, if established, go far towards weakening the importance of

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\* See the *Christian Remembrancer* for Jan. 1846. "The Recent Schism."

the late events, as a testimony to the Catholic Church. We hold it then a duty, at once of faith and of charity, to examine into its pretensions.

The view of the case is briefly this. Mr. Newman, Mr. Ward, and Mr. Oakeley, are selected (we know not why) as the three principal seceders, the ringleaders, as they may be called, of the conspiracy. Of these three cases, that of Mr. Newman is treated, as not only by many degrees the most important, (as who will deny?) but as even so important that it throws all other cases into the shade.\* Mr. Newman, not only important, but aware, as it should seem, of his own importance, not only quits the Anglican Church, but “calls upon others to *follow him*.”† And the greater number of the actual defections, it is all but asserted, are to be taken as instances of unreasoning obedience, or servile imitation.

Now it is a trifling difficulty, to begin, in the way of this theory, that Mr. Ward preceded Mr. Newman in the act of secession. Mr. Ward left the Anglican Church not only before Mr. Newman, but before it was certain that Mr. Newman would ever leave it. Moreover, ere as yet Mr. Newman's secession was even surmised, others, and they very considerable persons, had tried the Anglican system and found it wanting; not persons, we are aware, whose names are *in ore hominum*, but such, nevertheless, if report say true, and appearances may be trusted, as are earning for themselves a high place in the Kingdom which is not of this world. Now a theory is certainly imperfect if one single undoubted fact presents itself, to the solution of which it is utterly inadequate. These reasoners then have to account for the undoubted fact, that persons of undeniable and even eminent piety, had tried the Anglican Church to the uttermost and found her wanting, even before Mr. Newman's difficulties were known, or so much as conjectured. We are not saying that this fact, any more than others, is incapable of a plausible solution, and one which is also conservative of the Anglican theory. But we much doubt whether any solution not injurious to that theory, can be devised, which would be adequate to

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\* “To the first mentioned name of course, does the whole importance of this movement attach.” *Christian Remembrancer*, No. 51. p. 167.

† “We desiderate this note in a leader who calls upon others to follow him out of a Church. We do not see this note in Mr. Newman.” *Ibid.* p. 211.



the satisfaction of candid persons, even of the Anglican Communion, fully cognizant of *all* the circumstances of the particular cases to which we allude.

But, confining ourselves to the secessions either nearly contemporaneous with Mr. Newman's, or shortly subsequent to it: Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakeley, it should be observed, are neither the only co-seceders of Mr. Newman, nor are they clearly the most prominent. Not to speak of Mr. Morris, is it plain that the same account which disposes of Mr. Ward's and Mr. Oakeley's case, will also meet that of the gifted writer whose Letter is one of the two publications here under review? But, moreover, is it adequate even to the cases of Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakeley themselves? It seems to be felt that it is not, for its devisers do not seem certain whether to range those gentlemen in the list of Mr. Newman's followers, or no. They get over the difficulty by a middle course; determining them to have been indeed his followers, though coarse where he was refined, and forward where he was retiring. But here is another difficulty; for Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakeley are persons almost as different from one another, as both are different from Mr. Newman; which difficulty, however, the propounders of the theory rather evade than surmount.

Now, what is meant by "following" a person? And the question is important towards our whole argument. If it be meant that Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakeley were agreed in holding Mr. Newman in the highest respect and admiration, that they listened attentively to his words, anxiously watched his steps, would have rejoiced in his favour, been deeply pained by his displeasure, and possibly took his known or supposed opinion more or less into the account in forming and carrying out their own views for the good of the Church of England, all this we believe to have been strictly true. But that they were in the habit of consulting Mr. Newman, knew what was passing in Mr. Newman's mind, or even considered his judgment final, still less his word imperative, in all their ecclesiastical, much less their personal actions, this we venture on very good grounds altogether to dispute. Yet this surely, and not the other, is the sort of "following" which leads a person to take the most important step of his life at the bidding or the beck of another.

But if, according to the other alternative, Mr. Ward

and Mr. Oakeley did *not* follow Mr. Newman, but struck out a line of their own, then, whatever their testimony may be worth, they become at all events independent witnesses to the same conclusion.

In fact, the very diversity of the situations in which different parties in the late movement were actually placed in the Church of England, and of the duties to which they were respectively called, is quite enough to throw difficulty in the way of this hypothesis of close imitation, or implicit deference. Men's minds are imperceptibly moulded into distinct forms by the circumstances into which Providence throws them; and when those circumstances are essentially different, so also will become (even without taking original distinctions into the account) the characters and views of the individuals. Now it is hard to conceive greater adscititious, as well as greater original diversities, than those which separate the recent converts one from another. Mr. Newman, for example, during the last four years of his Anglican life, was in complete retirement, and devoted to his ecclesiastical studies; Mr. Ward was eminent as an abstract reasoner, and was a popular member of Oxford society; Mr. Oakeley had a chapel and a parish in London; Mr. Faber, Mr. Marshall, and others, in the heart of the country; while Mr. Morris, unlike all the rest, was a college student. Is it supposed that Mr. Newman was consulted on each emergency by Mr. Oakeley as to the arrangements of divine service in his chapel, or the best mode of dealing with his poor, by Mr. Faber, or Mr. Marshall upon similar matters of duty in their respective spheres? We believe no such thing; yet we are quite sure that any views for which any of these gentlemen may have been originally indebted to Mr. Newman, (and who, in the Anglican Church should not have been indebted to him?) must have been indefinitely modified by their respective diversities of circumstance, so as to render Mr. Newman's example in so great a matter as that of leaving their communion, no necessary rule for them. They had contracted obligations of their own, from which he was exempt; they lived in the midst of associations, to which he was a stranger. And can it be supposed that with persons, whose conscientiousness and sensitiveness are not disputed, such obligations would have had no weight, and such associations no influence? Yet, it is worthy of remark, that these influences were in none of the cases



naturally adverse, and in most actually favourable, to the tie which bound the parties to the Church of England.

And this leads us to another point. It is part of the same account to represent all the recent seceders as alienated in heart and spirit from their church, even while they were nominally her members and actually engaged in her service. Even of Mr. Newman, and far more of Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakeley, it is said that for some years they were *in* the Church of England, rather than *of* her; that Mr. Newman was rather her champion, than her son; and that, as to Mr. Oakeley, if he were indeed loyal to his Church, "he took a strange way of shewing it." The conclusion, of course, which it is proposed to draw is, that the body of persons of which these three are the chosen representatives, has naturally passed through and out of a system, with which it was never really identified.

Now, without entering minutely into the case of Mr. Oakeley, we will yet venture to remark that, before he is charged with disaffection to the communion of which he was a member, (a charge which, whatever may be thought by those who make it, *we* account a very serious one,) the fact and the result of his efforts at Margaret Chapel ought, in fairness, to be at least noticed and explained. It is somewhat of an inconsistency to charge Mr. Oakeley at one time with disloyalty to the Church of England, when he was a member of it, and at another to appeal, as we know is commonly done, to the present state of the services at the chapel which he recently superintended, *as a token in favour of that communion*. For that this service remains in the shape into which Mr. Oakeley, with much difficulty and against much opposition, brought it, is a palpable fact; and we do not see how it can be an evidence to the power of the Anglican system, without being at the same time a monument of Mr. Oakeley's attachment to the Anglican communion; though we *do* see how it may easily be the latter without being the former. But, passing over this case, let us dwell for a moment upon a yet stronger one, that of Mr. Faber. Mr. Newman's departure from the Anglican Church is attributed to the circumstance of his never having attempted, or been disposed, *to work out her system*. Could he, it is said, have been induced to exercise "sacerdotal functions" in a parish, the result of his experience would have been other than it was; at any rate the fact of his secession would have told more seriously

against the Anglican pretensions. Now, the attempt at working out Catholic principles in the Church of England, at any rate as a preliminary duty, is precisely what was made by some of the recent converts, though not certainly by Mr. Newman; and particularly was it made by Mr. Faber; and whatever account may be given of the actual and total failure of these attempts, whether or not it be ultimately ascribed to the insufficiency of the trial, or to the weakness of the agents, at any rate the fact is worthy of being encountered. And seeing also that the charge of disloyalty to their communion is especially directed against some of those who undoubtedly *did* make the attempt which Mr. Newman gave up, it would have seemed the dictate of equity to consider how far the fact even of the *attempt* might not be taken in deduction from the charge of disaffection; and again, how it happens that those who made the attempt in faith, could be less *loyal* to their own communion than they who declined it in hopelessness, true though it be, that they were assuredly less *long-sighted*.

But it is said "habemus confitentes reos." Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakeley acknowledge that they never threw themselves, *con amore*, into the Church of England. That Mr. Ward was never able to recognise any maternal bearing of that Church in his regard, is a fact, the knowledge of which we derive from his own characteristic openness; but the evidence is most defective of any such feeling on the part of Mr. Oakeley, whose case it is found convenient to mix up with his, though it is indeed essentially different in the very circumstance of the latter clergyman having, unlike the former, undertaken and discharged active ministerial duties in the Church of England under considerable discouragement. Acts are ever better evidence than words; and Mr. Oakeley's perseverance in such duties, (too long, though it were, for his own welfare and peace of mind, since it undoubtedly obstructed his recourse to the centre of unity and the fountain of all true blessing,) will seem to thoughtful persons a stronger proof of his devotion to her than passing expressions of misgiving,\* are a disproof of it, more

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\* By the bye, where does Mr. Oakeley use the words attributed to him at p. 199, of the article in question; "If the English church be a church, 'as we trust she is,' (sic.) It is hard to prove a negative even with a considerable knowledge (which in this case we happen to possess,) of a writer's publications, and we are far from absolutely denying that the words may somewhere occur; but we



especially when such expressions (even if they can be proved to exist,) are counterbalanced by many, and, what is observable, continually increasing assurances of contentment and satisfaction.\*

We owe some apology for the stress we have laid upon this part of the argument, the scope of which will not, as we hope, be misunderstood. When individuals, by deliberately leaving the Anglican Church, have virtually pronounced their judgment against her authority and pretensions, it is certainly a point of small importance whether to Catholics or Protestants, what may or may not have been the extent of their former attachment to her. To the individuals themselves, indeed, such a question is not insignificant, because we hold it to be a man's bounden duty not to remain in a religious society under a deliberate mistrust of her claims. Nor again do we mean that Catholics are altogether uninterested in knowing, that those who have lately come among them have some better title to their confidence than would be implied in the fact of their having been something very like deliberate traitors to their former masters.

Our chief concern, however, is not to defend individuals, but to protect the Catholic Church from the effect of a representation designed to throw discredit upon the testimony which her claims have lately received at the hands of those who were sometime her avowed, or real, enemies—a testimony than which we can imagine none more complete and irrefragable. Why should the truth be disguised or explained away? Here is a number of men, as various as you please in character, circumstances, and pretensions; agreed in nothing but in the earnest desire of doing God's

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should have been glad to see them substantiated by a reference. We do remember that in the article on Bishop Jewell, Mr. O. italicizes the qualification of an assent to the principle of Tract 90; but that he ever prominently drew attention to any misgivings under which he may have laboured relative to the English Church, we are considerably less certain.

And here we may observe, that (at page 200,) Mr. Oakeley is charged with inconsistency, in that at one time he finds fault with Bishop Jewell for despising ceremonial, and at another with Archbishop Laud for making much of it, as if there were no other alternative in the question but those of slighting the externals of religion and insisting upon them (vid. Laud's Canon on reverence to altars,) under an express protest against the doctrine which gives them meaning. The latter surely is the very course, (and one it is against which the actual circumstances of the Church of England demand a never-ceasing protest,) which converts expressive symbolism into lifeless formality.

\* Vide a Letter to a Roman Catholic friend, published in the *English Churchman* of Nov. 27, 1844.

will according to the light vouchsafed them. In coming into the Catholic Church, they have one and all made sacrifices, differing in extent and arduousness, but the actual amount of which, at any rate, is but very faintly indicated by what appears of it on the surface, and the very least of which should place the motives of the actors wholly above suspicion. All this is not panegyric; it is plain palpable fact. Not one of them was there, who did not first labour in his vocation in the sphere in which God had placed him; not one who acted otherwise than with a pure intention amid whatever grave mistakes and lamentable deficiencies. And whatever distinctions may be drawn between this and that individual of the number, we unhesitatingly assert, (and one reviewer's word is at least as good as another's,) that these men did on the whole try to carry out Catholic principles in the Anglican Church, *and were absolutely and hopelessly foiled in the attempt.* They overcharged the vessel, and she sank under the load. Their common object was to Catholicize their Church, though they set about it in different ways, and though their efforts issued in various degrees of success. And where do they now find themselves? Not in the Scotch or American branches of the Anglican communion; not with the Non-jurors, not with the Gallicans, not with the Greeks, but in pure, ultramontane, genuine, Roman, Catholicism.

And this leads us directly to speak of another, and to ourselves most cheering feature in the recent movement; its uncompromisingness. This is a circumstance about it which has attracted the attention of the keenest and most far-sighted of the Anglican bench—Dr. Thirlwall. He expresses surprise in his last charge, that the new converts did not adopt some “modified form of Catholicity”—that they did not close with Jansenism, for instance, or shelter themselves in the moderation of Bossuet, from the ultraism of Bellarmine. We are glad to have the testimony of this acute observer to a fact upon which we have often dwelt in thought with equal interest and delight.

And here we will notice another point, upon which we believe that some Catholics entertain a very natural, as well as very reasonable suspicion—we mean the kind of *temper* in which the late converts have come into the Church. We have no difficulty in avowing our own conviction, that the mere accession to our ranks of a number



of hot-headed, crotchety, intractable recruits, would have been an occurrence as questionable in the way of acquisition, as it would have been incomplete in the way of testimony. Nor can we do otherwise than acknowledge that, before the event, there seemed grounds for the apprehension of such an issue. Wilfulness and insubordination are of the very essence of Protestantism; but that especial phase of it, for which we can find no denomination but that of Puseyism, seems to many persons—and not, we think, without some reason—as peculiarly obnoxious to a charge of this description. We hardly know the sectarian, who at once talks so much of implicit obedience to authority, and appears to practise so little of it, as the genuine disciple of this school. Far from anticipating the wishes of those who are set over him, he seems to account it an especial duty to his Church to exercise ingenuity in explaining away their express declarations. This has been an uncomfortable sign in the whole history of the party, whatever excuses might formerly be made for it; but it has been especially brought out by the late decisions of the ecclesiastical court. Much reason, therefore, did there seem for fearing that men, trained out of the Church, and accustomed to act upon a theory which is really not only independent, but naturally subversive of the system in which they were placed, as well as of every other polity, whether human or Divine, would bring with them dispositions of no manageable kind; that they would “enter the Kingdom of Heaven,” not as little children, but as critics; that they would come amongst us in the spirit rather of restless reformers, than of dutiful subjects. Most happy are we in believing, that these surmises were entirely without foundation. Our new brethren now find themselves, as might have been expected, in a sphere where all their needs are supplied, all their tastes consulted, all their aspirations encouraged; they move without difficulty, they breathe without obstruction; that vast unfathomable abyss of mystery and of love, into which the providence of God has led them, they feel too holy for criticism, too delicate for the rash touch of inexperience; devotions which, as viewed from without, they felt to be misplaced, or practices which they had thought extravagant, now appear in their true colours and assume their just proportions; and far from being reluctant to surrender that right of private judgment to the exercise of which they might seem to have been dange-

rously habituated; they appreciate all the more the true liberty of submission, by contrast with that spurious independence, the most really galling of all burdens, from which, in offering us His yoke of sweetness, our Divine Redeemer undertakes to deliver us.

There are other features of the late movement, which present to our own minds equally satisfactory tokens of genuineness and trustworthiness; as, for instance, the absence from it of anything like fanaticism—the union, in all great principles, of the converts among themselves—and, above all, the sacrifices of feeling, those greatest of sacrifices, which have commonly accompanied it. And in pursuance of the same line of argument, we may refer to a phenomenon attendant upon it, which suggests upon reflection an exactly opposite view of the case to that which, at first sight, we might be tempted to ground upon it. It has not been a striking and *simultaneous* defection from the Anglican body. Even those individuals among the late converts, whose situation might have been thought to give them influence over others, were all but alone in their final conflict with the powers of darkness; the sweet remembrances of their youth, the endearing, or the venerable associations of half a life, retrospects all but overpowering on the side of cowardice, and prospects of most bewildering dreariness on that of duty—with these seductive temptations, and these forbidding fears, each one of them, and they especially who were earliest in the field, were called upon to grapple, when there were none, or but few, to stand by and befriend them. Mr. Newman was accompanied, in his great act, by three or four only of his faithful disciples; and if, haply, it consoled him to know that they were with him, did it not also even aggravate his trial to feel that he was leading them along a new and unexplored way?

This fact has certainly detracted something from the mere *éclat* of the crisis. The intervals between different conversions, though really very brief, have yet been long enough to give breathing-time to the public, and to break the force of the separate announcements. It became plain, as time proceeded, that rumour had miscalculated the extent of Roman sympathies, and exaggerated the probable number of the converts; teachers were followed by comparatively few of those whom the public accounted their adherents, and the retirement of ministers was



attended by no immediate, or perceptible diminution in the number of their congregations. And though there were miscalculations on both sides, yet, on the whole, more stayed behind who were expected to go, than seceded who were expected to remain. And according to the usual operation of the laws of reaction in such cases, that came soon to be believed as positively little, which was only less than had been expected. And then, because the names of most among the converts, happily, and perhaps honourably for themselves, were unknown to fame, prudent and cool-headed observers could assuage the fears of their more excitable neighbours by pointing to the insignificance, as others congratulated themselves upon the fewness, of the defaulters. "It is only the curate," or "it is only a maiden-lady," or "only a few poor people;" thus would they stifle the voice of conscience, or allay the misgivings of their partisans: forgetting that all earnest, and not merely all distinguished, people have their sphere of influence; and so that the real point was, not how many, nor how eminent the seceders were, but whether they were of that class whose actions *tell* upon those who know and love them. But even for the defection of more obviously important individuals, plausible reasons were not wanting. One was said to go because his friends had gone; another was beguiled or over-persuaded; men, because they are naturally headstrong; women, because they are naturally excitable; just as if it were in human nature, and especially in English human nature, to give up fathers and mothers, and wives, and houses, and lands, for unsubstantial theories and quixotic visions. However, neither pleaders nor alarmists are always particular about arguments; and all perhaps were agreed, and with good reason, that one way of checking the movement was to "ignore" it. At any rate, however, whether in ignorance or through policy, whether because sunk in apathy, or stunned by surprise, but most probably because occupied with interests of more pressing importance, the public has bestowed on the late astounding phenomena, a singularly, and as many will say, a providentially small share of notice; and on the work of conversion has proceeded, not conspicuously, but steadily; not with the impatience and impetuosity of a torrent, but with the steady though imperceptible advance of a gaining tide.

There is a deep truth in the proverb, "slow and sure."<sup>\*</sup>

Now this absence of plan and concert among the agents, is to our mind one of the most satisfactory criteria of the work which is in progress. There is absolutely no pretence for ascribing it to impulse or accident; to constitutional peculiarities, local circumstances, or personal influences. It is, as its enemies would describe it, not a contagious, but an epidemic visitation; it is "in the air;" it breaks out in various and distinct quarters, in successive, though not unintermitting flashes; it visits the most unthought-of neighbourhoods; it penetrates the most inviolable recesses; it defies bolts, and mocks at quarantines. Or rather, as we should say, there must be some deep subterraneous stream of health at work to account for the simultaneous gushing of so many independent springs.

And now that we have dwelt with some considerable earnestness upon the variety of the methods through which the recent converts have been conducted to the Truth, we will advert, still in the way of testimony, and not in that of commendation or of boasting, to the uniformity of their present convictions and experiences. In this part of the argument we are aware that we must make a large, though we hope not an exorbitant demand upon the confidence of our readers. We claim to speak as persons in the secret; and we are conscious that our credentials are not very producible. But we hope that the very boldness of our claims may be accepted as an argument for their trustworthiness.

We proceed then to the strong and, as we admit, somewhat venturous assertion, that in no single instance has the act of the recent converts resulted in any personal consequences save those for which they feel that the devotion of a whole life, though their best, is yet but a most insuffi-

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\* In the course of the last summer, Dr. Gilbert, an Anglican bishop, who about the same time signalized himself by a profane comparison between a blessed Saint of God and an itinerant mountebank, (See a Sermon preached before the Prayer-book and Homily Society.) was bold enough to predict the circumstances and issue of the recent crisis. "We shall see," he said with an air of triumph, "how many will follow Mr. Newman out of the Anglican Church." (See a Letter on Rubrical Conformity.) Now, it is true that the secessions have taken place gradually, and in small detachments; but the conversion of nearly forty clergymen, to say nothing of others, is a fact of which the bishop's words do not indicate any very lively expectation, and which we hope that, in his next charge, he will have the honesty to confront.



cient return. Not one of them is there, we fearlessly aver, but would bear us out in saying that the ordinary language of congratulation is defective, even to incapacity, in supplying the terms through the medium of which they would desire to communicate the strength and vividness of their mutual impressions. One vocabulary there is, and but one, which seems to come to their aid; one mine of descriptive and persuasive phraseology, to which they can confidently apply for resources to illustrate the detail of their feelings, or give point to their exhortations; and that verily is a mine, not merely rich but redundant, nor merely redundant, but inexhaustible—the depths of God's written Word. It is not pleasure of which they would speak, but “peace and joy in believing;” they would tell you that they have found a priceless jewel, the thing that they longed for, their true health, their second youth, the reality of the happiness that comes in dreams. Nay, and in describing their privileges they will quite unconsciously, and as if by accident, run into the very phrases of Holy Writ, as well as represent its sense in words of their own devising. Thus they speak of being landed in a “new world,” and of feeling themselves “new creatures.” They tell you that they have found the city of refuge, and reached the haven of rest. So great is the change, that in some cases they are even fain to doubt whether the cleansing waters of Holy Baptism did indeed pass upon them in their infancy, or the Sacramental words vindicate them to God. Your specious objections they will cut short with zealous impatience; your grudging admissions they will fling back with honest indignation; describing in the words of untutored eloquence and unsophisticated logic, the authoress of their new being, the Church, which is to them as their Lord, opening their eyes: “If She be a ‘deceiver,’ I know not; one thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see.”

And perhaps, were we or you their confessors, they might explain themselves by referring to the consciousness of a new power over sin, as though, like snow in spring, it refused to “lie,” where before it accumulated; of a more vivid and abiding perception of the Divine Presence and of communion with their blessed Lord; of a personal interest, in short, and practical participation, in that most wondrous and most consolatory Truth, which before was a mere abstract dogma to them, a doctrine which they had to

fetch by help of their intellects from historical records and external sources, instead of living in it, a present, speaking reality ; so wrought into the texture, so incorporated into the substance, of their religious life, that to energize in the one is to possess the other ; a Verity, not taught so much as depicted and *enacted* in the whole Church system, as in one arresting representation, one august drama ; symbolized in rites, appropriated in gestures, forced on the eye and worked into the heart with the whole concentrated power of that matchless instrument, that exquisite machinery of wisdom and love, whereby and through which our Lord reveals himself to men, not once for all eighteen centuries ago, but “ yesterday, to-day, and for ever ”—the Mystery of the Real Presence in the Eucharist. Or may be they would go on to enlarge upon the adjuncts and ramifications of that gracious economy in which they find themselves—the inheritance of the saints ; upon the prodigality of its provisions for our need, for the need of the sinful and the weak ; the multiplicity of its restraints ; the profusion of its encouragements ; the accumulation of its pardons ; its very superfluities and tautologies ; all alike seeming to bespeak, on the one hand, the overflowing tenderness, the anxious regard, the restless love, of our Divine Benefactor : and, on the other, to raise serious searching thoughts of the enormity of sin which needs for its pardon so lavish an expenditure of indulgence ; for its prevention, so complicated a system of checks. And is our salvation indeed so easy a thing that we may afford to cast behind us any one of those numerous aids which our Lord has so graciously extended to us ? God being what He is, and sin what it is, can one prayer of one Saint be deemed superfluous, or even the countless Indulgences of the Church excessive ? Look you narrowly into yourselves, O ye of little faith ! review the past, investigate the present ; observe how even now that the sensitiveness of conscience is quickened, not a day, nor an hour, nor a minute elapses, without augmenting the score which is in God’s books against us ; and then turn we to the Holy Gospels, to the sayings about wealth, and about idle words, and about the straitness of the gate and the fewness of the saved. And these things being so, *What, if the Grace of the Catholic Church, and nothing short of that grace, be God’s appointed way of leading to life eternal all those who have the means and opportunity of securing it ?*



But to return to the argument which is grounded upon the happy experience of the recent converts. It will be readily answered, (and we are not insensible to the force of the observation,) that nothing can be concluded from the present impressions of those who have come over to us. "Tell me not," it will be said, "what they *now* feel, in the first glow of their fervour, when all is bright and cheering, when they are flattered and fêted as visitors from a foreign country, or children who must be humoured into submission; let us rather know what they feel, and how they stand, after the wear and tear of a year or two, after some sufficient experience of common life, its dull routine or its agitating vicissitudes, its ups and downs, and rubs and frets, its chill air, rugged ways, unromantic realities. See if their Church will befriend them then.

But this were to mistake us. We are not insisting upon the mere fact, or even upon the fervour, of these emotions, but upon the peculiarity of their nature, and the coincidence of their testimony; and again their common coincidence with the description which the Old Testament gives by anticipation, and the New in fulfilment, of the fruits of communion with our Lord *in His Church*.

In the meantime, what a light do these late events reflect upon the distinctive character of the Catholic Church, as compared with any of those religious bodies which usurp her titles and affect her claims! What communion, we ask, but our own, could have sustained with safety, or encountered with calmness, even the first beginnings of such a crisis as that, which in the recent conversions, the Catholic Church must feel to await her? She indeed, who ere now has seen whole nations torn from her embrace, with anxious thoughts indeed for them, but without misgiving for herself; she who, at other times, has opened her gates to admit the strength of the Gentiles, or composed herself on her throne to receive the homage of kings, what marvel is it *in the eyes of her children* that in her lesser triumphs she should preserve a calm eye and an equable deportment? But what other of the various religious bodies in this country (to speak after the manner of Protestants,) could have coped with this emergency as the Church has done? What other system could, at once by its mere touch, have controlled some thirty or forty active minds, distinguished by their various characteristics, into implicit submission; nay, have attuned their discordant elements into strict

unison with itself and with one another? What other body would so instantly have righted itself after so hazardous a capture, or rather have received such an accession so much as a thing of course, have appropriated such a contribution so purely as a matter of right? Let the case be imagined, if imagined it can be, of such a windfall in the life of one of the sects of Protestantism, or even in the most considerable and venerable among the separated bodies, the Anglican Church herself. What a contrast would have been presented to the dignity and gracefulness of the late reception! What embarrassment would there not have been at the head, what servility at the foot, what agitation throughout the whole frame! What extravagant self-eulogies, what provoking taunts, what oppressive compliments! Compare with this the demeanour of the Catholic Church under her conquest of Mr. Newman. It has been just that of a dignified and courteous host, extending the hand to a welcome visitor, and, without a word spoken, conveying to him the inexpressibly happy conviction that he is "at home." But why any colder comparison? It is like a mother's greeting of a child with whom she parted in his infancy, and who, taking his place at once under the parental roof as the son and the brother, leaves neither leisure to comment upon the effects which a foreign climate may have worked upon his features, nor inclination to complain of the length of his absence.

It will seem, we fear, an unjust, as well as ungracious comparison which we are about to institute, between the way in which the Catholic Church comports herself under her recent acquisitions, and that in which the Anglican behaves under her losses; ungracious because it looks like a taunt, and unjust, because it will be said that success is ever easier to bear than disappointment. But we must not be deterred by any fear of the first imputation from insisting upon a distinction most important to the interests of the Faith; and we at once repel the charge of injustice by entering upon some farther explanation of that especial note of divinity which we have here been claiming on behalf of the Church. We are not then, it should be observed, vindicating for the Catholic Church the mere power of bearing her good fortunes with humility, but that majestic stability and indomitable vigour which make her independent of all casualties, and enable her to contend, as she should, with each emergency, whether pros-



perous or adverse, that arises. It is true, that in this country at least, she has not been tried by losses as by gains; but she whose dominion is from sea to sea, and whose reign is without end, how should she feel her rights infringed, or her existence perilled, by the apostacy, to any imaginable extent, of individuals, and even of nations? She holds a "charmed" and chartered life, and can bear to part with each several limb without prejudice to her vitality. She can lose with composure all that she ever will lose; that whereof the loss would threaten her safety, and the anticipation, therefore, of whose loss would disturb her peace, is inalienable; and in that security she both lives and rejoices.

Compare with this unspeakable privilege and the effects which result from it, the way in which in heretical and schismatical communions, and even in one which presents so many claims upon our regard as the Established Church, the defection, or disaffection, of individuals is, we do not say deprecated, deplored, condemned, (for in such dispositions there is of course nothing uncatholic,) but *resented as an offence upon the mere instinct of self-preservation*.<sup>\*</sup> The transaction between a Church and its members is treated not as an interchange of spiritual privileges and spiritual obligations, in which the earthly representative is a mere agent in bringing about and cementing the supernatural tie, but as a kind of social compact and honourable understanding, like that which mutually binds the governors and the governed, the conferrers and recipients of benefits, in some human institution or temporary relationship. A club, or coterie, a college, or civic corporation, may well be the victim of such passions, or the prey to such apprehensions; but surely, surely, they are unworthy of that Divine Society which represents our blessed Lord on earth, and has the privilege of indefectibility secured to it by His unerring word. And if of it, then of any communion which is an integral part of it.

Again, we know of a case in which the exercise of religious influence by a convert to the Catholic Church in a

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<sup>\*</sup> "A Church cannot with proper self-respect, hear her own ministers throwing doubts upon her existence, and not feel the offence. It is part of her very existence to feel it. A Church must, in simple consistency, assert her own life, and therefore must naturally feel resentment at the denial of it."—*Christian Remembrancer*, No. 51, p. 169. This anxiety about her own existence is one of those many cares of which the Catholic Church is happily unconscious.

neighbourhood in which he had formerly been connected with the Establishment, was described by one who wished to say a strong thing against it, as an “*unhandsome*” procedure. We are not speaking censoriously, or even critically, but merely of facts, as facts, and for illustration’s sake. The influences of the Established Church we verily believe to be of such a nature that few indeed can be proof against the danger which they involve of representing even the most sacred subjects to the mind through a secular, or at best merely human medium. What Mr. Froude, we think, denominated the “gentlemanlike” heresy, is not one of the least subtle snares of the Establishment. But even those who have escaped it, and they serious and sensible men withal, fall naturally and unconsciously into a style of language which betrays the genius of their system with a clearness sufficient to outweigh the force of the strongest arguments they can bring to the defence of it—a style of language which it is no sin in them to use, and no merit in us to want, but the mere result, in both cases, of our several positions. Did they but know in what light these modes of expression appear to Catholics, how strongly symptomatic, that we may not rather say conclusive, of the sectarianism which their employers so indignantly disclaim, surely this same “self-respect” would be a security against their use.

But we gladly resign this irksome portion of our task into hands infinitely more capable than our own of doing it justice. We allude, of course, to Mr. Faber’s brilliant pamphlet, which reaches us most opportunely at this period of our work. Mr. Faber has entitled himself to our warmest gratitude, as well as to that of his companions in his recent step. He has said severe things, which must be said, which none but a convert can say, which no convert but himself could say so well, which few desire to say at all, and which none need now say again. Rarely, indeed, have we met with a defence at once so spirited and so gentle, so considerate, and so uncompromising. It is a new thing for Mr. Faber to speak severely, and for that reason, especially, it is, that he speaks so well.

His pamphlet arrives too late to allow of our giving it the prominence it so well deserves. We must therefore content ourselves with a single extract; and we select one in which the author deals, in a masterly way,



with one of the most favourite defences of the Anglican ground.

“ You say, you have not tried all the means of grace which your present position affords, and it would be wrong for you to abandon it till you have done so. What strikes me at once as suspicious about this argument is, that it is equally applicable to a Jew, a Mahometan, or an idolater. No heathen, who, by God’s Holy Spirit, has obeyed the dictates of his conscience in the middle of his darkness, ever acts up quite to what he might do ; the Unity of the Godhead involves more than the best Mahometan ever performs ; the Methodist class-meeting affords means of humiliation, of affectionate counsel, and of spiritual direction which are not always, or often, found in the Establishment, and not the best of Methodists ever make use of them ; and till he does, on your theory, it would be *immoral* in the rector of a parish to urge him to join the Establishment.....On your principle, no one ever could be converted from falsehood to truth.” (p. 14.)

But controversy, though a useful, is but a poor weapon at last. It exhibits but one phase of our minds, and that neither the most interesting nor the most real. It is oftener a blind than a reflector ; it leaves our neighbour hardly wiser than it finds him as to what is going on “ in our heart’s core, yea, in our heart of hearts.” Nay, it even conceals us from ourselves, and leads us to think that we are not ourselves, but the men we look on paper. And yet it has its own uses, and some which are not directly its own. If we aim at what the philosophic Bishop Butler calls “ sincere ” writing ; if we do not consciously misrepresent ourselves, labour after effect, or victory, as mere orators, or mere pleaders ; haply God may give us a response in the heart while we seem to aim but at the satisfaction of the intellect. At any rate let us bear in mind that grace, and not intellect, is our point of distinction from the spirits of evil ; so let us handle warily all such weapons as are not surely of God, till they have formally received the impress of His benediction. And thus we end as we began.

ART. IV.—*The Lamp of the Sanctuary. A Catholic Story.*  
London: Richardson.

A WRITER in the British Critic some years since, in reviewing that most beautiful work, “Undine,” made one observation with which we heartily coincide. We have not the article at hand; but we remember that the writer complained most grievously of the utter disregard of the *imagination*, in that system of education which, till quite lately, had been growing into fashion in the Anglican church; and he ended with expressing his confidence, that if such a system had not failed of acceptance from the first, as it ought to have failed, from the deformity and hatefulness of its features, at least it would be universally exploded *after* trial, from its proved inefficacy and absurdity.

Most certainly, in the education of *all* classes, the task of eliciting and gratifying the perception of the high and the beautiful, is an unspeakably important element, or rather an essential one. How intimate its connection with that which must ever be the one central, paramount, and harmonizing object of all sound education—the object, namely, of thoroughly imbuing the whole of man’s nature with the religious principle! The discipline of the reasoning and intellectual faculty, however indispensably requisite, is surely less immediately connected with religion than is the cultivation of the poetical and imaginative; and very much less is that mere inculcation of what is called useful knowledge, which has of late been the object of so degrading an idolatry. We except, of course, from this latter observation, the instructing young persons in the mechanical duties of their calling; because that obviously stands upon grounds altogether distinct.

Nor have the acts of the recent high-church Anglican party belied the professions of their organ. There is nothing more remarkable, than the amount of literature which they have originated with a view to the young, and the great portion of that literature which is imaginative. Let any of our readers take up one of Mr. Burns’s catalogues, and see the variety of writers and of mythologies which he has pressed into his service—the “fables,” and the



“Eastern stories,” and the “metrical tales,” which he publishes for his juvenile readers; and when one sees the extremely low price at which they are published, and when one hears of the very remunerating terms at which the writers are engaged, it is evident that they command a most surprisingly extensive sale, and must be really influencing the English mind, and especially that portion of it the most susceptible to impressions, in no ordinary degree. To this we are bound to add, that the care employed has been very great and laudable, to keep these works clear of all that might possibly corrupt (in the common sense of that word) the souls of the young.

We have no desire to be unduly critical: but yet we heartily wish we were able to sympathize more simply than we *are* able, with efforts so spirited, so well-intentioned, and based on so much of right feeling and principle. But the more highly we think on the value and influence of imaginative writing, the more carefully we are bound to watch its nature and probable influence. If it be true—as we suppose is maintained by the writer in the *British Critic*, and by Mr. Burns’s supporters in general—if it be true that all addresses to our perception of the awful or the beautiful convey with no ordinary power moral impressions, true or false, how essential does it become, to take due care that the said impressions may be true, and *not* false. The true Church has *her* exhibitions of grandeur and loveliness; and false churches and false religions have theirs. And surely, without at all refining, it is a very hazardous and anxious matter, to say the least, that in a land calling itself Christian, nay, through the agency of a party who (however serious their errors) have a real desire to forward the work of Christianizing it, so large a proportion of minds are to be moulded in their tenderest years on a poetry (for all these works may most truly be called poetry,) which, with few exceptions, makes not so much as a profession of being the expression and the organ of Christian ideas.

We are not here speaking, as is plain, of directly didactic works, but of imaginative: nor again of tales where the imagination is interested by human incidents and adventures of a romantic character, however Christian the tendency of the whole: nor yet again of allegories, however beautiful and however significant of religious truths. Such literature as this, we fully confess and give credit for it, abounds in Mr. Burns’s collection. The effect, indeed, of

the two latter classes which we have specified, in impregnating youth with a religious spirit, is often greatly exaggerated : but, at all events, in either case, that which principally and directly influences the imagination, belongs to the earthly and natural order of things. We are not speaking then of such works as these, but, as we expressed at the outset, of those which more directly appeal to the imagination as a *religious* faculty ; where the effect is produced by the immediate introduction of the invisible world ; by the avowed and direct, though of course necessarily economical, representation of religious truths ; where the symbols employed have *no* meaning short of the supernatural. And for the material of such works as these, it is deeply to be deplored that modern Anglicans, with few if any exceptions, have recourse to all the varieties of heathen mythology or European superstition, rather than to the arresting and awakening truths of the Gospel ; that they seek for the ideas of beauty and sublimity any where rather than in their one special Home.

Such is the burden imposed by the Anglican system upon its unfortunate subjects ; for it would be unfair to speak of this procedure as voluntary and deliberate on the writers' part. The Anglican system is essentially prosaic ; you cannot place religion before men in a poetical form, without imbuing them with Anti-Anglican prepossessions. And if it be replied that, by our own acknowledgment a page or two back, all religions, true or false, do clothe themselves in such a form, we answer, that this is only a new instance, in which it appears how little the Anglican system contains a *religion*. Certainly there is within it much of christian belief, much of high conscientiousness, and much too of what may be called party-feeling. But, by a religion, we mean a "living power, kindling hearts, leavening them with one idea, moulding them in one model, developing them into one polity." Religions, true or false, do this ; the Anglican system does it not : it is an establishment surely not a religion : kept together by pressure from without, not the expression and defence of an active principle within.

We are tempted to carry on this train of thought a little further ; because we shall, by so doing, be able to explain our general meaning more clearly and distinctly. We will specify, then, one instance out of a thousand, in which



this contrast is exhibited between the Catholic Church and the Anglican system; and that instance shall be the idea of public worship recognized respectively in the two. The immediate impression of a serious Anglican, at first witnessing a Solemn High Mass, will ordinarily be that it is a hollow formalism and mummary, in which it is inconceivable that a rational being should willingly participate; the immediate impression of a devout Catholic, at first witnessing the Anglican service, will be that it is the lip-worship of a set of men who are atheists at heart. Both parties will in time correct their first impressions, so far as to allow respectively that Catholics may be liberal-minded and intellectual, and that Anglicans may be fervent and devoted religionists; but, still, the difference of the worship remains a very remarkable fact, and one which deserves very careful consideration. The true account of it will be found, we think, such as the following.

The Catholic Church has hold of this principle—that devout Christians differ from each other, to an indefinite extent, in the quickness and discipline of their intellect; but agree very far more nearly, in their susceptibility to religious impressions through the medium of their imagination. She requires then of the faithful, in attending Mass, this and this only—that they use their best efforts to keep their mind from *wordly* thoughts, and to surrender themselves to the natural influence of the scene which surrounds them. That scene is one continued ceremonial, and solemn representation, impressing on the minds of all the awful *fact* which is in progress; for the Catholic is taught that he is present to assist with his sympathy and his prayers at an unspeakably mysterious and blessed sacrifice; and that knowledge gives a colouring to all his thoughts and all his devotions. For those, indeed, who are naturally drawn to what may be called a more distinct series of intellectual acts of devotion, the fullest scope is offered; they may enter as much as they will into every detail of the whole service in progress; and the *prohibition* of intellectual exertion would be to some as great a burden, as its injunction would be to others. Still for all, the principal faculties called into play are the imagination and affections.

Whether, then, it be the general reverence and solemnity of gesture displayed around the altar which we consider, the habitual sight of this impresses on the whole

character, as in no other way it *can* be impressed, (or, indeed, any approach made to such an impression) that habit of reverence and adoring faith, which alone is the fit or possible recipient of true religious teaching; and of which it may truly be said, that when it is secured, the rest is comparatively light and easy. Or whether, as the service proceeds, the celebrating priest is especially proposed for reverence by the ceremonial; this inspires into the minds of those who witness it a continually stronger sense of the awfulness of his solemn function, and also a deeper reverence for greatness *not* of this world, for the union of purity, poverty, devotedness, and spiritual power, which go to make up the *idea* of a priest in the Catholic mind. Or whether the movements of the priest bring strongly before the mind the *sacrificial* character of the rite in which he is engaged; this deepens in the faithful their remembrance and trust in that One Sacrifice, of which this is the continuation. Or whether the Host be adored with divine worship, this makes the doctrine of the Incarnation a practical and influential reality to the mind, instead of a mere formula learnt by rote. And thus it is, that while the *knowledge* of these great truths is given by catechetical instruction, (which is dispensed by the Catholic church, wherever throughout the world her priests are found, with an exactness, clearness, and sameness to which no other religious body can distantly pretend,) it is by such addresses to the imagination, through the eye and ear, that the same truths gradually, and imperceptibly, and without conscious effort, take deep root in the heart of the people, and become identified with the first springs of their spiritual life.

And the *enjoyment* is not less than the *profit* of this service. In the midst of the heat and dust of the world, and what may be called the almost intolerable *prosaicalness* of every-day life, the prospect and remembrance of religious worship cheers and relieves the flagging spirits; nay, taken as supplemental and subordinate to the Confessional, tends to afford a counteraction, such as no Protestant scheme makes the most distant approach to affording, against those solicitations to sin, which, with the uneducated especially, are so constant and so powerful.

Let us now turn our mind to the service introduced at the Reformation; and in addition to all the other particulars in which the real character of that movement is



daily better understood, we shall here too have fresh grounds of disgust at the cant which pretended a consideration of the poor. "We have given them," said the Reformers, "their Prayer-book in a language they know." A language they know! why they took from them the only language they really know, that of symbolism and ceremonial. They deprive them of their processions and their vast variety of ritual and devotional splendour; still more deadly blow, they practically deprive them of the Confessional—and call themselves friends of the poor. Men who live by the sweat of their brow, are summoned to follow in their head a long series of precise and scholastic devotions, or to let their mind lie fallow during the whole of divine service: which alternative is necessarily adopted, let experience declare. And let any unprejudiced person, the better to fix his ideas, summon into his mind the thought of any individual he may happen to have seen much of, in the lower ranks, and imagine the state of mind of such a person on hearing the Church of England service read consecutively from beginning to end; then let him judge what can be worse than the shallow and cowardly conservatism which defends the continuance of such a system, unless it be the reckless, hard-hearted, and fanatical spirit of innovation which first introduced it.

Nor let it be supposed, because we have spoken with such emphasis of the poor, that others do not equally suffer. We have spoken with emphasis of the poor, because no subject of the kind, in point of importance, nay, rather of solemnity and sacredness, comes near to that of *their* religious training. But others also, if right-minded, when they enter God's house, wish to give rest to their intellect, while they allow full scope and vent to their imagination, their affections, their sympathies, their aspirations. And of those who are *not* right-minded, multitudes have gone astray for this very reason, that their religious system *has* so neglected the beauty and grandeur and solemnity of devotion. As the Anglican poor have tended to consider Christianity, not as a real and influential religion, but as a mere charm, or a mere form; just so have the wealthy tended to consider it, not as a religion, but as a political engine; the literary, not as a religion, but as a literature; the philosophical, not as a religion, but as a philosophy. In all classes that character of mind has been sadly deficient, without which so much as the first elements of true

religion cannot exist; a lively sense of the supernatural, a self-prostrating worship, a quick and eager faith.

Nor is the Catholic Church indeed insensible to the charms of *congregational* prayer and music, when refined and subdued by that spirit of reverence which is created and fostered by symbolical religion. No one can think so, who has witnessed the zeal and spirit with which a vast chorus unite in the chaunting of Vespers at one of our colleges; or who has heard of the hearty enthusiasm displayed by Catholics of the lower orders in Germany, while they respond to some litany, or sing with a vast volume of voice some hymn, in the vernacular language. Though of course it is not an easy matter, nor one achieved by any body of Protestants, to devise a service which shall be really congregational and yet common to all classes. The Anglican service is, in practise, no more congregational than it is symbolical. As far as the psalms go, indeed, they are edifying to those who can understand them: but they make a very small part of the service; and the poor are *not* taught to understand them. The rest to all, rich as well as poor, must either be a heavy intellectual labour, or a barren and empty form. The Dissenters seem to succeed a good deal better with their hymns and popular addresses; but then they again have only the lower ranks to consider, and over and above (what of course is the principal point,) their anti-Christian *doctrines*, it is more to the present purpose to observe, how rude and unchastened is their spirit; how entirely absent, from the causes above specified, are the very elements and foundation of true religion.

All that we have been saying has a direct reference to the little work, whose title we have prefixed to this article. It is true, indeed, that simply didactic works derive more or less of a distinctive colouring, from this difference between their respective systems. Thus that beautiful tale, "The Young Communicants," has no mark of any direct *intention* beyond that of inculcating Christian doctrine on the young; and yet, as all will allow, there is far more of the poetical element discernible in it, than in corresponding Anglican works, such as "Little Alice and her Sister," or "Conversations with Cousin Rachel," however excellent in their way these last. But it is works primarily addressed to the imagination of which we are speaking. And the drift of all that we have been



saying comes back to the point with which we commenced; viz. that while we give great credit to the new Anglican school for discerning the primary importance of cultivating the youthful imagination; and while we think that they may well serve as a model and incentive to Catholics in the labour and energy with which they pursue their object; still we must feel that they have not the means, in their Church, of supplying that imagination with its rightful pabulum. Christian doctrines cannot be impressed on the affections as solemn, holy, soothing, beautiful, attractive, except through Christian symbols; and the Anglican Church has rejected such symbols. One such work as this little tale, "*The Lamp of the Sanctuary*," will do incomparably more towards really Christianizing the imagination, than a thousand allegories or fairy tales.

There are two objections to what has been said, which will readily occur to the mind; and which, as we have gone so far into the subject, it will be well to consider. The first will be taken from the practice of the Church herself, which has never shown any disinclination (the very contrary) to borrow from any external religious system, and to press into her own service such parts of its ritual and discipline as she may find available. But this objection proceeds on a misconception of what we have said. Our own bias, in truth, goes beyond what sober judgment would perhaps warrant, in believing that there is no system of earnest religion, no species of genuine poetry, no exhibition of the really beautiful, how strange soever and uncongenial at first sight, which may not supply elements, which the searching and amalgamating spirit of Catholicism will penetrate with its own power, and mould upon its own principle, and employ as its own minister and organ. And in the case of beauty so transformed and renewed, no one supposes that *its* perception or study has any dangers for the young; we were speaking of such things, not as the Church moulds them, but as she first finds them; when they may be safely studied by the mature and perfect Christian, but not necessarily therefore, as is most evident, by the youthful student.

And this brings us to the second ground of objection. It may be felt that our whole argument, if valid, cuts

down at the very root all encouragement of a liberal education and of classical research. For this, we suppose, is the very characteristic which distinguishes a liberal education from a departmental, or mechanical, or professional one; that under the former the mind is brought under the influence of various poetries and philosophies, is privileged to contemplate beauty according to the most opposite standards, and truth through the most opposite media, or under the most opposite exhibitions. This, we suppose, is the essential characteristic of a liberal education; and the reason why classical study occupies so prominent a place in it is, that such study makes us intimately acquainted with a course of things—on the one hand remote from all present experience, and displaying principles of conduct widely at variance with our own; on the other hand illustrated by the highest gifts of intellect and imagination;—that it does this, we say, in a degree incomparably superior to any other study.

Now we certainly think that the higher minds among Protestants, have ever had a tendency too much to make an idol of the classics; that they have over-estimated their benefit, and most certainly have been miserably blind to their danger. And yet no Catholic need disparage, and we are the very last to wish to disparage, the singular enlargement and liberality of mind, which their study, rightly directed, tends to create. All that we bargain for is, that pains shall be taken that a student be deeply rooted in Christian ideas, before he be brought under the influence of pagan; that a deep-reading and energizing Christian education shall accompany, as well as precede, his classical pursuits; and that his first conceptions of the great and the beautiful shall be drawn forth by the exhibition of exclusively Christian models. Surely it is not too much to ask of those who profess much zeal for what they call our common Christianity, that they should acknowledge that, without such cautions, there is imminent danger lest the youthful mind be poisoned by a subtle paganism of facts and morals: while we in return will most willingly confess, that, as a secondary study, there is none which can come near the writings of Greece and Rome, in their power of enlarging, humanizing, and refining the mind.

We shall be accused, perhaps, of spinning out theories too pretentious and too subtle for the occasion; and though



we do not plead guilty to the charge, we care not to refute it. We will not conclude, however, without saying a word on the beautiful little work which has given occasion to our remarks.

It is founded on what is perhaps the most exquisitely touching symbol in the whole Catholic ritual; the light which ever burns before the tabernacle where Christ resides, a type of the calm, sober, unwavering, wakeful devotion paid by the Church to her Lord and Saviour. The whole story is foreign, not in scene merely but in sentiment; and if we might venture an adverse criticism on a small matter, the style is hardly simple enough for those for whom it is directly intended. No care certainly is taken to avoid *hard words*; which occur often enough to give great difficulty, not to a child only but to most persons not highly educated. But our unfavourable comment ends here. The story is so arranged as to be of constant and unflagging interest, and yet is not so absorbing as to interfere with the quiet and pleasurable appreciation of the sentiments. And the whole, from first to last, moves on a simply Christian ground. The dénouement is not a happy marriage, nor is the subject of earthly love (except parental and filial) so much as introduced.

We shall not give any analysis of the story, as it is only fair to the author that he should have the full benefit of its interest. But one or two quotations, taken from the earlier portion of it, will fitly bring this article to a close, as exhibiting in a lively and practical dress, the principles we have been advocating in a less attractive and persuasive shape.

The tale opens thus:

“In the recesses of the Pyrenees, not far from the Spanish border, there was (our tale is of the last century,) a small rural chapel situated on a hill, known by the name of Mont-Marie. The chapel itself was simple and unpretending, solidly built, and of considerable antiquity. The inside was, however, richly adorned. The altar had silver furniture, and the walls round it were covered with votive tablets, and with silver donatives, hung in commemoration of favours piously believed to have been received through the intercession of the blessed Mother of God, to whom the chapel was dedicated.—Indeed it was celebrated through the neighbouring country for many miles round, as a place of great devotion, almost a pilgrimage. Over, but behind the altar, on which was a rich tabernacle, stood an image of the spotless Virgin, bearing in her arms her Divine Son.

It was nearly as large as life, of white marble and of ancient workmanship. Every one who looked at it with a favourable light, pronounced it a matchless piece of art, a work of highest inspiration. Nothing could be more benign, more sweet than the expression of the Mother, nothing more winning, yet more majestic, than the countenance of the Child.

“In the midst of the sanctuary, before the altar, was hung a silver lamp, as is usual in Catholic churches and oratories, burning day and night. Never, on the most tempestuous night, was it known to be extinguished; for it was abundantly supplied, by the piety of the people, with the purest oil from the olive-yards of the country. And this to many of them was a matter of great importance. For that lamp was a beacon and a sure guide to the traveller at night. It was, therefore, so hung that its bright radiance shone through a round window over the door, and could be seen to a great distance. The path which led from several hamlets to the main road in the valley, passed near this chapel; it was a narrow rugged track along the mountain’s side, skirting a precipice; and the direction given to the traveller was to go boldly forward so long as the light of the chapel was visible before him; but so soon as it disappeared by a jutting of the rock, to turn sharp to the right and fearlessly descend, as the precipice was now exchanged for a gentle slope that led to the wider road. So certain was this rule, that no accident was remembered to have ever happened along that path. Thus did a beautiful symbolical rite of worship lend itself to a most beneficial purpose, and become the cause of great social good; thus did the altar of God send abroad its cheerful brightness to light up the dark and wearisome path, (alas! how like that of life!) and thus were the solitary traveller’s thoughts, attracted to the sphere where his guiding-star burnt clear before the mercy-throne of the Lamb, there to offer, in spirit, homage; or led to think on that wakeful Eye of Providence which darts its ray from a higher sanctuary upon our joyless way, to cheer and guide us thither.

“The chapel was under the care of a hermit priest, who lived in an humble dwelling beside it; and ministered to the spiritual wants of the neighbourhood, as the parish church was at some distance.”  
—*Pp.* 3—7.

#### A devotional scene—

“The door was open, and the western sun streamed in full glory through it, and steeped the interior of the place with a golden lustre, giving to the paintings and hangings, and the bright ornaments of the altar, a richness and magnificence truly royal. It seemed as if it was the hour of majesty, the time for urging great and noble suits at the throne of Power; the presence-chamber of the King of kings seemed gorgeously arrayed to hear the song of the joyful heart, and



to dispense the treasures of redundant blessings. And each and every one of those peasants, kneeling in scattered groups in fervent worship, scarcely able to bear the dazzling sparks of light which the sun-beams struck from the silver tabernacle, was in that moment ennobled and graced beyond the richest and proudest of earth's lords. Their rustic costume was embroidered by the golden pencil of Heaven, their honest heads surrounded, and, in a manner, crowned by a flood of glory, and their countenances upturned with glowing features, and moistened eyes, towards that Presence, before Which all earthly royalty is base. And now the organ pealed forth its powerful notes, and all united in a simple, but overpowering strain of evening thanksgiving.

"It was at this moment, that Pierrot and his wife reached the threshold of the door; and both instinctively paused as if unable to enter in. That sparkling light, that golden atmosphere, those joyful looks, those swelling notes, accorded not with their errand, sympathised not with their hearts, jarred, broken, fretted as they were. They were not coming to urge high and peculiar claims, but to seek pity, mercy, and peace. In a moment, however, they both felt confused at their apparent want of confidence; and, assuming boldly the privilege ever granted by Catholic feeling to the distressed, advanced to the steps leading to the Sanctuary. On these the mother laid her helpless burthen; and both, kneeling down, covered their streaming eyes from the overpowering, though fading, splendour that oppressed them. Long, deep, and breathless was their prayer. During it the music had ceased, the peasants had one by one glided out, and the hermit having closed the door, and with it shut out the last dying reflection of the western sky, whispered to the afflicted father as he retired, 'I have left the door unlocked, stay as long as you please. Have courage, and may God comfort you; and, through the intercession of His blessed Mother, hear your prayers.' He was not like Heli that good hermit, who chid Anna in the temple because of her troubled supplication.

"At these words, both uncovered their faces and raised their eyes. They were alone with their child: a perfect silence reigned around them. There was no light but what was shed by the lamp of the Sanctuary, between them and the altar. Hanging in mid-air, this seemed as a silver fountain of mildest radiance, not shot forth in rays, not scattered abroad in fiery sparks, not playing wantonly in unsteady flame, but softly and equably diffused from its source on every side, filling the centre of the holy place with a halo of serenest, purest light, and thence overflowing in a more subdued and blander stream, into the remoter parts and angles of the roof and walls. It was a light that appeared to exert a stilling, hushing power on nature; one could not conceive noise or disturbance going on under it; a laugh, a harsh word, an angry murmur would have sounded sacrilegious, if they could have been possibly attempted. It created an atmosphere of its own; as though that soft attempered light

diffused a corresponding warmth through the air, which the frost without could not chill; for no one could feel cold beneath its genial glow. It gave a softness and beauty to the commonest objects; the rude memorials of benefits received that hung around, and the poor paintings which adorned the upper parts of the walls, had their imperfect details concealed, and their more prominent features brought out in a subdued tone, that made them look like masterpieces of art; and countenances which by day looked stern, by this mild light, were gentle and engaging. But it was on the inward feelings that its kindest influence was shed. It seemed to kindle in the breast a holy light like unto itself, beaming, serene and soothing, over its disturbed affections, subduing pride and loftiness of spirit, calming anger, engentling austerity, and smoothening the folds of the crafty thought. It unruffled, it mildened, it melted the soul, and fitted it for tender and gentle emotions."—*Pp. 7—11.*

The meditation of Marie in affliction, kneeling before the Sanctuary Lamp.

"She thought of the desolate home which awaited the blessed Mother of our Lord as she descended from Calvary; the joyless board, the cheerless chamber, the restless couch, prepared for her after a day of anguish and of blight. There, comparing sorrow with sorrow, how trifling appeared her own afflictions beside Her's! There, eyes that fall on garments sprinkled from the wine-press, trodden that day, of God's justice; there, ears that yet ring with the clang of the hammer, forcing nails through the quivering flesh; there, a heart pierced through with a sword of grief, panting to its core with the keenest of maternal sorrows; there, body and soul staggering under a weight of anguish that would have crushed a frame of iron and a mind of adamant, but can be borne up by Her unresisting patience. And in the thought of such an ocean of sorrows, how small a drop did those appear to that child of grace, which the heavenly Father had allotted her! And now, after each kind friend that has accompanied this sovereign Lady to Her humble home has departed, she sees Her left at last alone in the silence of night, with the lamp (fed perhaps from the garden of Gethsemani,) beaming upon Her pale countenance, on which that day has written more of woe than years had traced before, glittering in tear after tear, as it trickles from Her dimmed celestial eye, watching alone beside Her, sole thing that cheers and sheds a ray of comfort through the dreary chamber and the drearier heart. And, in her childish thoughts, she blessed that pale and trembling light which then gave Mary comfort; and felt as though the little flame above her, shining now upon *her* and upon the sacred representation of that Queen of sorrows before her, were the faithful representative and descendant of that which then lighted up and cheered Her sanctuary and home. Its calm twilight thus exercised its soothing influence on the inno-



cent child's spirit, and associated her afflictions with the holiest that earth had ever witnessed. She felt as though she suffered in company with the noblest and blessedest among women ; and the total darkness which had before overspread her soul, was lighted up by a cheering ray, mild, serene, and pure, as that which tempered the shadows of night within that sanctuary. She felt that she could return to *her* desolate home, with resignation at least, after what she had contemplated."—*Pp.* 17—19.

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ART. V.—*Rome, Ancient and Modern, and its Environs.* By the Very REV. JEREMIAH DONOVAN, D. D. 4 volumes, 8vo. Rome: 1845.

WE rejoice in the opportunity now afforded us of introducing an old acquaintance to the British Catholic public. We have said an old acquaintance, because we are sure there are few Catholics in these kingdoms that have not become acquainted with the author of the present work through the medium of his excellent translation of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, and fewer still who have not admired the elegance and fidelity with which he has transferred to another language the spirit of the original. Necessitated by ill health to resign his professorship in the College of Maynooth, he has been, for several years, experiencing the advantages of a sunnier sky and balmier climate than his own ; and we find, in the volumes before us, that these years have been neither idle nor unprofitable, and that his pen has been engaged in a task worthy of even its highest aspiration—for what higher or nobler theme could an author choose than "*Rome, Ancient and Modern, and its Environs?*" Rome, that for more than two thousand years has been the seat of empire, the well-spring of knowledge, and the centre of religion to the earth ; which the poet, the orator, and the historian have made the subject of their eulogy, leaving still the subject new ; to which, even in decay, the far-off pilgrim turns with a fonder and more reverential feeling than ever urged along the Appian or Flaminian Way any home-returning

exile, when, after years of absence, his longing eye discerned the golden roofs of the Capitol in the distance; and which—but, in the enthusiasm of the theme and the moment, we forgot that we can lay no claim to the inspiration of the orator or the poet, and that an humbler duty is that which devolves on us upon the present occasion; we are not to say what we ourselves, but what others have felt and seen, and with the calm, dispassionate performance of that duty, it is only the sober judgment and sterner faculty of reason that have anything to do.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that the best books on Rome, accessible to the English reader, have been written by clergymen of the Catholic church, and both professors in the college of Maynooth—nay, in the very same department. We allude to Eustace, author of the “Classical Tour through Italy,” and the Rev. Dr. Donovan. We have had *Tours and Travels, Letters and Correspondence*, issuing year after year from the press; but, whatever may have been the pretensions of those whose names they bore, we venture to affirm that the *Classical Tour in Italy* has not lost its utility, nor been in the least disturbed from that high rank which the approbation of the literary world has awarded it. “*Rome, Ancient and Modern*,” will, we are confident, secure for its author a place near that of his gifted predecessor. However similar may be the subjects treated by both, there is no danger of clashing or competition, and though labouring in the same field, and working almost on the same materials, each has raised for himself an edifice peculiarly his own. The man of taste and learning will linger over the pages of the classic Eustace with delight; and whether he has ever journeyed, or ever means to journey through the regions he describes, will be pleased and benefited by the perusal; but the work before us will not only please on a private perusal, but be the companion of the traveller upon his journey. If the tourist aspires to anything better than the gratification of a mere idle curiosity—if he purposes to turn his visit to advantage, and enjoy the high intellectual treat of becoming acquainted, by personal examination, with the memorials of former greatness, and the master-pieces of modern times, we venture to affirm that the volumes of Dr. O’Donovan must prove valuable accessions upon his journey. The opportunities enjoyed by him of a personal and minute inspection—an intimate acquaintance with the



language of modern Italy, as well as with the literature of ancient times—and a residence of several years amid the objects he describes, have abundantly fitted him for the task he has undertaken. And we accordingly find that minuteness of detail, and accuracy of information—that laborious research, and pains-taking investigation, which occasionally, we must confess, tedious and dry in the perusal, must be in the highest degree acceptable to him whose good fortune it is to go about, book in hand, from one object of interest to another, and who is determined to leave no nook or corner unexamined and unexplored. Something has been done in this respect by others; but we believe that, until the appearance of the present work, no detailed and satisfactory account has appeared in our language. What our author professes to do, we will permit him to explain in his own words:

“This work consists of four parts. The first of which contains a rapid historical sketch of the rise, progress, decline, fall, and revival of the city from its foundation to the present day: with notices, geological, statistical, political, and religious—a necessary preliminary to a clear and comprehensive delineation of ancient and modern Rome. The second part comprises a description of the modern city, its churches, palaces, museums, galleries, charitable institutions, hospitals, prisons, schools, colleges, universities, and other public establishments. The third part embraces the antiquities ranged for the most part in chronological order; and the fourth part conducts the stranger through the environs of Rome. Among the crowds who annually visit Rome, some will be found unfamiliar with classical antiquity, and the author has therefore premised to his description of the ancient monuments, a series of chapters on the origin, nature and use of temples, forums, basilicks, circuses, theatres, amphitheatres, aqueducts, baths, triumphal and monumental arches; on the domestic architecture of the Romans, and on their architecture in general; on the materials used for the purposes, on ancient sepulchres, obelisks, gardens, and roads. The work is, moreover, enriched with sixty-two copper-plate illustrations, engraved by an eminent Roman artist, Sr. Cottofavi, with strict attention to fidelity of design, as well as beauty of execution.”—*Preface*, p. 7.

It will be seen, from this brief programme, what a vast field the author has chosen for his labours, and how many and various are the subjects treated of in the pages that are open before us. We wish to give some extracts, but know not where to begin. There are descriptions of

St. Peter's and St. Paul's, St. John Lateran's, and St. Mary Major's; but these are not new to our readers, and we know that the following will prove more interesting and attractive. It is a description of the Etruscan Museum, founded by the present pontiff.

“This museum, which rivals the Egyptian, is altogether the creation of the reigning pontiff, Gregory XVI. having been completed under his auspices in 1837. The locality which it occupies, consisting altogether of ten rooms, not including passages, had been part of the residence of the Cardinal Librarian, in the Belvidere palace, and exists from the time of Innocent VIII. The principal part of its treasures come from the necropolis of Vulci Tarquinia and other Etruscan cities in the neighbourhood of Civita Vecchia, and none of more than a day's journey from Rome. The excavations of which they are the fruit, are conducted as matter of private speculation, and the only restrictions imposed, are, that the Papal Government should have the first choice of purchase; and may also forbid the sale of articles out of Italy. The excavations are in the hands of a few dealers, such as Capranesi, Campanari, Fossati, Basseggio, or of eminent collectors, such as the Cav. Campana and Prince Canino. Within the last twenty years ancient Etruria, which includes that tract of country between the Tiber and the Armentina, now the Fiora, has attracted the attention of the learned and curious of every civilized country. The materials on which learned industry has to exert itself are still on the increase; and the present pope, who first conceived the idea of collecting together in one locality, these precious remains of antiquity and art, found within his dominions, is entitled to the gratitude of every admirer of antiquity. Active and vigilant in his high and holy station, in presiding over the councils of the Catholic world, he has devoted, and still devotes, many of his intervals of leisure to his favourite museum, and he merits no ordinary eulogy for the zeal, taste, and liberality evinced in the selection, distribution, and allocation of these records of the ancient world. They consist of various articles in gold, silver, bronze, ivory, bone, in painting, sculpture, and architecture, and constitute so many connecting links between the monuments of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, bearing unequivocal testimony to the civilization and refinement of a people who flourished centuries before the foundation of the city of Romulus. The habitations of the living disappeared under the destroying influence of time, devastation, and barbarism, but those of the dead remained intact, and from them has issued a solemn voice inviting us to turn for a moment from the works of the Republic and the Empire, and contemplate in these precious remains the palpable proofs of the primitive civilization of Italy before the Romans. A new light has thus risen to dissipate the darkness of centuries, and to enable the antiquary of a future day



to place in a clear point of view the condition of ancient Italy and the primitive history of her people. But it is time to introduce the reader to the monuments themselves. On entering the vestibule we meet on the right a sarcophagus, in terra cotta, of a female whose figure is seen recumbent on the lid with her head veiled, and a crown in her left hand, on one finger of which is a ring; on the lid of the opposite one reposes a young man with a crown of flowers hanging from his neck, one of laurel on his head, and a ring on one of the fingers of his left hand. On the sarcophagus opposite the entrance reposes another female figure, richly decorated with necklace, bracelets, armlets, rings, earrings, and a crown. At the sides of this third sarcophagus are two horses' heads also in terra cotta, found over the entrance of a tomb in Vulci, and around the walls are various profiles, some extremely well executed. The next room is a sort of oblong passage, in which are urns of terra cotta and alabaster of Volterra, together with various heads ranged on the shelves. The first urn to the right on entering is decorated with the relief of a man on horseback on his last journey to the city of the dead; and on the lid of the opposite one is a female dressed and veiled, on a rich couch, with a fan in her hand. The relief on the second urn to the left represents Helen embarking in a Greek vessel, an emblem of the voyage of life; and on the opposite one is an unknown combat."

We find that it would be too long to go the round of the ten rooms similarly ornamented. Many of their contents were noticed in a former number of this Review; and therefore, we have the less difficulty in passing over them on the present occasion. We find that one of the apartments has been judiciously and appropriately fitted up in the form of an Etruscan tomb. The following sketch of the history and present condition of the Vatican Library will not prove uninteresting.

"A collection of works is supposed to have existed in the Lateran palace from the establishment of Christianity under Constantine, and to have been transferred thence to form the nucleus of the Vatican Library. It was enriched by pope Zozimus in 742, with numerous Greek and Latin manuscripts, and it received a still greater accession of MSS. in 1453, brought by the fugitive Christians from Constantinople after the fall of the Eastern Empire, which occurred in the pontificate of Nicholas V. who not only purchased the spoils of the imperial library of the Eastern capital, but also sent agents to Greece to collect manuscripts; Rome had become the nursery and asylum of Greek literature since the fourteenth century. Nicholas V. also collected the manuscripts of the masters of antiquity from the monasteries of Germany and Britain;

and whenever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted to the Vatican Library, insomuch that in a reign of eight years, his industry formed a library of 5000 volumes. The zeal of Sixtus IV. in augmenting the library is celebrated by Ariosto and also by Platina, who was appointed librarian about 1480, and his example was followed by Leo X. Paul IV. Pius IV. Pius V. and Gregory XIII. A new apartment having become necessary to receive the increased and increasing treasures, Sixtus V. in 1588, employed Fontana to cut in two the court of Bramante, called the Belvidere, by a new range of building, which he enriched with many new works. In the pontificate of Clement VIII. in 1600, it acquired the important collection of the famous Fulvius Ursinus, followed by the valuable collections of the Benedictine monastery of Bobbio, composed chiefly of Palimpsests. The library then contained 11,160 MSS. of which 8942 were Latin, 2158 Greek. Paul V. transferred to it the printing-office erected by Paul IV. under Paulus Manutius. The Palatine Library captured at Heidelberg by Tilly, and presented to Gregory XV. in 1621, was the next accession. It contained 2415 MSS. of which 1984 were Latin, and 431 Greek. Alexander VII. in 1626, added to it the library of Urbino, founded by Duke Federigo, whose passion for books was so great that at the taking of Volterra in 1472, he reserved nothing but a Hebrew Bible as his own share of the spoil. This collection, which was purchased from the authorities of Urbino, enriched the Vatican with 1165 Greek, and 1704 Latin MSS. In 1690 the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden, passed into the library in the pontificate of Alexander VIII. comprehending all the treasure taken by her father Gustavus Adolphus at Prague, Wurtzburg, and Breman, and amounting to 2337 MSS. of which 2092 were Latin, and 245 Greek. Clement XI. in the beginning of the last century presented fifty-five Greek MSS. to the library, collected by his order in Egypt and Syria, when he sent Abraham Massad, Andrew Scandar, and the famous Assemani, to purchase at any price. Paul V. added the left, and Clement XI. the right wing. Benedict XIV. in 1746 added to it the splendid library of the Ottoboni family, containing 3386 Latin, and 470 Greek MSS., and about the same time the Marquis Capponi bequeathed to it his valuable collection of 283 MSS. Pius VII. purchased the library of Card. Zelada from his heirs, containing 100 MSS. Leo XII. purchased the works of antiquity and art that had belonged to Count Cicognara, and Gregory XVI. added to it the apartment Borgia, consisting of ten spacious rooms for printed books alone. The last accession of importance was that of 162 Greek MSS. from the convent of St. Basil at Grotta Ferrata. At the peace of 1815, on the application of the late King of Prussia, many of the Heidelberg MSS. were restored by Pius VII. By the 8th article of the suspension of hostilities concluded at Bologna with the French in 1796, it was stipulated that Pius VI. should cede



500 Vatican MSS. to be chosen at will, the greater part of which have been since restored. At present the Vatican library contains 3686 Greek, 18,108 Latin, 726 Hebrew, 787 Arabic, 65 Persian, 64 Turkish, 459 Syriac, 75 Ethiopian, 18 Slavonic, 22 Indian, 10 Chinese, 80 Coptic, 13 Armenian, and 2 Georgian MSS. amounting in all to 24,111, the finest collection in the world; which, with 25,000 duplicates, and 100,000 printed volumes, make a total of 149,494. The office of librarian is one of the highest in the Roman court, and is always occupied by a cardinal, subordinate to whom are two sub-librarians and nine secretaries, who are employed in transcribing and publishing accredited MSS. at the library printing press. One of the last sub-librarians was the famous Polyglot Monsignor, now Cardinal Mezzofanti, who converses fluently in fifty languages, and whom Lord Byron would have interpreter at the tower of Babel."—Vol. ii. page 488.

There are few objects more strange to a visitor in Rome than the obelisks which adorn so many of its public places. The number that were originally brought from Egypt, it is now impossible to determine; but there are, at the present moment, twelve more or less perfect, standing within the walls of the modern city. Some of these have been found buried in the earth, and have been erected as mere ornaments, for which their light and tapering form and great height render them admirably adapted. But the mysterious inscriptions, carved upon their sides by the artists of the Nile, long bade defiance to the scrutiny of the learned, and seemed likely to baffle for ever the most persevering efforts of his intelligence. But the dark veil, which had so long shrouded their meaning, has given way at last, and the sacred characters of the Pharaohs are no longer a secret to the world.

"Zoega," says Dr. Donovan, "in his celebrated work '*de Origine et usu Obeliscorum*,' has left us an historical account of the Roman obelisks, without, however, having attempted any interpretation of their hieroglyphics. This very laborious task was undertaken by Champollion, who was furnished with engravings of them executed by order of Leo XII. but his death in 1832 prevented the execution of the work, which it appeared he had not even commenced. His friend, the Cav. Rosellini of Pisa, was next requested to undertake the task, but being busily engaged in the publication of his work on Egypt and Nubia, he wrote to Father Ungarelli\* of the congregation of Barnabites, requesting him to interpret the hieroglyphics,

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\* We regret to say that this learned ecclesiastic departed this life in Rome, in the Autumn of the present year.

and promising to add explanatory notes. Father Ungarelli had studied under Champolion and Rosellini, but his modesty declined the undertaking until his reluctance was overcome by the importunity of Cardinal Lambruschini, formerly of the same congregation, and now secretary of state to his Holiness. He accomplished the arduous labour in the short space of two years and a half, adding the interpretation of those of Beneventum and Urbino, together with his own notes and those of Rosellini, all of which he published in Rome in 1842, under the title of '*Interpretatio obeliscorum urbis.*' The inscriptions begin at the summit, are read from right to left, and consist for the most part of pompous and iterated eulogies of the gods and kings of Egypt, to whom they relate, announced in all the turgidity of Eastern hyperbole. To gratify the curiosity, without perhaps fatiguing the patience of the reader, we shall confine ourselves to the translation of the hieroglyphics of the one before us, (the Lateran obelisk,) referring for the others to the learned work of Father Ungarelli already mentioned, which contains the hieroglyphics themselves, and their version by him into the demotic idiom of Egypt and into the Latin language. The sun most potent governing the universe, joyous in his kingdom like the sun in heaven. Horus resplendent, distributing dominations, whose vigilance reacheth from south to north. Thutmes (IV.) well deserving of Egypt, the aggrandizer of Thebes, who is called the sun, consolidating the world, grateful for having been made the giver of life, dedicated a structure which is to last for ever, an excellent obelisk, mounting to the heavens, a shrine to the honour of Ammon-the-sun, his father who ruleth both Egypts. Horus the first-born, the friend of the sun, ruling in the southern land, who governeth both Egypts with the sway of justice, dear to all; Horus resplendent, the sun consolidating the world called Mæris, who by his counsel defendeth the edifices of the city of Ammon."

We fear very much that our readers would lose all confidence in us, if we were to inflict on them the five long pages of the translation. These few sentences will give an idea of the style. As for the historical matter, the less we say about that the better. Something more attractive to our Irish readers than even the glories of the "resplendent Horus," will be the following description of our own Franciscan convent of St. Isidore.

"The Irish college of St. Isidore stands on the southern skirt of the Pincian, adjoining the church of the same name, and was erected in the seventeenth century by some Spanish Franciscans as an hospitium for their discalced fellow-countrymen. On their removal to Araceli it was enlarged and converted into a college for the education of Irish Franciscan Observants, by the celebrated Luke Wadding, O.S.F. its first guardian, with the munificent aid,



and with the fostering patronage of Cardinal Ludovisi. On occasion of the French military occupation of 1789, the edifice shared the fate of the other British establishments in Rome, and was purchased by Prince Piombino, who rented it to numerous lodgers, among whom was a member of the former community, the Rev. James M'Cormick, who continued to serve the adjoining church and thus retained partial possession of the establishment until the expulsion of the French and restoration of Pius VII. in whose pontificate it was recovered by its rightful owners, not however without a tedious and expensive lawsuit, with the greedy and sordid speculator, from whose iron grasp it was wrung. The college is capable of accommodating sixty students, but the community seldom exceeds half that number. The body of the edifice consists of an outer and an inner cloister separated by the sacristy. The spacious inner cloister, which is by far the larger, was erected by Wadding, who also added a second story to the outer one, and the college has annexed to it an extensive vegetable garden. The walls of the inner cloister are covered with frescoes, executed by Emanuel da Como, a lay brother of the order. On the ground floor are the refectory, kitchen, dispensary, and class hall. The refectory is a spacious hall, the walls of which are covered with frescoes, in compartments divided by Ionic columns, and presenting views of Tivoli and Vesuvius, executed at the expense of Viscount Fitzwilliam, when on a visit to Rome. The hall of theology is a noble apartment thirty-eight feet long by eighteen in breadth. Its walls are covered with frescoes, some of which are of great merit, and all of considerable interest as regards the early history of the college. The large fresco on the end wall to the right on entering, represents Fathers Wadding, Ponce, Hickey, and Harold, engaged in perusing the great work of the annals. This fresco is admirable for drawing and execution, the heads being of a very high degree of merit, full of life, spirit, and truth, and was copied by order of the late Lord Arundel. The first portrait to the left is that of Thomas Fleming, archbishop of Dublin, of the family of the barons of Slane. He obtained from Urban VIII. a brief permitting Irish students to be ordained 'titulo missionis,' and died during the usurpation of Cromwell. The next portrait is that of Florence Conry, archbishop of Tuam, who founded the Irish Franciscan convent at Louvain, to which his remains were removed, after his death at Madrid in 1629. The third is that of Hugh M'Savill, archbishop of Armagh; he died in 1626. The next is Maurice de Porter or Fiheli, a native of Cork, archbishop of Tuam, who died in 1516. The fifth is Saint Bonaventure. The sixth Duns Scotus, who is represented as uttering his famous proof of the immaculate conception, 'Decuit, Potuit, ergo Fecit.' The seventh is Luke Wadding. The eighth is that of Anthony Hickey, a native of the county Clare, and first lecturer on divinity in the college, where he died, and was interred in 1641. The eighth is that of John Colgan, author of

the 'Acta Sanctorum.' The ninth of Francis Porter, born in Meath in 1640, for many years Guardian and Lecturer of St. Isidore's, and the last of John Ponce, a native of Cork, Guardian of St. Isidore's, and Rector of the Irish Secular College in Rome.\* On the second floor are the rooms of the inmates. On the third floor are the library, containing about 10,000 volumes, and the archivium rich in numerous interesting manuscripts relating to the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland, in Latin, English, and Irish. The Irish MSS. are The Annals of the Four Masters; The Genealogies of the Kings, with the pedigrees of the Irish Saints, and the Irish Calendar, as compiled by Michael O'Cleary in the monastery of Athlone in 1644; The Martyrology of Ængus; The Life of Columbkil, on vellum, translated by Henry O'Neil, chief of the name, who died in 1489; The Flight of O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, after the Rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty in 1607, a rare document, and the Lives of the Saints, from which Colgan published. It is to be regretted that these valuable MSS. which now lie mouldering in the obscurity of a foreign land, are not in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, whose talented and patriotic members would no doubt render them available in illustrating the ancient annals, and augmenting the literary treasures of Ireland."—Vol. iii. page 972.

Notwithstanding the worth of the author, and our respect for the Royal Irish Academy, we should much prefer seeing the literary treasures of Saint Isidore's transferred to the library of the College of Maynooth, which would be, in our opinion, a more fitting depository than any other institution. We think that a little exertion on the part of the prelates, and application to the proper quarters, would secure this and many other similar treasures to the clergy of their own country. We know that there are, within the walls of their college, several who would both appreciate, and turn to the good use of the public, the documents that are now mouldering on the shelves of many a library and convent on the continent.

Rome has confessedly the proud pre-eminence of being the seat and mistress of the arts. And the Catholic world recognises in her the abode of that spiritual power and authority, which, independent of the splendour of those material edifices in which its ministrations are carried on, will endure till time itself shall be no more. But it is cheering to the Catholic heart to find that Rome is also

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\* These have been all the authors of several works, a list of which is given in Dr. Donovan's book, but it is too long for quotation.



the great model and example of Christian charity: and a charity that not only provides for the bodily requirements of the needy and the sufferer, but, like its Divine Master, leaves no part of the work undone, and extends its kind and comprehensive benevolence to the maladies of the soul. What can be better proof of this than the Hospital of St. Michael?

"It comprises eight courts, and consists of four grand divisions, composed of old men, old women, boys and girls, besides which there is a house of correction for dissolute females, and a prison for female delinquents, together with gratuitous schools for the mechanical and liberal arts. It admits foundlings, orphans, friendless children, decayed tradesmen, time-worn servants, and the aged of all descriptions not labouring under infectious disease; supplying them with every aid, spiritual and corporal. The children of both sexes are admitted about the age of ten. The young men having learnt some art, are dismissed about the age of twenty, with a complete suit of clothes, and a sum of money sufficient to purchase the implements of their trade and profession. The young women are kept until provided for, by getting married or entering a convent, and are entitled to a dowry of a 100 crowns, or 200 crowns if they enter religion, sums supplied principally by the Confraternity of the Annunciation. The diet of the old men, and of the old and young women, consists of 18 oz. of excellent bread per day, a minestra, 4 oz. of meat, a foglietta of good wine, and for supper another minestra,\* or a salad, one dish, besides fruit occasionally. Something particular on festivals, and an additional half foglietta of good wine. The diet of the boys is the same, except that the grown boys receive four additional ounces of bread daily. The food, on days of abstinence is different, but not less in quantity, nor inferior in quality. The aged dress in woollens in winter, in linens in summer. The boys and girls wear a uniform whenever they go outside the walls of the establishment. Within the girls dress as they please: the boys wear a sort of comfortable undress. The temporal and spiritual government of the establishment is under the superintendence of a Cardinal Protector, who is perpetual visitor. The old men are under the inspection of a priest denominated prior, who gives them permission to leave the hospital occasionally, sees that they observe the discipline of the house, attend their religious duties, &c. The old women are governed by their

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\* The author supposes all his readers to know what minestra and foglietta and many other terms throughout his book mean as well as he does himself. We would recommend him to translate them in the next edition for his less informed and less travelled acquaintance. The *minestra* is a thick substantial soup of rice, maccaroni, bread or vegetables. The *foglietta* is very nearly equivalent to an English pint.

prioress, a sub-prioress and their assistants ; and the boys under a rector. The spiritual concerns of the establishment are in the hands of the parish priest and curate of St. Michael, for Leo XII. in 1824, converted the hospital into a parish. Two additional priests aid in hearing the confessions of the boys, two of the girls, and one of the aged women. Besides the common church in which all meet on Sundays and holidays, each of the four communities has its separate chapel and chaplain, and all hear mass daily; perform a spiritual retreat in Lent, and various religious duties suited to their respective ages and circumstances. The annual revenues of this vast institution, which comprises within its walls nearly 1,000 individuals—that is, 120 old men, more than 120 aged females, 250 poor boys, and 200 poor girls, with officers, &c.—do not exceed 50,000 crowns, of which 21,000 are supplied from the Pope's Exchequer, the remainder for the most part from the industry of the inmates. An exhibition of objects of art and industry takes place annually on the 29th of September, the feast of St. Michael, when the pope sometimes honours the establishment with a visit."—Vol. iii. page 878.

The following will show the estimation in which one great duty of the Christian ministry is held, and the zeal with which it is discharged :

"The Archconfraternity of the Christian Doctrine, founded in 1567, has chiefly for object the instruction of youth in their christian duties. Boys appointed for the purpose, walk the streets with a cross and a bell, inviting the youth of their respective parishes to catechism in the parish church, in which they assemble every Sunday at two o'clock. The girls are placed at one side and the boys at another, and divided into their respective classes. They are instructed either by the clergy attached to the church, or by pious persons who voluntarily undertake this important employment, while the parish priest goes from class to class examining sometimes one sometimes another, and closes the whole at four o'clock with a catechetical discourse. At the grand catechetical concursus, which takes place annually on the second Sunday after Easter, about 400 boys, previously chosen and not above fourteen years old, assemble in the church of S. Maria del Pianto, in the tribune of which they are arranged into two contending files, separated by the deputies of the Archconfraternity, who attend as judges, while the body of the church is crowded with persons of all classes, principally the parents and relatives of the little champions. The text book is Bellarmine's catechism, composed by order of Clement VIII. The boy at the head of one file commences the attack on the opposite boy, who having promptly answered, becomes an interrogator in turn, directing his interrogatory against the second boy on the opposite file; the disputation thus con-



tinues through the rival ranks; those who hesitate, give a wrong answer, or ask a question already proposed, being placed 'hors de combat' until the contending ranks are reduced to seven. Of these, the first who fails is declared ensign, the second captain, the four next princes, and the conquering hero is proclaimed emperor, invested with a silver cross, conveyed home in a cardinal's carriage, displaying the imperial banner, and accompanied by his little court amid military honours and the acclamations of his friends. Next day the little emperor is conducted in state by deputies from the Confraternity to the Pope, and several dignified personages, by whom he is congratulated and complimented with presents."—Vol. iii. page 905.

Having given passages describing the charitable solicitude of the Roman government and people for the wants, spiritual and temporal, of both old and young, we cannot refrain from one more extract appertaining to this subject. It is one exhibiting the care which religion can have for even the darkest phases of social life, and how it can take even the outcast felon under its protecting wings, and sustain him with its consoling influence.

"The Archiconfraternita di S. Giovanni Decollato was instituted in 1488, by some charitable Florentines, and is attached to the church from which it takes its name. Having been established by Florentines, its members still continue to be natives of Tuscany, or their descendants to the third generation inclusively. The members make it their duty to visit condemned criminals, prepare them for death, accompany them to execution, and give them Christian burial within their own cemetery. They also extend their charitable attention to the widows and children of these unhappy beings. On the day before the execution, notices thereof are affixed to different parts of the city, inviting the faithful to pray for the happy death of the wretched criminal. In the course of the night the members invited, who amount to five or six, including the chaplain and another priest, assemble in the church of the Florentines, which is not far distant from the Carceri Nuove, and from which after having recited in common some appropriate prayers, they proceed two by two in silence to the prison. Having entered the room called the 'Conforteria,' they vest in sackcloth, gird their loins with a cincture, and distribute among them their different duties; two assuming the office of comforters, one of sacristan, and another of secretary, who notes down every occurrence from the moment of the fatal announcement to the prisoner, to that of his execution—minutes that are deposited in the archives of the confraternity. At midnight the gaolers visit the cell of the condemned, whom they conduct handcuffed to the chapel of the 'Conforteria,' at the entrance to which the notary intimates to him the

sentence of death. Having entered the chapel, he is embraced by the two comforting brethren, who begin to administer to him all the consolation which religion and charity suggest at that awful moment—a work of mercy in which they are aided by the other brethren. Having made his confession to a confessor of his own choice, he may next make his will and receive the Holy Communion by way of Viaticum. The brethren also confess, and communicate at one of the masses which commence two hours after midnight. Should the condemned criminal evince sentiments of irreligion or impenitence, no effort is spared to bring him to a sense of his fatuity, and accomplish in his heart the triumph of grace. Meanwhile other members of the Archconfraternity assemble in their church, whence after having heard mass, they issue processionally, preceded by a large crucifix covered with a black veil, and borne by one of the brethren between two others bearing yellow wax candles. On their arrival at the prison, the criminal ascends the cart attended by two comforters, who continue to pour into his ears and heart, words of spiritual consolation, as they slowly move along, in mournful procession to the place of execution, preceded by the members. Arrived in view of the scaffold, the criminal is conducted into a chamber lined with black, where he may again have recourse to confession, and on the arrival of the fatal hour, the executioner having veiled his eyes, he proceeds, supported by two brethren, to the place of execution, ascends the scaffold in prayer, when the fatal blade of the guillotine descends on his bare outstretched neck, severing the head from the trunk, and closing his earthly career. His mortal remains are borne with decent ceremony by the brethren to their church, from which after the accustomed prayers, they are conveyed to the place of sepulture. The brethren close the melancholy scene by imploring the divine pardon for whatever faults they have committed in the discharge of their painful duties of mercy. The Archconfraternity has annual revenues to the amount of 1,000 crowns, from which they provide for the service of their church, and it is the only Sodality in Rome that still enjoys the privilege of releasing from sentence of death and restoring to liberty in any of the prisons of Rome, one criminal annually.”—Vol. iii. page 929.

As some compensation for the gloomy character of our last extract, we give a description of an Italian modern Improvisatrice.

“Rosa Taddei, who has been the most distinguished Improvisatrice in Italy during nearly the last thirty years, is a married woman, the daughter of a comedian, now about her forty-fifth year, of graceful person, and natural ease and elegance of manner, with a countenance not handsome but full of expression, intelligence, and sensibility. She is evidently endowed with great natural



talents, and is very well acquainted with the Latin language and with the history and literature of her own country. When about to pour out extempore strains, various subjects are proposed indiscriminately by some of those assembled in the hall, written down and thrown into a vase, which is well shaken; and the billets accidentally drawn become the successive themes of poetic improvisations. After a moment's pause, as if to catch inspiration, she chooses a simple but marked measure, suited to the rhythm in which she is about to compose—which is played on the piano-forte by another person; and the cadence and strong intonation in which she recites is nearly singing; the music serving not only to conceal any irregularity in the verse but also to kindle and sustain feeling. She moreover is called on to compose in *rime obligato*, the rhymes and measures as well as subjects being assigned her; and in *verso obligato*, that is, a distich taken from any poet is assigned her, which she introduces at the end of every eight-line stanza. The genius of the Italian language, it is true, affords considerable facility to versification; but it is almost impossible that a poem composed after a moment's pause, on any given subject, before an expecting audience, and so encumbered with the fetters of rhythm and measure, should rise to excellence; yet Rosa Taddei never fails to pour out for hours, without the slightest hesitation, floods of unpremeditated verse; and the trains of thought and feeling, the images and the allusions, which she conjures up in a moment, are truly astonishing. Her improvise strains are not without passages that would do honour to a composition deliberately finished in the closet, and justly draw forth loud and continued applause."—Vol. iii. page 990.

Rosa Taddei is a distinguished member of the Arcadian Academy in Rome—an academy which has for its object the cultivation of polite literature in the Latin and Italian languages, and as such has obtained a place in the pages of the present work.

It will be seen that our extracts refer principally to what may be considered the minor objects of interest in the eternal city. The great objects of attraction to the classical scholar or the Christian visitor, we have passed almost entirely unnoticed—partly because their great and leading features are already known, and partly because the lengthened and minute description of the author would far exceed the space at our disposal. Independently of the countless objects of interest within the walls, there is much in the environs to engage the attention, and repay the curiosity of the tourist. We have perused the author's account with pleasure, and we hope also with some profit. Our

last quotation will form a fitting termination of our hasty and imperfect notice, and also afford a specimen of the more elaborate portions of the work. The author has been conducting his readers on an imaginary walk over the Palatine.

“On the Palatine the kings of Rome, the heroes, the patriots, philosophers, orators of the Republic, and the imperial tyrants, successively dwelt and passed away; and the Palatine has thus been truly the throne and grave of Roman dominion. On it Romulus founded Rome, and a Romulus, strange coincidence, the last of the Roman emperors, consolidated by his fall, the reign of barbarian power in Italy. On it the empire had its birth thirty-one years before Christ, and on it the empire expired A.D. 476. That empire was founded by Augustus, it fell under Augustulus, dashed by its own unwieldy weight into a thousand fragments, and we have been contemplating the dismembered skeleton of its fallen grandeur. As we ranged over the various ruins of all ages that cover this ancient hill, we endeavoured to penetrate the obscurity of time, and catch a glimpse of what has fled for ever, peopling it with those by whom it was once inhabited in its splendour, many of whom have been associated in our minds from childhood with dignity, wisdom, valour, and virtue; whose spirit seems to hover round the mouldering ruins of their ancient homes, and give to the scene the undying interest with which we regard it. In our endeavour to pass in review the successive generations of edifices which stood on it, from the thatched cottage of Romulus, to the crumbling erections of the papal Casino, we found not a spot that had not its great names and its classic remembrances, and that has not been immortalized by the authentic records of history or the classic strains of poetry. Its temples, thermæ, libraries, porticos, and palaces, with their marble and mosaic floors, painted walls, gilded ceilings, costly furniture, their pictorial and statuary master-pieces, once the glory of Rome and the admiration of the world, are now little more than heaps of ruins scattered and shapeless; and more desolate than when Evander crossed it, is now the theatre of all that was once renowned, mighty, and magnificent. One solitary villa, one lonely convent, and the humble abode of the labourer of the vineyard, are seen to rise on its ‘marble wilderness,’ and to the noise and bustle of the imperial court, the residence of the great and gay, has succeeded almost the silence of the grave, seldom broken, save by some congenial melancholy sound by the slow water-drop trickling through the decayed ceiling, the wind whistling through its gaping fissures, or sighing through its ruined arches, broken recesses, and crumbling halls, the bird of night bursting through the thick ivy that mantles the nakedness of its mouldering walls, or sending out its shrill long cry from out the Cæsar’s



palace, by the howl of the watch-dog, the toll of the convent bell of St. Bonaventure, as it summons the pious inmates to their daily duties of prayer and meditation, or awakens them to their midnight orisons, or perchance by the solemn psalmody of praise raised to God by the unseen inhabitants of the cloister.....Little did 'the mighty,' the proud masters of the world, imagine that natives of the obscure and barbarous isles of the West, the *Britannus Catenatus*

.....*Britannus ut descenderat  
Sacra Catenatus via,*

when Britain had become the seat of civilization, should one day freely fix their abodes in, or become the annalists or the 'Pilgrim' of the ruins of the imperial palace, when *their* empire, their laws, their language, and their gods had vanished from the earth. What a lesson to nations as well as to individuals! 'Erudimini qui judicatis terram.' When we reflect on the vicissitudes of this ancient and *venerable* hill,

*Ecce Palatino crevit reverentia monti  
Tot circum delubra videt, tantisque deorum  
Cingitur excubiis,*

when we glance back at the countless generations which since its historic æra have gone down to the dust, whom oblivion has now made her own, when we contemplate the dark masses of ruin that cover it, their fallen grandeur, vast extent, the magnificence they once displayed and the desolation they now exhibit, blended occasionally with the melancholy beauty of the cypress, and above all, when we consider, that like their palaces, their lords, once too the lords of a subject world, are now no more, we pause to meditate on the transiency of all that is human here below. Even as we wander among the ruined monuments of imperial pride, power, and vanity, and ambition, the silent march of time is advancing upon us, and broken and ruined as are these imperial halls, if their final doom be not accelerated by some convulsion of nature, they are destined to survive us, and generations yet to come, who, like us, may visit them and pass into oblivion."—Vol. iv. page 287.

We like not to find our author, even amid the ruins of the Palatine, abandoning his hope of literary immortality, and contemplating the possibility of passing away into oblivion; but if the party specially interested in the matter is reconciled to his fate, it is not our duty to complain. But, though he may not outlive the monuments or the institutions he so minutely and diligently describes, his work is likely, for years to come, to accompany the visitor of the seven hills, and render his journey one of pleasure

and instruction. We would, however, take the liberty of suggesting that the next edition be reduced to somewhat reasonable dimensions. It may happen that, in the hot days of a Roman summer, and by even the most determined and devoted tourist, four large octavo volumes, of nearly a thousand pages each, may, however interesting, be found occasionally an incumbrance. There is also, in some parts, a grandiloquence of phraseology that provokes a smile, and interferes not a little with that reverential awe which "the lone mother of dead empires" should inspire. Some of the remarks, too, in the chapter on Geology would require revision, particularly on the subject of internal heat. It is a perilous subject for any but a practised hand to touch; and he who ventures, without much previous study and reflection, to approach it, exposes himself to the danger (if we be allowed the phrase) of burning at least his fingers. With these few words of friendly suggestion, uttered in no spirit of carping or acrimonious criticism, but in the conviction that to an author of Dr. Donovan's admitted taste and discernment to notice an error is to ensure its correction, and hoping shortly to see in his forthcoming work on Pompeii another proof of his industry and erudition, we take our leave of "Rome and its Environs."

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- ART. VI.—1. *Histoire des Sectes Religieuses*; par M. GREGOIRE, Evêque de Blois. Paris: 1828.
- 2.—*Histoire du Rationalisme en Allemagne, depuis son origine jusqu' à nos jours*; par AMAND SAINTES. Paris: 1841.
- 3.—*Notes on the Catholic Episcopate, with some account of the Development of the Modern Religious Systems*. By THOMAS WILLIAM MARSHALL. London: 1844.
- 4.—*Review of the latest Events and Present State of the Church of Christ*. By C. F. AF. WINGARD, D. D. Archbishop of Upsal. London: 1845.

NO one who is familiar, in ever so slight a degree, with the writings which issued in such exuberant profusion from the Protestant divines of the sixteenth century, would



hesitate a moment in assigning to them their proper and peculiar characteristic, or in indicating the prominent and distinguishing features which denote their origin from a common stock. With whatever variety of form and shape they were all evidently and indisputably of one family. In spite of innumerable, and often fundamental discrepancies there was one uniform tone, one unvarying note and hue which was common to them all, and which we are still able to recognise at the first glance. All concurred in the assertion, that whatever religion was true, the Catholic was undeniably false. All agreed that whatever else was right, Rome at least was obstinately and irreclaimably wrong. All professed to follow the immediate direction of the Divine Spirit, and to co-operate with His designs. All exalted the movement, which, upon their own hypothesis, they not unsuitably styled the "Reformation," as His peculiar work—as a kind of new revelation—a most conspicuous and consoling token of His beneficent interference for the welfare of mankind, and of His gracious purpose to restore that pure and apostolic Faith, which, as they deemed, had been so long and so grievously decayed.

It is not necessary that we should multiply illustrations in evidence of the prevailing tone, and ethical temper, which we have assigned to the writings in question. They are at hand, if need be, for examination. And even if it were not so, it would be enough to refer to those more recent productions, down to the present day, which are at once their most exact and faithful counterpart, and in which their every feature is still preserved and perpetuated.

And it must be confessed, we think, that this theory of the first "Reformers," if we may call it by that name, was precisely such as the crisis which gave birth to it demanded. It was only by thus taking for granted all which it implies or supposes, that the Protestants could hope to defend the new and singular position which they had assumed in relation to the rest of Christendom. Any limitation of their theory—any suppression, however inconsiderable, of the charges which it involved—would have been fatal to its success. Concessions, however trifling, were impossible. The utter apostacy of the whole Church, this was the least which they could safely assert. Partial corruptions—questionable tenets or disedifying cus-

toms—relaxed discipline or perverted morals—these, it is evident, would not have sufficed to justify so tremendous a disruption. For all such cases, such possible modifications of His original institution, the New Law of our Saviour Christ had provided by anticipation. Men were not permitted, they were expressly prohibited, upon such grounds to withdraw their allegiance from His Church.\* And this the Protestant leaders themselves were forward to assert. "Such matters," says M. Claude, one of the most eloquent advocates of the Reformation, "could not have determined our separation. Les articles qui nous separent," he adds, "sont des points qui selon nous *troublent essentiellement la Foi*...en un mot, *ce sont des points que nous croyons entièrement incompatibles avec le salut*."† It was, we see, a question of *salvation*. The religion of Rome was "a superstition," "an idolatry," "an apostacy;" and there was no need of refinements or dialectic subtlety to justify its rejection. It was self-condemned. The *modern* theory of independent national or provincial churches, each possessing inherent vitality, and each comprehending within its own narrow limits the full proportions of the indivisible body of Christ, and exhibiting all the notes of the One Universal Church; *this* theory, so much relied on at the present moment by a few amiable writers of the English establishment, was as little known to the first reformers, as to all Christians of the ages before them. Such a notion they would have rejected, if it had occurred to them, as altogether inadequate to express the ground of their separation. They rejected the Catholic Church, "because it had rejected Christ," and they disdained to urge any inferior plea. And accordingly, the Anglican Reformers, in perfect harmony with their brethren elsewhere, contented themselves with asserting, in the usual terms, the "idolatry" and "apostacy" of Rome; and taught the whole people of England to pray to Almighty God, and that upon one of the most solemn of the Christian festivals, that He would deliver them "from sin, death, *the Pope*, the devil, and *all the kingdom of Antichrist*."‡

Such was, to use a modern phrase, the "leading idea"

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\* S. Matt. xxiii. 3.

† *Défense de la Réformation*, 3ème Partie, chap. i. p. 210.

‡ *Homily*, for Whitsunday.



of the Protestant Reformation. And to this bold and uncompromising language we attribute much of the success of that movement. A milder and less aggressive phraseology would have failed to arouse the multitude, for whom moderation is insipid and unattractive; and who, stimulated by wild and exaggerated invective, hear with apathy or aversion the hesitating and ambiguous notes of mere querulous complaint. The theme which would arrest their attention, or quicken the slow current of their thoughts, must be bold, vehement, and impassioned; and it is plain that this secret was fully comprehended by the first authors of Protestantism. Had they contented themselves with equivocal gestures of anger or sorrow—with muttered threats and whispered reproaches—had they gently insinuated their dislike of one doctrine, or timidly cast suspicion on another—had they demanded, like the writers to whom we have alluded, only to reserve their judgment upon this tenet, and to be in abeyance about that, the so-called Reformation would have needed no historian. Such niceties as these would not have convulsed whole nations, nor rent millions of souls from the unity of the Faith, and from their obedience to the Institution of Christ. The first Protestants were too sagacious to commit so great an error; they knew what ground they ought to take, and they took it.

But whilst we admit that the language of the Reformers was precisely such as their position and immediate necessities required; that their claim of special illumination—their unhesitating appeals to Holy Scripture—their enthusiastic self-confidence—their haughty defiance of ecclesiastical authority, and passionate invectives against the existing Church—were exactly what their whole case required and pre-supposed, and, in fine, the only basis upon which it could possibly rest; we are no less firmly persuaded, that this very audacity of hypothesis and temerity of assertion, which was so indispensable and so potential in the outset of their career, is now the very means by which we can most effectually detect the secret character of the work which they essayed, and expose its real nature. And this we propose to do in the following pages, by a simple comparison of the results which it has actually generated, with those which it professed and promised to accomplish.

But before we proceed to the application of this obvious yet effective test, it is an essential preliminary that we should endeavour to state fairly and fully, in order to realise distinctly, what the Reformation-hypothesis was, and what principles it assumed or implied. It seems, then, according to the unanimous sentiment of its most eminent advocates, to have included amongst its leading axioms such propositions as the following.

The Church, according to Luther, which had been unfaithful almost from her infancy to the trust committed to her, had finally developed, long before the Reformation-era, into the very "mystic Babylon," the "harlot" of the apocalypse, the predicted "abomination." Her chief bishop and earthly ruler was "the Antichrist."\* In the judgment of his fellow-reformer Melancthon, her very rites and ceremonies had become "impious and magical."† Her religion, said Calvin, was more corrupt, her idolatry more impure, than that by which Jeroboam "made Israel to sin;" there was "nothing to distinguish her assemblies from those of the Turks."‡ There was not left in her, according to Beza, "so much as a trace of the apostolic institution."§ Her communion, said Bucer, was "pollution;" and not to separate from her, was "to transgress the commandment of the Lord."|| Her bishops, in the judgment of Œcolampadius, were "no bishops;"¶ but, as Brentius declared, "the servants of Antichrist," and teachers of an "impure religion.\*\* Amongst the foreign Protestants there was almost no other thought of her than such as is expressed in these citations.

Nor did the English Reformers, whose real teaching we

\* Luther, *passim*.

† *Epist. Joan. Spangenbergiae et Collegis*, p. 157.

‡ "Idololatriam habent crassiores, neque in doctrina guttula una sunt puriores; nisi forte in hac quoque *magis sint impuri*." *Institut.* lib. iv. cap. ii. § 9. "Aut Ecclesiæ non sunt, aut nullum restabit symbolum, quo legitimi fidelium cætus a Turcarum conventibus discernantur." *Ibid.* § 10.

§ "Ne vestigia quidem ulla aut notæ quædam." *Vide Comment. de Statu Relig. sub Carolo IX.* lib. iii. p. 131.

|| *De Animarum Cura*, præfat. Opp. p. 262.

¶ *Epist. Gaspar. Hedioni*, p. 13.

\*\* *De Officio Principum*, prolegom. p. 75. Cf. *Hyperaspist.* Jac. Andrææ, p. 56, (Frankfurt, 1558.) Zuinglii *De Vera et Falsa Religione*, p. 303; Viret. *De Minist. Verbi Dei et Sacrament.* lib. viii. cap. 3; Bucan. *Institut. Theolog.* De Ministris loc. 48; Chemnitz, *Exam. Decret. Concil. Trident.* tom. iii. cap. 8; *De Cælib. Sacerdot.* cap. 2; Pfeffinger, *Disput. de Grad. Minist.* Art. 26; *Cælii Hæret. Papat.* p. 161; Andrææ Fricii *De Ecclesiâ*, lib. iv. cap. 5, p. 241, &c., &c.



are especially anxious to make known at the present time, profess any other judgment. They may even be said to have surpassed and exaggerated, if that were possible, the worst reproaches of their continental brethren.

According to the formularies of the Anglican Church, "*the whole world had been sunk in the pit of damnable idolatry by the space of nine hundred years and odd.*"\*

It was the deliberate and reiterated opinion of Cranmer, that Catholics were "very antichrists, *the subtlest enemies that Christ hath;*"† their Church was, "that cursed synagogue of antichrist;" and her pastors and ministers, "the authors of all error, ignorance, blindness, superstition, hypocrisy, and idolatry."‡

Ridley, who has been commended, by a most unmerited eulogy, as one of the more moderate reformers, described the Roman Church as, "the Beast of Babylon, that devilish drab, whore, and beast," "antichrist's kingdom," and "the whorish bawd of Babylon."§

John Philpot, one of the "martyrs," styled her "the beast," and "the Babylonical Synagogue," and her children "*enemies to the name of Christ.*"||

Bishop Hooper considered her "the nest of abomination," and the bishop of Rome, "the first begotten of antichrist."¶

Bishop Pilkington, of Durham, had no other phrase for Catholics than "idolatrous popish creatures," "wicked papists," and "*cursed Edomites.*"\*\*

Roger Hutchinson was of opinion that they believed "a pestiferous doctrine," and that their "priests" were none other than "the false prophets" predicted in the gospel, and "*the bishop of Rome's greased butchers and sacrificers.*"††

Latimer, another bishop and "martyr," taught that the Sovereign Pontiff was "*the devil's chaplain,*" and that to

\* *Homily on Peril of Idolatry.*

† *Of the Sacrament*, 4th book, p. 228.

‡ *Against Transubstantiation*, 2nd book, pp. 238, 332. Ed. Parker Society.

§ *Piteous Lamentation*, pp. 50, 53, 62; *Letters*, p. 409. Works, Ed. P. S.

|| *Examination*, pp. 147—8; *Letters*, p. 222. Ed. P. S.

¶ *A Declaration of Christ and his Office*, Works, p. 23; *Sermons upon Jonas*, p. 447; Ed. P. S.

\*\* *The burning of Paul's*, sect. 12; Works, p. 610; *Exposition upon the prophet Aggeus*, p. 25; Prayer, p. 273. Ed. P. S.

†† *The Image of God*, chap. 7, p. 33; Cf. p. 287; Works, Ed. P. S.

be of his communion, was “*to ride to the devil with idolaters.*”\*

Thomas Becon, whose authority was great among “reformers,” was assured that the Catholic doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament, (if indeed we may repeat such words without pollution,) “*came from hell,*” and was “a devilish doctrine;” and that “no faction was more pestiferous and damnable” than “the sect of the papists.”†

Jewel termed the “bishop of Rome,” “Antichrist,” and “the Man of perdition,” with much more to the same effect.‡

Miles Coverdale and Sampson, were accustomed to style Catholics, “*the Amorites.*”§

Grindal, who was successively bishop of London, York, and Canterbury, not only used the same language, (praying to God against “*the popish Philistines,*”) but enjoined all altars, “those inflexible testimonies to the Faith which he hated, “to be utterly taken down, and clear removed even unto the foundation, and the place whereon they stood paved,.....and that the altar stones,” (whereon the acceptable and Adorable sacrifice of the Christian Covenant had been so often offered,) “be broken, defaced, and bestowed to some common use.”||

Lastly, Archbishop Sandys thus justified, and exulted in, this work of the “Reformation.” “We have happily forsaken,” says he, “that synagogue of Satan, that den of thieves, that polluted Church, that simoniacal temple... that man of sin, that triple-crowned beast, that double-sworded tyrant, that thief and murderer, that adversary unto Christ,”¶ &c. &c. &c.

Here we may pause; and we beg to assure our readers, with great sincerity, that if we have constrained ourselves

\* *Sermon of the Plough*, p. 74; *Sermon xii.* p. 211; *Sermon ix.* p. 149; *Disputation at Oxford*, p. 259; Works, Ed. P. S.

† *Catechism*, part 5; *Of the Sacraments*, Works, p. 264; *Ibid*, part 6; *Offices of all Degrees*, p. 380; *The Jewel of Joy*, p. 449, Ed. P. S.

‡ *Vide Zurich Letters*, Letter xiv. p. 33, 1st series; Letter xix. p. 47, &c.; Ed. P. S.

§ *Letter 1*, p. 123, 2nd series.

|| *Injunctions at York*, *Remains*, p. 134; *Appendix*, p. 480; Cf. Ridley's *Injunctions*, Works, p. 332; and *Piteous Lamentation*, p. 60.

¶ *Sermon xx.* p. 389; and in the previous page the Pontiff is compared to Mahomet.



to enumerate these few specimens of the original Anglican theology, which we must decline to characterize, and to which in the whole history of our erring race, and in all the voluminous annals of bold and impenitent wickedness, we know but one parallel; it has been upon the principle according to which the Spartan parents are said to have acted, when they allowed their children to be spectators of, in order to learn a lesson from, the revolting excesses of drunken helots. Well might Schlegel exclaim, that "England is a state *more than any other* essentially Protestant;"\* in this particular at least, her pre-eminence can hardly be disputed. But to return.

Such, according to the Reformation-hypothesis, and the uniform tenor of *reformed* prelates, doctors, and "martyrs," was the actual condition and aspect of that once pure and glorious institution—that "City of God," that "Ark of the elect," that "Pillar and Ground of the Truth," of which prophets and apostles had spoken such great things, for which they had predicted such glorious destinies, and which its Divine Founder had Himself vouchsafed to declare should survive, under His perpetual and fostering guidance, every other system, polity, and kingdom, and laugh to scorn all the combined assaults of "the powers and principalities of evil." And it was to reconstruct the shattered and annihilated fabric of the Church, (to which these promises belonged,) that Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, and their confederates, were supposed to be called and appointed. The work entrusted to them, was nothing less, according to Parker, than "*the restoration of the Gospel.*"† The distinctive title of Protestants was, "*Professors of the Gospel;*"‡ and Protestantism was declared by Jewel to be "*God's own cause,*"§ in opposition to "Popery," which, as we have seen, was "pestiferous, damnable, and idolatrous." It was, in a word, to repair the accumulated blemishes and corruptions of many successive ages, that this race of prophets and teachers was raised up. The blessings which, in spite

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\* *Philosophy of History*, Lecture xvi. vol. ii. p. 232; Ed. Robertson.

† Letter to Matthew Flaccius, *Zurich Letters*, 2nd series, Letter xxxvi. p. 78; Bishop Cox also styled it the "*re-establishment of the Gospel of Christ.*" Letter to George Cassander, p. 41.

‡ Becon, Works, p. 409.

§ Letter xxxiii. p. 78; *Zurich Letters*, 1st series.

of His manifold promises Who “cannot lie,” had been withheld from the men of all former generations, were now to be granted to their more favoured successors in this; and the “reformers” undertook to restore once more to the world the pure doctrines of primitive Christianity, so long deformed by “human traditions,” and to remedy, by a kind of second revelation, the failure and ineffectiveness of the first.

Now we think it will be conceded, on all hands, that we should be entitled to anticipate a general, if not a minute and literal, correspondence between these magnificent promises, and their actual and historical event. Some proportion at least we may surely expect between the pledges of the reformers, and their progressive fulfilment. The very loftiness of the one demands the substantial completion of the other. For it is in the very highest degree unreasonable to imagine, as all will admit, that a revival so divine and wonderful as that which their theory supposes, should be accompanied by *no results*; or that Almighty God, having ordained a *new* system for the restoration of those scripture-truths which His *Church* during fifteen ages had only corrupted and obscured, *should again permit this further and special dispensation utterly to fail in effecting its purpose*, and having interfered, after a wondrous sort, for the preservation of sound doctrine, should, if one may dare to say it, have interfered *in vain*. Both reason and religion forbid the supposition. If the “Reformation” was indeed what its advocates declared it to be, it is impossible to exalt adequately the greatness of the Divine mercy displayed in it; nor can it be suitably compared with any other manifestations of omnipotent wisdom and love but the original propagation of the Christian Covenant, to which alone, if even to that, it can be considered inferior or subordinate. And if any man, admitting it to be all this—all, that is, which its own authors and framers so confidently proclaimed it—can yet affect to be indifferent about its *results*, or deny that so stupendous a work need have produced any proportionate results at all; it will be enough to reply to such miserable trifling, in the words of St. Hilary to the apostate, “*O tu sceleste, quod ludibrium de Ecclesia facis.*”\*

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\* *Contra Constant*, p. 333.



We proceed, then, at length, to apply the criterion by which we propose to test the real character of the Protestant Reformation, and of the hypothesis upon which it was justified and accomplished. And if it shall be found upon examination, that whilst the Catholic Church alone, against which denunciations so unmeasured were directed, has still continued precisely such as she was for centuries before her rivals had even commenced their career, they have themselves abandoned, one after another, not only that particular form of Christianity of which they were the authors, but even any profession of faith whatsoever; if it shall appear, that the very truths of the Gospel which the first Protestants professed to vindicate and restore, are now rejected and discarded by the larger number of their disciples throughout the world, and that all the communities of their formation are either in a condition of hopeless and deplorable confusion, or of open and undisguised apostacy; lastly, if it shall be proved, by the admissions of their own leading members, that the various Protestant churches have not only failed to preserve the fundamental verities which it was their peculiar boast to declare anew to the world, but have even in some cases, and in express terms, resigned the guardianship of them to that very communion whose assumed unfaithfulness in respect of them was the ostensible motive of their separation; if this be, as we are about to demonstrate, the history of the Protestant Reformation, then are we justified in regarding its authors as detected impostors, and in pronouncing their pretended purification of the Faith, of which they have been themselves at once the most assiduous and most successful adversaries, to be a fraud and a delusion. It was from Germany that the new religious theories first issued; let us begin, therefore, with Germany in our examination of the results to which they have led.

1. The philosopher in Bishop Berkeley's *Alciphron*, tells us, that "thorough reformation means *thorough liberty*;"\* and this is precisely the opinion of the German Protestants at the present day. In Germany, says the Protestant primate of Sweden, "Reformation" now only means "a protest against all restriction of the individual fancy."† Such being their definition of the inheritance bequeathed to them

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\* *The Minute Philosopher*, Dial. ii. § 9.

† *Review*, &c. p. 171.

by Luther, we are prepared to hear the use which his heirs have made of it.

“Voltaire’s *Ecrasez l’infame!* (that is, Christianity,)” says one who knows them well, “is become the *watchword* of a large and widely extended party amongst Protestants. *Atheism.....is now fixing its roots in the heart of Protestantism*; and in the capital of Protestant Germany has, under the name of the Hegelian philosophy, for almost thirty years, been sowing the seed of *deepest hatred against Christianity, aye, and against all religion*; it has regularly infected a very large portion of those who hold public offices, and exercises through the press an influence upon public opinion that defies calculation.”\* So much by way of general description. Let us come to particulars.

“The theology of the Protestant churches of Germany,” says Mr. H. J. Rose, himself a Protestant, “presented a very singular spectacle during the last half of the preceding century, and the commencement of the present. *A very large majority of the divines of these churches rejected, in a word, all belief in the divine origin of Christianity*, and anxiously endeavoured to instil into others the opinions which they had embraced themselves. They had possession of by far the greater number of divinity professorships in the many universities of Germany; and they had almost exclusively the direction of the literary and religious journals, a class of publications of more influence and importance in Germany than among ourselves. By the unsparing use of the means thus afforded them, and by an infinite quantity of writings, addressed to men of all classes and all ages, they succeeded in spreading their views over the surface of society. How deep the disease went among the lower orders, it is not easy to ascertain. But it appears that, after a time, *a spirit of almost entire indifference to religion manifested itself among all classes*.”† The writer proceeds to minute details in illustration of these phenomena, and of what we may justly call the apostacy of Protestant Germany; but it is not necessary that we should consider the proofs upon which the appalling statement rests,—it is not necessary, because its accuracy is no longer denied.

\* *Literaturblatt*, quoted by Arnold, *Remarks on Elliott’s Horæ Apocalypticæ*, p. 49.

† *State of Protestantism in Germany*, pp. 1 et seq. Cf. p. 93.



Nor will it be expected that we should attempt to trace the gradual progress of the fearful change to which we have thus briefly referred. Such details would extend far beyond our allotted limits, and have already, at least in some measure, been supplied on former occasions.\* It would be tedious to travel again through the sad history, and to depict the ever shifting and fluctuating phases of German philosophy—the subtle vanities of unhallowed and unchastised intellects—“the profane novelties of words, and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called.” What profit were it to grope our way through the teeming systems, dug out and cast forth, with a kind of ostentatious profusion, from the fertile and exhaustless mine of German thought;† to compare the influence of Wolf, who defended the dogmatic philosophy upon principles which, in the hands of others, became the enemies instead of the auxiliaries of revelation; with that of Kant, who abandoned earlier and happier thoughts, to build up a system of “pure reason;” to contemplate the advances of Naturalism, imported from English writers, or the invasions of Deism, appropriated from the French; to pass from the scientific Rationalism of Semler, to the atrocious excesses of a Strauss or a Schelling, the blasphemies of a Paulus, or the elaborate impieties of De Wette; to analyze the tortuous exegetics of Thiesß or Heinrichs, and the laboured Hermeneutica of Meyer or of Bauer; to trace the feeble reaction of the “Lutheran” and “Reformed” doctrines, and the syncretism and “indifference” which resulted from the fusion of the rival systems; lastly, to determine the origin of Pietism, the prospects of Idealism, or to speculate upon the issue of the final struggle, still raging, between Naturalism and Supernaturalism,—what fruit shall we gain from the study of these bewildering names, or of the ideas which they represent? What but a new proof of that axiom of S. Leo, “Extra Ecclesiam Catholicam nihil est integrum, nihil castum?”‡ And if these wise men, who take so much pains to convince us that “the simplicity of the simple” is stronger and wiser than all their vaunted philosophy, should mock us as gro-

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\* Vide *Dublin Review*, vol. vii. p. 277.

† Of which even M. Guizot felt compelled to say, “On peut dire qu’il n’a pas toujours suivi les meilleures voies; on peut contester une partie des résultats auxquels il est arrivé.”—*Cours d’Histoire Moderne*, tome i. page 1.

‡ *Serm.* 77, tom. i. p. 331.

velling spirits, who have no skill to mount the dizzy heights to which they would conduct us; let us answer them, as one replied long since to the taunts of their ancestors, "Videte ut sapientes vos viri, et in suis erroribus fatuitatem relinquitte volutari."\*

But although we may well decline to approach to a nearer contemplation of this chaos of systems and theories, we are not unwilling to profit by the lesson which these startling developments of Protestantism obtrude upon our attention. "A most affecting and awful lesson it is," says one, who has failed, alas! to give heed to his own warning, though he has left it as an admonition to others.† And would that we could even yet be sure that the worst is past, or that the sanguine hopes of an illustrious German, who dwelt amidst but was untainted by the plague, may hereafter be realised. "The various systems of philosophical Rationalism," says Frederick Schlegel, "mutually subversive, as they are, of each other, will fall to the ground; and the vulgar Rationalism, which is but an emanation of the higher, but which still prevails in some particular schools, and in many of the lower walks of German literature, will finally disappear; in proportion as German philosophy becomes imbued with the spirit of religion, and German science becomes thoroughly Christian—or Catholic."‡ But if this transformation shall indeed, as we also trust, be hereafter accomplished, and the German mind shall shake off the spell with which "reformers" and "rationalists" have bound and fettered it; its earliest effort will be, not so much to hew down the rank growth of later systems of theology, as to pluck up the fatal root from which these have sprung,—that root of "Lutheranism," which, itself hidden and now almost unobserved, has given being and nourishment to the countless branches and ramifications of an infidel philosophy, with which Germany has been darkened and overspread.

For that Lutheranism and Rationalism are in their primary principles identical, so that one is the complement and development of the other, is now freely admitted, even by those who are most seriously compromised by the admis-

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\* Arnobius, *Adversus Gentes*, § 65.

† Professor Moses Stuart's *Letters to Dr. Channing*, Letter 5, p. 152.

‡ *Philosophy of History*, Lecture 18, pp. 321—2.



sion. "Luther," says Mr. Dewar, "while in one point of view he shrank with pious horror from any approach to Rationalism, may, in another, be not unfairly considered as *the founder* of it."\* By which we suppose him to intend, that the principles upon which his posterity are now endeavouring to refute Christianity, are precisely those by which Luther himself sought to annihilate the Church. For it is an indisputable fact, consigned long since to the safe custody of historical records, that even in his own life-time, nay, within five years of his first preaching the new religion, *several* new and distinct schemes of ulterior "reformation" had been projected,† every one of them based upon his own principles, appealing to the same Scriptures, and embodying the main features of his system; and yet, for the most part, in formal opposition to it, and professing to amend, by a truer application of its own maxims, and an adjustment and extension of its parts, the defects and imperfections by which it was marred. As early as the Diet of Augsburg, as Mr. Dewar notices, "the Protestants had already divided themselves into *three* parties, exclusive of the Anabaptist and other less important sects;" and yet each of these contending parties defended their own peculiar views by arguments common to all, each professed to represent the ideal of the primitive Church, and to have derived its creed from a rational interpretation of the infallible word of God.

Nor must we omit to notice, even in so hasty a sketch as we are here tracing, another circumstance still more fatal to what we have called the "reformation-hypothesis," and more significant of the real nature of that movement. Need we mention the almost mysterious revival of *Arianism*, and its kindred impieties, with which the Reformation was accompanied; and which swiftly and silently thronged all the broad paths which the Reformers had opened, and the exclusive use of which they had hoped to reserve and appropriate to themselves and their disciples? "The ancient controversies on the Trinity," says Mr. Hallam, "had long subsided; if any remained whose creed was not unlike that of the Arians, we must seek for them among the Waldenses, or other persecuted sects.

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\* Dewar's *German Protestantism*, p. 23. (1844.)

† Vide Sir Simonds D'Ewes' *Primitive Practice for preserving Truth*, sections ix. and xviii.

But even this is obscure; and Erasmus, when accused of Arianism, might reply with apparent truth, *that no heresy was more extinct.*”\* It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this fact, of which there is abundant testimony. “Arianism” says another Protestant authority, “was buried in oblivion; and for centuries scarcely an Arian was to be found. After the Reformation was established, *Arianism again revived.*”† It is admitted, then, even by Protestants, that whereas the Catholic Church had vanquished and cast out ‘for centuries’ this unclean and formidable spirit of evil, her adversaries were unable to withstand even his first attack, and were almost immediately after seen *in close alliance with him.* And that the leaders of the “Reformation,” embarrassed and alarmed by this premature development of their own principles, wearied and irritated with the assaults of adversaries trained in their own schools, clearly discerned the fatal inferences which this phenomenon would suggest,—is manifest, both by their own emphatic words, and by the still more energetic acts with which they attempted to crush the evil in its infancy. “Nisi ab ecclesiæ nostræ doctoribus explodetur,” was the significant warning of Œcolampadius to Bucer, “*pessime auditura est!*”† And accordingly there followed, almost throughout the whole extent of the reformed territories, a series of vigorous efforts to grapple with the monster before his full strength was attained. Both Arians and Anabaptists, (the latter of whom were commonly Socinians,)§ were in various places drowned, beheaded, or burned:|| and it became a maxim—not passive and inert, but of terrible and practical application—with these very men, who had themselves separated without misgiving from the Universal Church, that schism or innovation among their own followers, should be visited with unrelenting chastisement, with bonds, imprisonment, and even death. A real tyranny trode on the heels of a

\* *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, chap. 5, vol. i. p. 507.

† *History of Dissenters*, vol. iii. p. 214.

‡ *Œcolampadii et Zuinglii Epist.* Ep. M. Bucero, p. 173. (Ed. Basileæ.)

§ Vide Zeltner, *Histor. Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfni*, cap. ii. § 6, p. 171; Pluquet, *Dictionnaire des Hérésies*, tome ii. *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, art. *Sociniens*. Hottinger, *Histoire des Suisses à l'époque de la Réformation*, tome ii, pp. 30 et seqq. (Ed. Vulliemin.) Turretin, *Histor. Eccles. Compend. sæcul. xvi.* F. Junii *Prefat. in Sac. Parallel. Loc. Opp.* p. 1371.

|| Vide Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, tome v. p. 401, and tome ii. p. 166; and Hottinger, *Hist. des Suisses*, &c. tome ii. p. 38.



pretended liberty, and men found to their cost that the little finger of a "reformer" was a heavier scourge than the parental rod of that mild and tender Mother against whose authority they had been persuaded to rebel. But all this violence was ineffectual. It was in vain that the reformers protested against the thronging competitors, each armed with a new doctrine from the Scriptures of which they had themselves constituted him the interpreter. In vain they refused to acknowledge the monstrous and unwelcome progeny, whose harsh but characteristic features too clearly betrayed the relationship which *they* were so anxious to disclaim. There was no concealing the fact that they were their own children,—for the children would have it known in spite of them. "*A Reformatis ad Unitarios Christianos transierat*,"\* was the ordinary record of a Socinian; "*Socii in Reformanda Ecclesia*,"† was their favourite title. Not even persecution could long avail—the children waxed too strong for the parents, and Socinianism became a match for Lutheranism. The contest lost ere long its first bitterness, and the "reformers," already diverted from this common enemy, were almost wholly occupied with still fiercer intestine divisions. Already a more deadly conflict had begun, first between Luther and Zuingli, each declaring the other to be "the devil;" and then between Calvin and Luther, the former protesting against the "atrocious invectives" and "uncorrected vices"‡ of his brother reformer; while himself, in his turn, "was accused," we are told, "by almost all the Lutherans of the Arian heresy."§ Breathless and exhausted, but still fighting while life remained—if not, like Zuingli, with armour buckled on and sword in hand, yet at least with the weapons of mutual curses and anathemas—these men pursued their troublous career. "Ye see already," cried Luther, undaunted by the storm which himself had raised; "ye see yourselves what tumults Satan stirs up in the Church; *there are almost as many*

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\* *Vita Lubieniecii*, Cf. *Wissowatii*, *Narrat. Compend.*

† *Epist. de Vita Wissowatii*, p. 226. Cf. *Lubieniecii Hist. Reformat. Polonicæ*; and *Hartmanni Concil. Illust. Pericop.* xvi. *Exercitat.* 32, tom. p. 556.

‡ *Calvini Epist.* 57; *Bullingeri*. p. 127. Cf. *Erasmii Epist. Ph. Melancthani*. p. 469; *Claude, Defense*, &c. 2de Partie, ch. 5. p. 136.

§ Vide *Pierce's New Discoverer*, Advertisement, p. 19: "Le Luthérien appelle le Calviniste hérétique, le Calviniste accuse le Luthérien d'impieeté." *Histoire de France*, tome ii. lib. 6. p. 598.

*different opinions as there are individual ministers.”\** “Our partisans,” said Melancthon, “are contending not for the Gospel but for power. Ecclesiastical discipline is annihilated, *Men are doubting about the most fundamental truths.* The evil is beyond cure.”† And both these reformers, using one day, the arguments of a Catholic against a Zuinglian or a Calvinist, an Arian or an Anabaptist, on the morrow would become Protestants once more, to contend against the same arguments when urged by a Catholic. The condition of the combatants was, however, unequal. “You have learned *by experience,*” the Catholics were able to say, returning to them their own fatal admissions, “with what monstrous contradictions and oppositions all Germany is filled.”‡ “You are fighting amongst yourselves,” said another, “not only in the same cities, but even in every house and family of the same city, are you quarrelling and disputing about the faith.”§ But such facts, however conclusive when employed in the service of Luther, were of no force at all when urged against him. Not even the wide-spread profligacy of manners, and the almost universal demoralization, which every where attended the progress of the reformed doctrines—and which few confessed more openly than Luther himself, as in his well-known conference with his wife—not even this, which had been so vehemently charged against the Church, was admitted to be any argument against her adversaries. “I see,” said Erasmus, “many Lutherans, but of Christians few or none.”|| He might say it, and others might complain, that directly a man became a Lutheran he seemed to lose even his former virtues and strictness,—but what of that? The “restoration of the Gospel,” it was replied, might be expected to produce some such convulsions in the body from which it proceeded; and these were the last throes of the patient before the evil spirit was finally cast out. Great works demand large and liberal allowance in estimating the character of their instruments. It is a mark of a servile spirit to scan too minutely their attendant circum-

\* M. Lutheri, *Epist. Ministris in Northusio*, inter Epist. Ph. Melancth. p. 289.

† Quoted by Starek, *Theodul's Gastmahl*, p. 246, Ed. Kentzinger.

‡ Cochläus, *Contra Lutherum*, cap. xvii.

§ Turrian, *De Ecclesia*, lib. i. cap. 4.

|| Erasmi *Purgat. ad Expostulat. Ulric. Hutten*, Opp. tom. x. p. 1359.



stances, or to measure them by ordinary standards. All this, and a great deal more, was said; but however the unwelcome truth was explained, Luther himself saw and confessed it. And a wild and stormy scene it was upon which the "reformer" gazed, before his eyes closed for ever, and he passed to his great account.

It was his friend and disciple Melancthon, who, startled and terrified with these unexpected results, endeavoured with feeble hands to shut the flood-gate, through which an ocean of errors was now rushing in. But in vain his voice was heard striving with the tumult, now commanding and now entreating, as the only hope left, "*mandari silentium de falsis opinionibus!*"\* In vain he exclaimed, with fears too late awakened, "Good God! what a tragedy will posterity behold, if men should one day begin to agitate the question—whether the Word or the Holy Spirit be a Person!"†

That dreaded day has long since arrived; and Protestants, using the license granted to them by the founders of their religion, have not only ventured to question these truths, and to reject, in turn, every tenet of revealed religion; but, as if in malicious satire, have pleaded the well-remembered lessons bequeathed to them by their first masters, and, like them, have professed to prove from the sacred Scriptures the falsehood of those very doctrines which they were written expressly to reveal. Nothing in the whole circle of sacred truth, has been respected, nothing spared. "There is a philosophy in Europe," says a respectable protestant writer, "a philosophy which regards God and nature in a light utterly irreconcilable with Christianity,—*which rejects all notion of a Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, above and beyond ourselves,*—which discards all faith in the unseen, all hope of an *individual* immortality of being,—to which the Idea is God, and humanity at large the Christ—while the records of faith are dreamy visions and legends—the only reality admitted in any system of traditional religion being the identity of our own highest reason with the Essence that is all-pervading and indestructible."† And of this philosophy Lutheran Germany is the seat and cradle. Even in

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\* *Epist. Thomæ Matthiæ*, p. 276.

† Quoted by Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations*, 6ième Avertissement, tome iv. p. 152.

‡ Mill *On the Pantheistic Theory*, Preface, p. 12.

this its ultimate form of pantheism, it is but, as many of its advocates acknowledge,\* an emanation of Lutheranism, and the legitimate offspring of the original protestant theology. "C'est le fruit," says a Protestant historian of Rationalism, "qui était enfermé dans le bouton dont l'arbre de la réforme devait se parer, à moins que l'arbre ne fût coupé-avant son développement."† It is a philosophy which has successively transformed, by its Circean spell, all forms of truth and beauty into hideous shapes of error. It has been specially busy upon, soiling and defiling with profane touch, the most holy Records of Faith; in the interpretation of which it has determined, as a first principle, that "every thing which is *miraculous* in revealed religion must be explained away." It is a philosophy which, with Eichhorn, regards the command to sacrifice Isaac as "a horrible crime," and the act of Abraham as the "superstition of the times;" and, with Künöl, considers the prophecies of the Old Testament as merely "patriotic wishes;" and, with Wegscheider, that St. Paul "was much inclined to visions and ecstasies;" and, with Heinrichs, that, "Ananias was probably stabbed by Peter;" and with Thiess, that the "cloven tongues" were simply "electric sparks," very common in the climate of Syria; and, with Ammon, that our Lord "*swam* in the water, and did not walk, as Jerome *dreams*;" and, with Neander, that the pool at Bethesda was "a reservoir of mineral water;" and, with Ræhr, that the Bible is only to be regarded "in the same light as any other book;" and, with De Wette, that our Saviour's claim of *divine* authority was "an after-thought;" and that He began only "as a moral teacher;" and, with Schelling, that "God and nature are the same thing;" and, lastly, with the Hegelians, that Christianity may be an object of our "deepest hatred." It is a philosophy which has so effectually accomplished its fatal work, that an eminent Protestant writer, counting up, a few years since, all the Professors—for these men are *professors of theology* in the Lutheran divinity schools‡—"who could *any how* be

\* Vide Amand Saintes, *Histoire du Rationalisme*, chap. i. p. 8. note. Dr. Wingard himself acknowledges that, "in the Articles of Schmalkalden it (the fundamental principle of Rationalism) is expressly asserted." *Review*, &c. p. 65.

† Saintes.

‡ "These were the lights of the German Protestant Church; they were not, such as there have been among us, misguided men who rose up in opposition to



considered orthodox ; i. e. who in any way contended for the doctrines of the Gospel, or *its very truth*," was able to reckon "in all Protestant Germany, *seventeen*."\* And even at this very moment we are told that in Prussia, with its ten millions of Protestants, "Christianity and Infidelity, in its extremest form of Pantheism, are still struggling for the mastery in the minds of their very teachers."† "Here," says a Prussian writer, "we no longer know what creed we profess. Here, every one who thinks for himself on the subject has his own private opinion, and it would be impossible to say where rational Christianity begins, or where it ends. Every one has formed his individual conclusion as to the essentials of Christianity, and as to what is essential."‡

Lastly, if we wish to inquire what has become of that Institution, once called "the Lutheran Church," whose nominal symbols and formularies still survive, witnesses at once of what their authors promised to effect, and of the greatness of their failure ; we may receive all the information we can desire from those who still dwell amongst its ruins. The following is the view which Lutherans themselves take of the present aspect of their communion. Beckendorff tells us, "There is no church among his party, but merely parties ; the old church is in ruins." Boll says, "The dissolution of the Protestant Church is certain." The *Hallische Literatur Zeitung*, that "there is no Protestant Church, but only now Protestant Churches ;" and so Dr. Planck. Professor Lehmann, "one sees Protestantism, but no Protestant Church." Superintendent General Schlegel, "the greatest part of the Evangelical Churches may be asked, if they can make any pretence to the name of a Christian Church."§ Starck says, "It has ceased to exist."|| And so of the rest.

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the general faith, and the great body of our spiritual guides, but they were themselves the teachers, themselves the guides, filling the high places in their Church, educating and instilling these principles into the whole of her future clergy, and spreading them throughout the length and breadth of the empire." Wingard, p. 103. Mr. Rose observes that, "Very few of the distinguished Rationalists have been laymen." "Letter to the bishop of London, in reply to Dr. Pusey's work on the Causes of Rationalism in Germany," p. 86, note.

\* See Dr. Pusey's *Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury*, p. 123.

† Ibid, p. 126.

‡ Voir *La Revue Protestante*, Avril, 1830; Cf. Clarisse, *Encyclop. Theolog. Epitome*, § 55, p. 226; Wegscheider, *Institut. Theolog.* Prolegem. cap. 1, sec. 12.

§ Quoted by Rose.

|| *Theodul's Gastmahl*, p. 264.

Such, then, in a few words, has been the issue of that too famous revolution, which in its primary stage, and while its lurking tendencies were as yet disguised or unknown, was loudly proclaimed to the world as “God’s own cause,” and “the restoration of the Gospel.” *Post tenebras lux*, was the fastuous and complacent motto of the metropolis of Protestantism; and already has that boasted “light,” which three centuries ago poured its wild and lurid gleams over no small portion of the Church’s goodly heritage, been long quenched and obscured—an unnatural day has faded into a more awful night—and all who trusted in its deceitful glare, are wrapped in darkness and gloom! “So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord; but let them that love Thee shine, as the sun shineth in his rising.”

2. It is easier to foresee that some explanation of this unfortunate result of the Reformation will be attempted, than to predict the exact nature of the defence which its advocates will offer. It is not by all Protestants that it will be recognised as the true development of their principles, nor acknowledged as the ultimate form to which their theology tends. They will not all avow, as some of their number have openly declared, that “far from blushing at the variations which Protestant creeds have experienced, they count this very mutability as a circumstance in which they may glory.”\* They will not all profess with equal candour, “que la liberté d’examen doit *nécessairement* produire ces effets;”† nor repeat with M. Cocquerel, “La diversité des sectes qui partagent le protestantisme, forme son plus beau titre de gloire.”‡ Nor will they answer the objection, that “if Luther and Melancthon could revisit the world, they would find almost no trace of their own opinions,” by asserting with Planck, that these reformers “would be very much ashamed to find it otherwise, or that their descendants had made no *progress* since their times.”§ Some, no doubt, will seek to remove the prejudices which the history of German Protestantism is apt to excite, by referring its disastrous issue to the operation of causes which, as they will assert, have no necessary nor inflexible connection with the general principles of the

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\* *Mélanges de Religion*, tome i. p. 84.

† Ibid, tome ii. in the reply to M. Grégoire’s *Histoire des Sectes Religieuses*.

‡ *L’Ami de la Religion*, tome xxii. p. 208.

§ *Archives du Christianisme*, tome i. p. 329.



reformation. In a word, the present decay of their religion will be attributed to the action of foreign influences, and not to the gradual and spontaneous evolution of its own inherent and essential properties. It will be said, perhaps, that as experiments in the physical sciences sometimes fail, not because of any error in the process, but from disturbing causes *ab extra*, against which it was impossible to provide; so there may have been numerous elements, more or less occult and unobserved, not admitting of distinct analysis and classification, and yet fully adequate to the production of those tremendous phenomena, which, in point of fact, German Protestantism has generated.

Perhaps, then, we shall find happier results in closer correspondence with the terms of the reformation hypothesis, and more nearly approximating to the ideal which it represented, if we transfer the investigation to some other country. If the failure of the Reformation in Germany has been the result of *accident*, and not of *legitimate development*,\* it is obviously very highly improbable that its kindred and affiliated systems should have assumed precisely similar forms elsewhere. If the foreign influences were strictly *accidental*, in the logical sense of that phrase, their ultimate results will not be uniform—for otherwise, the causes of such recurring events would not be *accidents*. Let us proceed, therefore, to examine the history of the Reformation, still in connection with its original hypothesis, in some other lands; and next in Switzerland.

At the Protestant synod of Berne, in 1536, from which period we shall commence our brief review of Swiss Protestantism, the reformers of that country appear to have been assembled at the summons of a public accuser. The accusation was a serious one. They were openly charged with maintaining the Arian tenets.† Caroli, joint pastor with Viret, of the city of Lausanne, was the author of the charge, in which many of the ministers of Geneva, as well as of the other Cantons were implicated. In this synod, Calesius, a colleague of Calvin, is said by Prateolus,‡ to have boldly asserted that “Christ was not dis-

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\* Vide Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, chap. i. sect. 3, p. 72.

† Vide Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation en Suisse*, 2nde partie, livre 1, tome v. p. 30.

‡ *Elench. Hæret. Omnium*, lib. xviii. hæres. 24, p. 489.

tinguished from the Father;" and this, as it appears, without remonstrance either from Berne or Geneva, though not without protest from other quarters. Calvin himself, Viret, and Farel, vehemently disclaimed the errors imputed to them. It is significant, however, that the former, being challenged by Caroli to sign the three Creeds, not only positively refused to do so, but spoke of those holy symbols in terms of open disrespect. The sacred phrases, "God of God, Light of Light, True God of True God," were pronounced by this reformer to be "vain repetitions." The word Trinity he also rejected, as "savouring of barbarity;" and his language, both on this and other occasions, has been greedily quoted by Socinians of the present day, as formerly by their predecessors.\* It has indeed been questioned, whether the leading Swiss Reformers were really believers in the mysteries of the Incarnation, the Trinity, and the Atonement. Yet it is certain that they professed to be so, and that they even put to death some who openly impugned them. How far, however, it was possible for men in their position, or for any but members of the Catholic Church, to possess in its fulness the gift of faith: and whether Protestants, however well disposed, *can* realize a belief in the true doctrine of the Incarnation and of the Hypostatic Union, while they reject as a species of "idolatry," the Church's devotions towards that Blessed Mother, in whose sacred womb, and of whose substance, the Son of God took flesh; these are questions upon which we entertain the most unhesitating conviction, but which lie beyond the range of our present inquiry.† We shall only observe here, that at least the *language* of Calvin and his co-reformers was such as professed Socinians have accepted as the full expression of their own sentiments,‡ and pass on at once to the later history

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\* Vide Eniedin, *In S. Trinitatem*, pp. 138—9; *Monthly Repository*, vol. xxi. p. 622; and Kromayer, *Loc. Anti-Syncretist*, p. 262.

† "And if we take a survey of Europe at least, we shall find that those religious communions which are characterized by the observance of St. Mary, are not the churches which have ceased to adore her eternal Son, but such as have renounced that observance. The regard for his glory, which was professed in that keen jealousy of her exaltation, has not been supported by the event. They who were accused of worshipping a creature in his stead, *still worship Him*; their accusers, who hoped to worship Him so purely, where obstacles to the development of their principles have been removed, *have ceased to worship Him altogether*." Newman's *Essay*, &c. chap. viii. p. 436.

‡ Cf. Petavii *De Trinitate*, lib. iii. cap. 4, § 7; Hartmanni *Concil. Illustr.* tome iv. p. 591; Stockmanni *Lexicon Hæresium*, p. 223; Kromayer, *loc. citat*; Moehler, *La*



of the communities of which they were the founders. Their *profession* was, to restore in its full integrity the pure doctrine of the primitive Church, obscured, as they alleged, by modern corruptions; let us inquire how far the result is in accordance with their profession.

We have already seen the first reformers charged, apparently upon sufficient grounds, with the impieties of Arianism; their successors, therefore, were not without timely warning. Is it possible that the warning was ineffectual?

In 1758, the ministers of the Canton of Geneva appear to have issued a formal reply to a charge publicly levelled against them. The charge came from France—the author of it was D'Alembert. It described the religion of Geneva as "*mere Socinianism*." "*Plusieurs ne croient plus,*" said their accuser, "*la divinité de Jésus Christ, dont Calvin, leur chef, étoit si zélé défenseur..... Pour tout dire en un mot, plusieurs pasteurs de Genève n'ont d'autre religion qu'un Socinianisme parfait, rejetant tout ce qu'on appelle mystères.*"\* Some attempts were made to refute this charge; the time was not yet arrived for the full avowal of their sentiments. But it was near at hand. Meanwhile D'Alembert was repeating the charge. "*O Bossuet,*" said he, in the triumph of his unbelieving heart, "*ou êtes vous? Il y a quatre vingts ans que vous avez prédit que les principes des Protestans les conduiroient au Socinianisme; que de remerciemens n'auriez vous pas fait à l'auteur de l'article, d'avoir attesté à toute l'Europe la vérité de votre prédiction?*"†

Still the full accomplishment of that famous prediction appeared to be for a while delayed. The stream of blasphemy, of which Bossuet's eagle eye had detected the source and fount, was slowly penetrating every barrier, and undermining every foundation; occasional outbreaks marked its secret but rapid course, till at length it burst forth in one wide torrent, and swept all before it. "*Le Protestantisme genevois,*" says M. Grégoire, "*après avoir*

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*Symbolique*, tome i. pp. 25, 26, 114, 271, &c. (Ed. Lachat); Maldonat. *Comment in S. Matt.* in cap. 26, et passim; Spondon, *Annal. Ann.* 1540, tom. ii. p. 453; Chamier, *De S. Trinitate*, lib. i. cap. 2, § 16; Prateoli, *Elench. Hæret.* lib. 1, 3, 18; Feuardenii, *Theomach. Calvinist.* lib. ix; Hospiniani, *De Orig. Lib. Concord.* cap. 41; Cornel. A. Lapide, *In Epist. ad Hebræos*, cap. 5, &c.

\* *Encyclopédie des Sciences*, tome vii. Art. Genève.

† *Œuvres de d'Alembert*, tome v. p. 283, Ed. Paris, 1805.

*clandestinement* pendant un siècle professé le Socinianisme, a levé le masque.”\* Let us see what the removal of the “mask” has revealed.

In the year 1816, M. Henri Louis Empaytaz published his “*Considérations sur la divinité de Jésus Christ, adressées à M. M. les Etudiants de l’Auditoire de Theologie de l’Eglise de Genève.*” In this pamphlet, the *Venerable Company of Pastors*—the ecclesiastical consistory of Geneva—was once more distinctly charged with rejecting the Divinity of our Lord. The charge this time was not denied. After some lingering hesitation, the *Venerable Company* was compelled to speak out. In their reply they acknowledge the truth of the allegation, but only as to the matter of fact; the imputed change of opinions they boldly defend as the legitimate and necessary development of Protestantism. “Pour maintenir le principe du Protestantisme,” they say, “la *Venerable Compagnie a dû nécessairement* renoncer aux opinions qu’on lui fait un crime d’avoir abandonnées.” It was, said their defence, by a strict metaphysical necessity that they had advanced from Calvinism to Socinianism. “*Le droit d’examen,*” they proceed, with which the reformers had invested all their disciples, “est le fondement de la religion protestante, et tout ce qu’elle contient d’invariable;” and they add, that to reject the doctrine of the Trinity, was “*necessary*” on their principle, and that the “*orthodox*” ought to “*go to Rome!*”†

Our readers may almost have forgotten by this time, that “the restoration of the Gospel,” in Parker’s phrase, and the fuller manifestation of those fundamental verities which “Roman corruptions” had obscured, was the grand object proposed by the first Protestants. It is something to have obtained so frank an admission, from their successors, that these very doctrines are, after all, the distinctive tenets of “Popery,” and that if Protestants wish to believe them, they ought *to go to Rome.*‡

\* *Observations Préliminaires.*

† *Defense de la Vénérable Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève, à l’occasion d’un écrit intitulé, “Véritable Histoire des Momiers.”*

‡ “C’est beaucoup que d’avoir obtenu un pareil aveu, d’où il résulte que le protestantisme n’est point un religion, mais l’amas incohérent de toutes les pensées qui peuvent monter dans l’esprit de l’homme.” De La Mennais, *Histoire Véritable des Momiers de Genève.* Œuvres, tome viii. p. 399.



But the descendants of Calvin are not content with simply refuting his hypothesis of the Reformation. They go further; and demonstrate, by actions yet more emphatic than their words, that instead of quitting "Rome," as the reformers advised, in order to have full liberty to believe the Divinity of our Lord, one must fly from Rome to have the freedom of denying it. The chief opponent of the theology of the *Venerable Company*, was presently removed from his office;\* and by way of employment of his leisure time, they proposed to him the solution of a rather irritating problem. He had charged them with a departure from the doctrines of Calvin. Well, said they, that is very true, "but if the Company of Pastors chose to receive a Confession of Faith in the *sixteenth* century, why should not the same Company modify or reject it in the *eighteenth*?"†

Nor was it only in Geneva that these events occurred. When the "orthodox" minority of ministers in the Canton de Vaud presented a memorial to the Council of State, claiming the right to separate from the *established* community on account of its infidelity, they were promptly conveyed to prison!‡ They evidently did not deserve to be entrusted any longer with the *droit d'examen*. In Lausanne too, the same persons were condemned as "*une secte nouvelle!*" and derided as "methodists" and "hypocrites." It was intolerable, they were told, that in order to maintain a doctrine which enlightened Protestantism had decided to reject, they should presume to separate from the "*Eglise Nationale*," and to reject the "*religion de l'etat!*"§ In Geneva itself, the mob, instigated by their rulers, were heard to raise the horrible cry, "*A bas Jésus Christ.*"||

"At the present time," we are informed, "the twenty-seven pastors of the established Church of the canton of Geneva, are understood, with two or three exceptions, to hold to Unitarian opinions."¶ "The pastors of this city,"

\* "Documents relative to the deposition of the Rev. C. Malan, from his office in the College of Geneva, (1829.)

† *Mélanges de Religion*, tome iii. p. 94.

‡ *Mélanges*, tome ix. p. 342.

§ *Mémorial Catholique*, tome i. p. 117.

|| *Histoire des Momiers*, p. 392.

¶ *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. xiv, Appendix, p. 599.

says one of their own number, to a brother Protestant at Montauban, "*will soon be nothing more than a mere philosophical assembly, or literary society.*"\* They have even been told to their faces, "You have entirely abandoned the principles of your Church at the Reformation .....you have become Arians;"† and we cannot, perhaps, present a more instructive nor a more curious example of the mode in which they meet such charges, than is contained in the following discourse, actually pronounced by M. de Fernex, one of the pastors of Geneva, before the Consistory, on the 14th of January, 1819. It will serve to convey the most accurate notion of the actual condition of Calvin's once celebrated community, and of the state of religion in what has been called "the Protestant Rome."

"Genève jouissait depuis près d'un siècle du calme religieux ; elle pouvoit hardiment soumettre sa croyance à l'examen de sa raison, séparer les vérités fondamentales, incontestablement enseignées dans l'Evangile, de celles qui.....ne sont pas d'une égale importance ; elle pouvoit, en s'attachant fortement aux unes, suspendre son jugement sur les autres, attendre que de nouvelles lumières lui permissent de prononcer avec plus de maturité. Mais cette heureuse privilège elle le possédoit comme à l'insu des autres Eglises ; contente de jouir de la paix, elle n'aspirait point à paraître avoir secoué un joug auquel, partout ailleurs, on était encore trop asservi pour qu'elle pût espérer de faire goûter ses principes. Cependant on l'accuse de s'écarter de la doctrine reçue—de mettre moins d'importance à certains dogmes.....On la presse de répondre, elle hésite ; elle craint d'engager des querelles ; on insiste ; et quoique décidée à demeurer fidèle au silence que les circonstances et l'autorité des chefs de l'état lui imposaient, elle laisse en quelque sorte échapper son secret, qui, révélé à certaines époques, eût révolté les esprits, et à d'autres n'eût fait aucune sensation."‡

It is perhaps unnecessary that we should offer any further evidence in this case. We have no space for more minute details, nor can we attempt to trace the gradual sinking of Protestant doctrine through the Institutions of Calvin, the Helvetic Confession, and the Synod of Dort ; from the Arminianism of one professor, and the Arianism of another, down to its final development at the present

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\* *L'Ami de la Religion*, tome xiii. p. 229.

† Haldane's *Letter to M. J. J. Chenevière*, p. 4.

‡ *Genève religieuse en Mars*, 1819, pp. 12 et seq. par M. A. Bost, (Genève, 1819.)



hour. The following is all that we can find room for.

It was in 1788, that is, just thirty years after the reply of the Genevan pastors to the Article of D'Alembert, that the *Catechism of Calvin*, hitherto the most approved class-book, was *withdrawn*. Nearly one hundred years earlier, "the Church of Geneva," according to M. Sismondi, "suppressed the practice of compelling the members of her clergy to sign the same confession of faith."\* In 1807, a Liturgy constructed upon Socinian principles, was substituted for that formerly in use.† The profession of faith in the Divinity of our Blessed Lord, once printed together with their editions of the Bible, and affixed to the Gospels, the Psalms, and the Liturgy, *gradually disappeared*. It is found in the Bibles of 1605 and 1723; but it is suppressed in the edition of 1805. It is in the Genevan edition of the Psalms in 1713; it has disappeared in the edition of 1780. It was joined to the New Testament of 1570; it is not to be found in that of 1802.‡ Lastly, in place of the original Calvinistic theology, which was destined to such an early decay, a mere Socinianism now forms the basis of public education; and M. Vernet's *System of Theology*, which openly affirms that our Blessed Saviour was a mere man, "*is the standard work of divinity used in the university*." It was the successor in the chair of this M. Vernet, who "proclaimed to his scholars, *ex cathedra*; *Faites de Jésus Christ tout ce que vous voulez; mais ne l'en faites pas Dieu*."§

It is difficult to believe that the principal author of the revolution, whose appalling fruits we have just been contemplating, should ever have written the following words in relation to the Catholic Church. "They permit with indifference," said Calvin, "both themselves and others to be ignorant of, to neglect, to despise, the true religion; and they deem it a thing of very trifling importance what any one may believe concerning God and Christ, so that

\* *Review of the Progress of Religious Opinions during the 19th century*, p. 62; English edition.

† *Chronique Religieuse*, tome iii. p. 599.

‡ *L'Ami de la Religion*, tome xi. p. 357.

§ See *A Sketch of the Religious Discussions which have lately taken place at Geneva*, pp. 4, 5. There appears to be a secret connection and a constant intercourse between the German, French, and Swiss Protestants; and this from the beginning. See the *Annales de la Religion*, tome xv; and the collection called, *Religion et Christianisme*, tome i. p. 163, and tome iv. p. 159.

he submit his mind with what they call implicit faith to the judgment of the Church." (As if any man *could* submit "to the judgment of the Church," and not have a right faith "concerning God and Christ!") "Nor are they much disturbed if the glory of God be polluted with manifest blasphemies, so long as none lift up his finger against the primacy of the Apostolic See, and the authority of holy mother Church."\* The author of these words has long since gone to give account of them, and of all the "hard things" which in his life time he uttered against the Church and Household of God. Of him, therefore, we have no desire to speak. But there are others, the heirs of his opinions and inheritors of the fatal legacy which he bequeathed, whom we would invite to consider seriously and dispassionately, whether they cannot discern some tokens in the present aspect of the Protestant communities, that Almighty God has long since judged between them and His Church? And whether there is not reason to think that He has already pronounced definitive sentence in that controversy which the so-called Reformers began, and which they left to their descendants to continue? This at least we see; that while they who, in the taunting words of Calvin, "submit with implicit faith to the judgment of the Church," and reverence "the primacy of the Apostolic See," are at this day fervent disciples of Him who was both God and Man, and zealous for every doctrine which He delivered; it is *their adversaries* who, to use the language of the same reformer, "think it of very trifling importance what any one may believe concerning God and Christ," and encourage "both themselves and others" "by manifest blasphemies to pollute the glory of God." How far these phenomena accord with the reformation-hypothesis, or countenance the notion that that movement was designed by God for "the restoration of the Gospel," we cannot deem it necessary to discuss. It is, however, quite conceivable that Protestants should still think so. For if they believe that He who chose the Church to be His Bride, and adorned her with marriage garments meet for the object of His eternal love, not only failed in all His promises to her, but suffered fifteen centuries of deepening error to elapse before He took away her shame, or provided any remedial dispensation, they

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\* Calvini Institut.; Præfat. ad Regem Gallie.



may well believe also, without any inconsistency, that this new dispensation has, in its turn, utterly failed and come to naught. If the Most High, as Protestants declare, forgot His own promises once, why not twice? If his first work failed, why not the second? If, as they suppose, Satan ruled as steward over the family of God, and had the mastery in His Church, for fifteen ages—for ten—or for one—why not *for ever*?

3. We have traced thus far the development of the Reformation in the German states, and in the republics of Switzerland—the seats of its earliest triumphs; let us, once more, examine its history and progress in that great empire where it has dwelt at one time under the shadow of monarchical institutions, at another amidst the anarchy of a revolution, and finally, under the lenient sway of an all-protecting charter. In 1555 the first French Protestant Church was established in Paris.\* Forty years later “there were seven hundred and sixty parish churches belonging to the Protestants of France, all in good order.” And by the year 1600, no fewer than four thousand of the nobility of France, than whom none are more noble, are said to have “belonged to that confession.”†

So fair a beginning seems to promise well. It is an omen, no doubt, of future and abiding prosperity. In this case, at least, we shall not find that speedy and mysterious decay, which we have observed in the others, nor see the once vigorous body of Protestantism transformed, as if by some magical spell, into a foul and pestilential carcass, breeding only plagues and disease. This time we may surely anticipate some substantial fulfilment of those great promises of which the Reformers were so lavish, and which, if they have failed so miserably and unaccountably in Germany and Switzerland, have perhaps been only the more abundantly realized in France. Let us see.

“The Reformed Church,” says Dr. Edmond Scherer, one of its most zealous members, “*has disappeared!* The name subsists, the thing has changed!”‡ How strangely does this promised “restoration of the Gospel” disappoint us at every turn! What then has become of the “760

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\* Smedley's *History of the Reformed Religion in France*, chap. ii. vol. i. p. 62.

† Ranke's *History of the Popes*, book vii. ch. i. § 7, vol. ii. p. 439.

‡ *Present State of the Reformed Church in France*, by Dr. Edmond Scherer, p. 19, (1846.)

parish churches, *all in good order?*” \* Where are the 4000 nobles, once distinguished, amidst the surrounding “superstitions” and “idolatrics” of popery, as the only true and enlightened “professors of the Gospel?” How utterly and mysteriously has Providence cast off and abandoned what these people called “His own cause!”

“We had a Church,” says the same writer, “we have now only *churches*..... We were a reformed church, and we are so no longer. Its name only now adorns a mutilated phantom.” “Our schools of theology,” he continues, “teach pell-mell orthodoxy and rationalism. Any professor may uncontrolled, and, we must acknowledge, without failing in any engagement, overthrow revealed religion by criticism, and natural religion by speculation. The pastors enjoy the same latitude, and the churches and consistories, opposed to each other, the same also. All this is ridiculous, it is hateful; *but it is all perfectly unavoidable*.” “The Reformed Church has truly ceased to exist in the rank of the other religious communities; its *name* remains, but now *only designates a corpse*, a phantom, or, if you please, a remembrance and a hope. *It has ceased to exist!*†

One passage more. “I say it with grief, not only do we no longer form a Reformed Church, but we also no longer form any church whatever..... The pastors reciprocally refuse their pulpits, take contrary resolutions, and anathematize each other; showing, in every way, that they are no longer members of one body, but so many independent or hostile members.” “The question is here no longer of the reformed faith in what it has *peculiar to itself*—the question is not of our Gallican confession of faith of 1559—the question is, at bottom, *of Christianity, in its most general, most fundamental acceptance*.” †

It would seem to be implied in the above sentence, that if the members of the French Protestant churches could only recur to the happier epoch “of 1559,” they might present an aspect more in harmony with the professions of their first founders. We are not able to assent to this opinion, without very considerable modifications. It is true,

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\* Locke, who visited France in 1675, says, that, from mere inability to maintain them, they had, “within these ten years, at least 160 churches pulled down.” Lord King’s *Life of John Locke*, p. 52.

† Pp. 23 and 70.

‡ Pp. 36, 37, 55.



indeed, that at that time there were many learned advocates of "the reformed faith in what it has peculiar to itself," who had not yet abandoned all the fundamental tenets of Christianity. Not only at that date, but even at a later period, there were many who, like those who assisted at the conferences of Saumur, defended with zeal and eloquence the holy doctrines of the Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation. But the history of the Reformed Church in France, as in every other country, is nevertheless, at every period, perfectly homogeneous. All is consistent, every movement is *ad inferos*. The earlier Synods, as that of Paris in 1559, and Poitiers in 1560, did indeed devise certain forms as safeguards for such portions of Christian doctrine as they had yet retained. They even attached penalties to the violation of those forms. But successive Synods abandoned these ceremonies without reserve; first, the form for the Communion; then for the burial of the dead; and by the time of the Synod of Montauban, in 1594, they had advanced a little further, and ventured to decree, "That there is no need of an express particular Form of Prayer at the Ordination of Ministers."\* It is plain, too, that these "ministers," whose obliquities at the present day Dr. Scherer so pathetically deplures, gave a great deal of trouble from the beginning. They had evidently enjoyed but a very slight measure of that *ὁρθὴ παιδεία*, so strongly recommended by Plato and Aristotle to young men in general. In the Synod of Montauban, in 1594, and again in that of Saumur, in 1596, we read of "heretical ministers," and of "deposed," "pragmatical," or "scandalous" ministers, and very frequently of "*apostate* ministers." Indeed these unfortunates are enumerated in almost every Synod they ever held; and we can hardly say which is the most constant item in the acts of these Synods, some new scheme of discipline, or a "catalogue of deposed ministers." The latter is seldom absent, and the former of such frequent occurrence, that they might almost have adopted as their motto the words of Salvian, "*Mutare incipiunt disciplinam.*"†

Enough has been said, perhaps, to show, that the present state of the French Protestant communities is only what might have been anticipated, and was actually pre-

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\* Quick's *Catalogue of French National Synods*, p. 161.

† *De Gubernat. Dei*, lib. vi. p. 147.

dicted, from the first. The disease, which has finally devoured and consumed them, was no accidental mischance—it was inbred, and ran quickly through every vein and artery of their whole system. They were marked with the plague spot from their birth. And if some, constrained by what the Saint of Nyssen calls the ἀνάγκη των ἀποδείξεων\* have endeavoured to account for their dissolution by referring it to the catastrophe of the revolution, or the unfavourable influences of state protection, it is a sufficient refutation of both pretences, that the Catholic Church has equally been exposed to these trials, but without any such results. Far from being a result of the revolution, that terrible event is itself attributed, by one of the deepest thinkers of modern times, to “the indirect influence of Protestantism.”† It is certain, too, that the infidelity which now exerts an almost undivided empire over French Protestantism, was manifested in all its worst forms long before the revolution. The controversies between Jurieu and the Bishop of Meaux, afford abundant evidence of the progress of Socinianism anterior to their day; and, not to speak here of other well-known testimonies, urgent memorials were actually presented to the king, several years before the revolution, in which we meet with the customary description of Protestants,—that “*they disbelieved the Divinity of Christ, and all revelation.*”‡ And if we wish to know the history of French Protestantism during the tremendous scenes of the revolution, and its character subsequent to that event, and down to the present hour, we are not without ample sources of information. “I am sorry to say,” observes a great Protestant statesman, “that they (the French Protestants) *have behaved shockingly since the very beginning of this rebellion, and have been uniformly concerned in its worst and most atrocious acts.* Their clergy are just the same atheists with those of the ‘constitutional’ catholics, but still more wicked and daring.”§ Whilst of the Catholic clergy—of whom 135 bishops and many thousands of priests preferred exile or death to a denial or suppression of the truth—the same distinguished person

\* *Contra Eunomium*, lib. i. tom. ii. p. 377. Paris, 1638.

† Schlegel's *Philosophy of History*, Lecture 16, vol. ii. p. 235; so Jansenism is called by La Mennais, “l'enfant honteux de la Réforme.” *Reflexions sur l'Etat de l'Eglise en France*, tome vi. p. 16.

‡ See Ranken's *History of France*, vol. ix. p. 174.

§ *Remarks on the Policy of the Allies*, Burke's Works, vol. vii. p. 177, (Ed. 1808.)



declares, from personal observation, "They seemed to me, beyond the clerical character, liberal and open; with the hearts of gentlemen and men of honour.....a set of men amongst whom you would not be surprised to find a Fénélon." And after more to the same effect, Mr. Burke adds—for they are his words—"What I say of them is a testimony, as far as one feeble voice can go, which I owe to truth."\* It is too a most significant fact, that while the Catholic faithful, and especially the clergy, were visited with the most ruthless oppression by the revolutionary leaders, and subsequently, at intervals, during the Consulate and the Empire; the Protestants, on the other hand, were fostered and encouraged, as though they had been friends and allies. The emissaries of darkness—or, as they preferred to be styled, "the advocates of Reason"—appear to have detected with the sagacity of instinct who would be for, and who against them; and had no need so much as to ask, "Who is on our side?" "A spirit of *religious toleration*," we are told, "animated the Assembly;" and, as a token of this spirit, "the possessions of their ancestors were restored to the Protestants."† The president Rabaut spoke complacently of "the *signal protection* granted to the reformed and protestant churches by the great Napoleon;"‡ and so notorious was this policy, that even the English Socinians appear to have rejoiced at the favour which was manifested by so powerful a person towards their brethren and confederates in France.§

It is plain, therefore, that the notion of the Revolution having occasioned, in ever so slight a measure, proximately or remotely, the existing developments of French Protestantism, is simply erroneous and unfounded. It did not *produce* Socinianism, because, as we have shown, that form of the "reformed" doctrine was long anterior to it; it did not impose restraints upon Protestant worship, since it saw no need of doing so; and certainly it did not attempt to modify Protestant creeds, about which, since they were so little hostile to its own, it was profoundly indifferent. Nor can it be pretended that this—whether

\* Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, p. 216, (1790.)

† Ranken's *History*, vol. ix. p. 337.

‡ Cobbin's *Historical View of the Reformed Church of France*, p. 105; Cf. Soulier, *Statistique des Eglises Réformées de France*.

§ *Monthly Repository*, vol. iii. p. 160.

we call it indifference or sympathy—really influenced the religious systems of which we are speaking; for, as Dr. Scherer candidly admits, “the legal constitution did not touch the *doctrines* of the Reformed Church of France”\*—*they* were perfectly free to develop either in this direction or that, according to their natural bent and bias; they were left, in a word, to seek their own level, and they found it.

It remains, then, only to describe what that level is; or, in other words, to depict briefly the actual state of French Protestantism at the present moment. It will easily be anticipated, after what has been already said, that it is precisely similar, in spite of the promised “restoration of the Gospel,” to the developments of the reformed doctrine in Switzerland and Germany. “A few years ago,” says a protestant authority, “*it was hardly possible to find twenty pasteurs who confessed the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement.* At this time the established Protestantism of France *is for the most part Socinianism!*”† Such is, once more, the fruit of that disastrous revolution, which Jewel and his confederates were not afraid to call, “God’s own cause.”

Another protestant writer says, “The character which the Reformed Church has acquired in France is altogether peculiar—peculiar, not from its rejection of evangelical doctrines, but from *its indifference to all doctrines.* Christianity must appear to the great majority of French Protestants to have in it *nothing positive or defined at all.*..... On entering a French temple, one experiences the same sensation as on entering a Jewish synagogue. Its services appear like a wretched effort, not to serve, but *to keep up the memory of an abolished religion.* They would indeed resemble a funeral requiem over defunct Protestantism, if they had the solemnity and decency of so touching a ceremony..... I was told by an old pastor, that fifteen years ago he could not count *six* ministers of the established religion who preached the Gospel. He thinks that at present, out of the six hundred belonging to the national temple, there may be two hundred who, with *more or less* (!) effect and sincerity, uphold Christian principles. At the former epoch he assured me that the preaching of Socrates

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\* *Present State*, &c. p. 21.

† Foreign Aid Society’s *Quarterly Report*. Dec. 1841.



instead of Christ was almost universal!"\* It should be added that all this applies to the ministers of the "Reformed" religion; "the 'Lutheran' pasteurs," it seems, "*with a few exceptions, are neologists or Socinians.*" "Miserable indeed," exclaims a recent traveller, "appears to be the condition of the Lutherans and Calvinists in France." And yet the writer, a respectable English protestant clergyman, presently adds, that "many English parents, *thinking all kinds of Protestantism to be equally good*, are in the habit of taking their families to hear the preaching at the Oratoire"—which he describes as "a school of Socinianism"—"because, they say, in addition to the benefit of their hearing a sermon, it is such an excellent lesson in French!"† If their own "church" had taught them no better, why should Dr. Wordsworth complain of their "thinking all kinds of Protestantism to be equally good?" Would their own education or experience allow them to form any other opinion?

It is not to be supposed that the dissolution of the reformation-religion in France, has excited no observation amongst those who still profess it—or, as we ought rather to say, who still, without much definite profession of any kind, agree to "protest" against that more ancient and obstinately immutable religion which the "reformation" was designed to subvert, but which has contrived nevertheless every where to outlive it. Indeed the reflections which modern protestants make upon the changes in their unstable religion, are not the least curious part of its history. "The freedom of inquiry," say some of them, "*could not but inevitably produce these results.*"‡ Nor does it seem to occur to them that such a "freedom" as this may possibly be a rather perilous privilege, and that "there is a liberty which makes men slaves."§ Their contemplations are of quite a different character. "The right which Luther exercised," says a modern French Protestant, "of purifying the doctrines of *his* day, and rendering them more conformable to the letter and true sense of the Gospel, *the same right all his successors possess in*

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\* *Blackwood's Magazine*, April, 1836, pp. 470, 471.

† *Diary in France*, by Christopher Wordsworth, D.D. Canon of St. Peter's, Westminster, p. 36. Conversions to the Church appear to be frequent here as elsewhere, p. 90.

‡ *Melanges de Religion*, tome ii.

§ Vide S. Augustini *Serm.* xxii. *De Verbis Domini*, cap. 7, tom. x. p. 142.

an equal degree.”\* The operation, therefore, is likely to be an endless one; for the Christian religion, it seems, needs to be disinfected of such an enormous amount of corruption, that after the diligent industry of so many reformers, the cure is still inchoate, and every succeeding generation finds in its ineradicable impurities something left to “purify.” “Protestants cannot consider themselves,” says another of the same school, “as limited by the authority of Luther’s sayings, nor those of the other reformers, nor even by that of their symbolical writings—their theology both can and ought to be *tending towards perfection*.”† M. Coquerel, the editor of the *Revue Protestant*, says, yet more pointedly, “It is absolutely necessary to reduce revelation to what it is, and no more;” and he proceeds forthwith to perform this “necessary” operation by reducing it to *nothing*. “Original sin,” “expiation,” “free-will,” “incarnation,” “consubstantiality,”—these, he observes, are “merely human words;” while “grace,” “predestination,” “the Lord’s supper,” “the nature of Jesus Christ,” and other doctrines, “are obscure subjects, upon which it is possible to hold many different opinions, not one of which shall be chargeable with absurdity.”‡ M. de Sismondi, sums up all, when he assures us—and this shall be our final quotation—that “the Protestant Church admits that she herself may be mistaken; she claims only that liberty of thought which the Catholic Church renounces.”§ Most persons, we think, will now agree with a protestant writer already quoted, who says—speaking of the Sociétés Evangéliques, and other recent schemes for the resuscitation of French Protestantism—that “to labour for it, is to labour for an object which has not the smallest necessary connexion with the advancement of the kingdom of God upon earth.”||

4. The same impression will not fail to accompany us, with respect to the “reformed” religion, in every other

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\* *Archives du Christianisme*, tome i. pp. 330, 331.

† *Archives*, loc. cit.

‡ Lettre de M. Charles Coquerel à M. O’Egger, sur une Profession Générale de toute l’Eglise Protestante, p. 20, Note; Paris, 1827.

§ *Progress of Religious Opinions*, p. 79.

|| Wingard, p. 58. It is curious that, even so early as Jewel’s time, French Protestantism had begun to show its real nature. “In the French Church,” says he to Peter Martyr, “which they now have in London, I hear there are some unquiet and turbulent men, who are openly beginning to profess Arianism.” *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Letter 38, p. 173.



country in which the present inquiry shall be pursued. Germany, Switzerland, and France, are only examples on a large scale of what has equally occurred, with the most exact uniformity of development, and according to the same law of declension and decay, in every other land wherein Protestantism has taken root. In every portion of the "reformed" territories the same effort is at this moment being made—though with very different measures of zeal and ardour—the same fruitless attempt to lull the raging and discordant elements, whose devastating progress can no longer be regarded with apathy, and to reconstruct from the wreck of creeds and opinions, a firmer and more enduring fabric than that which can now only be traced amidst the ruins with which it has strewed the earth.

Such an effort is being made, as we have said, though everywhere by a feeble and dispirited minority, in almost all the Protestant communities, and amongst others, in the Netherlands. Here also, as in England, and in some parts of Lutheran Germany, a small and timid band is seen, pondering with sad hearts on the too successful labour of their fathers. Lonely and desolate, they go about amidst the ruins which everywhere impede their steps, vainly searching with sighs and tears for the guardian angels who have long since fled away from that dismal scene. And vain, let them be assured, will be all their wanderings after peace, so long as they refuse to search where alone peace is to be found. Vainly do they call upon them who no longer hear; but in whose place mysterious forms are seen—*diræ facies, inimicæque numina*—the spirits of error, to whom it is permitted to reign in every land from which truth has been cast out. These are their rulers now, and their rulers they will continue to be, in spite of their tears and groans. They cannot, by any might of their own, escape from the dreaded dominion. One power alone there is—in the world, yet not of the world; seen on earth, yet not earthly—before which, if it be invoked, these spirits of evil shall flee away. It is that power of which it was declared of old, "No weapon that is formed against *thee* shall prosper;" that power, which, though Divine, is for awhile committed to human hands; the power which Peter first received from Him who said, "feed My sheep," and with which the vicar of Jesus

Christ, sitting in Peter's seat, still rules the heritage and people of God. But to return to our history:

In no country, perhaps, were the promises and professions of the first Protestants more lofty than in the United Provinces, and in none have they more conspicuously failed. Beginning with an almost incredible severity of demeanour towards all who refused to "bow down to the image" then set up; proscribing, under the most galling penalties, not only the Catholic religion, but even every form of Protestantism, save that precise model of Calvinism which they regarded as the only "true Gospel;"\* binding some and killing others, simply for the avowal of sentiments differing by almost imperceptible niceties from their own; the Protestants of Holland and Flanders, have long since arrived at that immovable "indifference," which most strikingly contrasts with their earlier zeal, and which refuses to concern itself about variations of ritual or of creed, because, in fact, it is equally indifferent about all. One form of religion, it must be confessed, they do persecute, and only one; but it is precisely that which formerly they guarded with such jealous and rigorous severity. It is now the few surviving disciples of the *Synod of Dort*, to whom alone peace is refused, and who, we are told, are "persecuted, and their ministers removed."†

"*Væ Belgio*," was the saying of Melancthon, "*a petulantia ingeniorum!*" and the result has justified the prediction.† It was in Holland that Socinianism, banished for awhile from the land of its birth, appears to have found its earliest home.§ Here its ravages were visibly manifested before elsewhere they had even been detected. Yet here, as everywhere, the plague was gradual. When first Socinian teachers began to be exalted to high places, it was not without remonstrance and opposition that they secured their dignities. But remonstrance grew more and more faint, and by the time that Conrad Vorst was appointed to the chair of Arminius, though he was known in his own country to be a Socinian,|| and even by English

\* Vide Bentivoglio's *History of Flanders*, part ii. chap. ii. p. 75.

† Wingard, p. 169.

‡ As the historian Weismann admits, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* tome ii. p. 106.

§ Vide *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, Art. Sociniens; Pluquet, *Dictionnaire des Hérésies*, tome i. pp. 78, 79; *History of Poland*, in the 12th volume of the *Universal History*, p. 440; and *Histoire du Socinianisme*, ch. v. p. 14; Paris, 1723.

|| *Biographie Universelle*. Art. C. Vorst; *Act. Synod. Dordrecht*. Præfat. ad Ecclesias; and *Judic. Theolog. Provinc.* p. 382; Carte's *General History of England*,



Protestants branded as a "blasphemer,"\* yet his nomination and institution were carried almost without protest. Then it was, as Grotius laments, that his country was "filled with heretics;"† and yet, as Rivetus and Sibrandus complained, "none attempted to resist what was coming on."‡ In the year 1653, the States of Holland and West Friesland, "published a proclamation against the meeting together of the Socinians and their teachers, as also against the printing and selling of Socinian books, upon great penalties."§ Yet only two years later, in spite of every resistance which "reformed" principles or institutions were able to oppose, they are said to "very much increase;"|| and by the end of the same year, "the sect of Socinianism bears great sway in the Province of Holland, and is assented to by most there."¶ It is difficult, however, to determine what was the real amount of opposition which this, perhaps the most fatal product of the reformation, had to encounter in Holland; and there is reason to doubt whether at any time that opposition was, except in a few cases, either earnest or sincere. Forty years earlier than the period referred to above, an English writer, who dates from the Hague, had said, "We have under the press many answers to Vorstius, his *apologies*, which come forth so much the more slowly, because in Holland inhibitions are made to write against him, but for him free liberty and permission is granted."\*\* How inconsistent this is with the pretence of resisting the spreading evil, needs not to be observed. But in the history of the "reformed" religion all is mutable, fluctuating, and contradictory. "Never since the Reformation," says Huber, in describing its course in Holland, "has the form of religion continued

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book xx. vol. i. p. 808; Gerard Brandt, *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, vol. iv. p. 420.

\* D'Ewes, *Primitive Practice*, &c. § 3.

† H. Grotii *Ordin. Holland. et Westfrisicæ Pietas*, pp. 8, 23, 123.

‡ *Respons. ad Pietatem Hugoni Grotii*, p. 28; Cf. Lubbert. *De Jesu Christo Servatore, contra Socinum*, *Præfat.*

§ Thurlow's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 508.

|| *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 50.

¶ P. 51. "However it goeth also very bad amongst us in those things, for there is here in our land great libertie to print all unseemlie, hurtfull, heretical bookes; yet the honourable magistrates of Amsterdam have, exceeding worthilie, caused to be burned certain Socinian bookes." These words are taken from a Low Dutch Tract, of the year 1643, printed in Lord Somers' *Collection of Tracts*, vol. v. p. 17.

\*\* Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 340.

the same for a space of more than thirty years together.”\* Varying incessantly with the changeful caprices of its professors, whom their own arbitrary institutions were as little able to restrain, as that higher authority against which they had originally rebelled, religion, deprived of every element of fixedness, was now reduced in most minds to the mere sentiment of the passing hour. “*Doctrina inconstans*,” was its description, in the words of St. Austin, “*non habens unum colorem*.” The dogmas of religion being no longer received from *authority*, each man compiled, as it were, for himself a body of opinions, to which he gave the name of religious truths; and which he professed to regard as the substance of revealed religion, not because they had at any former period been comprehended in any other traditional system, but because they appeared to him to deserve a place in his own—as being implied or expressed, according to his private opinion, in the pages of Holy Scripture. “*Suus cuique animus auctor*,” was now the only rule of faith; and the religion which was constructed by the application of such a rule, has retained, as might have been anticipated, no more of stability or continuance than drifting sand or running water. To-day it was of this shape, and to-morrow of that; one year Calvinism, and the next Socinianism. Accidental causes may have partially modified, in a few places, the gradual development of the “reformed” theology, but its destinies have everywhere been accomplished, and its secret tendencies displayed. Sooner or later, it has reached its ultimate form of Rationalism, Socinianism, or Indifferentism, according to the genius of particular people and countries, or the dominant characteristics of the national mind. In an empire or a republic, in alliance with the state or in conflict with it, triumphant or depressed, Protestantism has everywhere arrived at last, at one or other of these three conditions. Thus in Germany, it became Rationalism; in Switzerland, France, and America, it has developed mainly into Socinianism, sometimes into Deism, and even Atheism; in England and Sweden it has assumed, in accordance with the more phlegmatic disposition of those countries, the less active but scarcely less repulsive form of an almost impenetrable Indifferentism. Of its present aspect in Holland, which is more immediately under con-

\* See the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tome xxiv. p. 181.



sideration, we are told by a hesitating and reluctant witness, that "it is certain that there has been in the Dutch Church a grievous declension and departure from her first faith and first love. Laxity in doctrinal views has, for a considerable time, prevailed among a large proportion of the clergy, and even the standard of orthodoxy has been modified. The sentiments of many of the ministers are tainted with the Arminian and Socinian heresies, and with the neological spirit of scepticism."\* Of the Protestant ministers in Belgium, who, we are happy to hear, only "afford religious instruction to *thirteen* different congregations," "there are only four," says a Presbyterian writer, "who know the truth; the rest, either Rationalists or Socinians, hate it with their whole hearts."† While in both countries there appears to be just sufficient consciousness of their real state to inspire the feeble efforts of a few, who seem to think, like Esau of old, that they may recover their lost blessings as easily as they cast them away—without confession and without repentance—in other words, without submitting as a first step to that divine authority of the Church, the contempt of which has been the fruitful cause of all their evils. Thus, in Belgium, there appears to be "an Evangelical Society, as well as Bible and Missionary Societies," which "strive to diffuse a spirit of vitality;"‡ and with respect to Holland, there is, or was, a Society at the Hague, which was established in the hope of defending Christianity, "contre les attaques des modernes."§ It is not wonderful, perhaps, that according to the mournful lament of Dr. Wingard,|| "the number of Roman Catholic congregations, (now exceeding *five hundred*,) has increased so rapidly, that forty-two churches were built in eight years."

5. It was a significant observation of Hume, that "the

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\* *Scottish Christian Herald*, vol. iii. pp. 199, 200, (1838) 2nd series.

† *Ibid*, p. 504.

‡ Wingard, p. 121.

§ *Mélanges de Religion*, tome iii. p. 276.

|| Wingard, p. 169. The same writer gives a similar account of the religious state of Hungary. "The Protestants are also here," he says, "on account of the dissolution which Rationalism has caused, not sufficiently prepared for resistance; and apostasies are therefore the easier, as the Roman Catholic clergy neglect no opportunity of making proselytes." p. 122. The bishop thinks, apparently, that to pass even from *Rationalism* (the real character of which he has himself described) to the Catholic Church is an "apostacy!" And yet he is evidently a man of education, and even of good sense, where religion is not concerned.

fate of Protestantism is yet uncertain ;” \* but we have surely good reason for saying that it is so no longer. Not that we are so sanguine as to anticipate its final extinction ; for, as Sir Thomas Browne has remarked, “ Heresies perish not with their authors, but like the river Arethusa, though they lose their currents in one place, they rise up again in another.” † And we will not disguise our apprehensions, that “ Protestantism,” which is now the generic title of perhaps every form of heresy which exists or ever has existed, is destined to inflict a yet more serious injury upon the welfare of mankind, than any, however appalling and irreparable, which it has hitherto introduced. May our prediction fail and come to naught. Meanwhile Protestantism still lives, though ever passing through new forms ; and is said to number under its many-coloured banners, in the different European States, fifty-six millions of adherents. This may appear less considerable when compared with the ranks of the faithful, the countless “ armies of the Lord of Hosts ;” but it is large enough, and formidable enough, to awaken fearful thoughts of the long and terrible conflict which it forebodes to the Church and people of God. And though we do well to be assured that, according to His immutable promise, He “ will protect the city, and will save it for His own sake ;” yet we may not expect to “ go forth in the morning,” and find in the camp of the enemy only “ the bodies of the dead.” This enemy will last to the end ; they have a work to do, and they will do it. “ Heresies,” we are assured, upon the highest authority, “ *there must be* ;” † but while their followers “ strive to unite together and cannot,” but sway to and fro like a disordered multitude, or beat against one another like the tumultuous waves of the sea, they will serve only to manifest the imperishable stability and unity of the Church. § This is their office, and, in spite of themselves, they must fulfil it. “ While heretics fight with and conquer each other,” said S. Hilary, “ they do not conquer *for themselves*. Victoria enim eorum, Ecclesiæ triumphus

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\* *Natural History of Religion*, sect. xi.

† *Religio Medici*, sect. vi.

‡ 1 Cor. xi. 19.

§ “ Utitur enim gentibus ad materiam operationis suæ, hæreticis ad probationem doctrinæ suæ, schismaticis ad documentum stabilitatis suæ, Judæis ad comparationem pulchritudinis suæ.” Aug. *De Vera Religione*, cap. vi. tome i. p. 302.



est.”\* And of this truth the present aspect of Christendom, the decay and dissolution of all that is *positive* in Protestant error, and the gradual advance of the Church in almost every Protestant land, affords abundant evidence.

“The reproach that the Reformation wants leading principles and organization,” says a Protestant writer whom we have already quoted, “has been strengthened by passing events.” It would appear that the religious condition of his own country has suggested the unwelcome reflection. “At the end of the last century,” he observes, “and the beginning of the present, *Sweden* experienced some inroads, although not serious ones, from the prevalent *Neology*.” “From the commencement of that period of the ecclesiastical events of Sweden, to which the present view is limited, up to 1838, very few and insignificant attempts had manifested themselves to prepare the ascendancy of Rationalism among the public generally. By this time, however, they began more openly to manifest themselves, especially in some newspaper articles, although apparently tinctured less with dogmatical interest than with a practical sympathy with the inclination of political liberalism to meddle with every thing. However, after 1840, the tone of the low Rationalism became rather high sounding; and being encouraged by the anticipated full liberty of the press, it dared even to pour out its calumnies in the presence of the estate of the clergy, in diet assembled. The dignitaries of the Church were, however, *perhaps through some remnant of caution*, spared the sorrow and shame of beholding from their assembly the barefaced assurance of Rationalism.”† It is much to have obtained even so guarded an admission from the chief Protestant authority in Sweden. But, in spite of a very natural reluctance, some further revelations have escaped him, of which we may be permitted to take advantage, and which include the neighbouring kingdoms of Denmark and Norway—of which countries the bishop speaks, for obvious reasons, with a good deal less reserve than of his own.

In giving an account of the religious state of Sweden, from his own observations and experience, about the year 1810, Dr. Wingard discloses the following character-

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\* *De Trinitate*, lib. vii. p. 132.

† Wingard's *Review*, &c. pp. 136, 205, 269.

ristic fact. "There was at that time," he says, "among the dignitaries of the Church, a *fickleness which aimed at changing every thing*."\* In this candid description we must be allowed to recognise the character which Holy Scripture, and the Doctors of the Church, have assigned to the professors of every new, or false, religion. "Ever learning and never attaining to the knowledge of the truth," "tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine," such is their portraiture in the inspired volume; and the holy Fathers, the most faithful assertors of the divine philosophy, have equally noted for our admonition that restless, capricious, and impatient spirit of heresy, ever curious to devise some new tenet or doctrine, and no less eager to abandon it when formed; now rejecting, with a precipitate levity, what a moment before was the object of an equally fantastic admiration; as children break to-day the despised bauble which yesterday they clamoured to obtain. It was scarcely possible to have described this temper of heresy in more forcible terms than those employed by Dr. Wingard in his account of the recent state of his own country. That "fickleness which aimed at changing every thing," is a description not of Swedish Protestantism only, but capable of a much wider application. It is, in a word, only another definition of that moral state more briefly comprehended by S. Hilary under the well known words, "*tot fides, quot voluntates*."

It is to this unfortunate "fickleness," apparently, that we must attribute the frequent changes in the Swedish Catechisms, and their suppression of doctrines once maintained by derivation from that normal type of Protestant symbols, the famous but now rejected confession of Augsburg. Perhaps it is the same temper which has procured, as Dr. Wingard relates, the admission of the detestable impieties of Strauss' *Leben Jesu* into Sweden, "a country," as he bitterly observes, "which boasts of northern seriousness." And to the same cause, no doubt, is due the creation of those multiform shapes of error, of which the same writer speaks: "Hoofrianism," "Swedenborgianism," "Hernhuthianism," "Straussianism," "Pietism," "Neologism," "Moravianism," "Methodism," and the other various products of the Re-



formation—or, to use the equivalent phrase, the “restoration of the Gospel”—in Sweden.

But if the “*fickleness*” of reformers and their disciples has proved a potent magician, multiplying with marvellous celerity transformations and metamorphoses which we have hardly time to contemplate before they are succeeded by some new wonder, the spell of “*indifferentism*” has been at least equally effectual. If the one has generated new and strange forms of life, the other has quenched it altogether; if the one has distorted, the other has paralyzed. From the Swedish pulpits *doctrines* are said to be almost banished. In the language of Brissot de Warville, applied to another country, “all the sects admit nothing but *morality*.” “On peut juger de ce qu’est devenue la croyance,” says another, “*par le silence presque général des prédicateurs sur les dogmes*, et le discrédit dans lequel sont tombés les livres symboliques, et les confessions de foi.”\* But simultaneous with the spread of a sluggish “*indifferentism*,” has been the more active development of energetic heresy. “The efforts of the Lutheran doctors of Sweden to refute Socinianism,” says a writer at Stockholm, in the year 1829, “show plainly enough that its impious doctrines are widely spread in that country.”† “The doctrines of Socinianism,” observes another writer, “are no longer regarded as strange in Sweden; and they are admired there, as a proof of the elevation of thought at which the human mind can arrive!”‡ And it is perfectly consistent with all this, that both as respects moral and religious habits, the people should have wofully degenerated since the introduction of the new forms of belief. Dr. Wingard himself speaks of the decay of “*domestic devotion*” as compared with other countries. Mr. Laing also says, “As regards the influence of religion on morals and conduct in private life, I conceive the Reformation has not worked beneficially in Sweden.” And again, “the Reformation, as far as regards the moral condition of the Swedish people, has done harm rather

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\* *Chronique Religieuse*, tome ii. pp. 277—8. All that the archbishop ventures to say in defence of this suspicious “silence” is, that “if the rhetorical manner *has not*, as it ought, *paid due attention to the principal dogmas of Christianity*, still it has not proved itself hostile to them, as has been the case in several neighbouring countries.” *Review*. p. 205.

† See the *Chronique Religieuse*, tome ii. p. 495.

‡ *Memorial Catholique*, tome vi. p. 130; *De l’Etat Religieux de la Suède*.

than good.”\* And yet with all these phenomena, one observes another in Sweden, which would seem at first sight inconsistent with them, but with which nevertheless they have often co-existed in other Protestant communities, and more especially in our own country and in Switzerland. It is the rigid and peremptory enforcing of cold forms and ceremonies, reminding one of the ostentatious but suspicious honour sometimes offered to the dead by those who had manifested only neglect and indifference so long as life remained. An English protestant cathedral of the present day—whose chilling and lifeless forms, to use an expression already quoted, “resemble a funeral requiem over defunct Protestantism,”—is a model on a small scale of the Swedish Lutheran Church. Not a form is relinquished, however unmeaning it may have become; not a ceremony retrenched, however long it may have been divorced from its original purpose and significance. Now that the spirit has fled, they seem to watch round the corpse all the more jealously because they are conscious that it is all which remains to them. “The religion of Luther,” says a Protestant writer on Sweden, “degenerates into the rites and ceremonies of popery..... the reign of ignorance and bigotry gains ground, and will perhaps soon be as unlimited, and produce the same dismal gloom, as now prevails in Spain and Portugal.”† We know how dark a picture this is meant to be; when a Protestant has expressed all the bad qualities which ordinary terms will suffice to denote, his last effective climax always is, “It is as bad as popery.” It is only then that his denunciations are exhausted, and he sits down with the air of a man who has nothing more to say. Of the other northern kingdoms we have no space to speak at length. Of *Norway*, Dr. Wingard says, in rather equivocal terms, “Orthodoxy seems to get the upper hand over *Rationalism*, and has also put forth books in refutation of separatism.” While in *Denmark*, “*Rationalism* of the same form as that in Germany, maintains itself, but not without a struggle with orthodoxy.” (They seem to be well content if they can only say there is a struggle.) “The *Hegelian Philosophy* has at the university of Copenhagen as well vehement as calm advocates. At Kiel the theological faculty is

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\* Laing's *Tour in Sweden* in 1838, chap. iv. pp. 124—5.

† Joseph Acerbi's *Travels through Sweden, Finland, &c.* vol. i. pp. 92—94 (1802.)



supernaturalistic. The Church is disturbed by *separation*, yet less since the talented but vehement Grundtvig re-assumed his clerical functions."\* Lapland seems to be in a still worse condition.

It is evident that the history of the Protestant religion in these northern realms, is not in less inflexible opposition with the hypothesis upon which that religion was originally constructed, than in the other countries which have already come under our review. But it is of little use, we fear, to urge upon our separated brethren these unfortunate results, or to remind them that they have falsified the professions of their founders, and removed the few landmarks which *their* scheme retained;—it is of little use, for this is precisely what they boast to have done.

6. From Sweden we naturally pass, in pursuing the present inquiry, to our own country. Similar in several respects as to national character, and as to the external form under which they originally received the new religion, the developments of the reformed doctrine in England and Sweden have presented for the most part a striking parallel. Distinguished from the people of more southern countries by a certain gravity and immobility of character, which Dr. Wingard expresses under the phrase of "northern seriousness," they have exhibited the tokens of this national peculiarity in their religious history. In other lands the course of the "reformed" religion has been described as a perpetual flux and reflux "between anarchy and despotism, between fanaticism and infidelity."† England has not indeed been wholly free from the same terrible fluctuations—very far from it; but such formidable convulsions have not been her chronic state, and she has enjoyed at least a comparative tranquillity. It is not merely our proverbial insular self-esteem which induces us to believe that, for many successive ages, England was distinguished among the nations by a certain nobleness and simplicity of religious character. All Europe has borne testimony to her singular felicity previous to the sixteenth century. She was long the ornament of Christendom—the prolific mother of Saints—the most radiant gem in that noblest of all crowns which the Sovereign Pontiff, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, has received in due suc-

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\* *Review*, &c. pp. 196—7.

† Schlegel's *History of Literature*, Lecture x.

cession from the Prince of the Apostles, as he received it from the heavenly King. There was something, we may not doubt, in the genius and disposition of her people, which deserved and won for England this bright reputation. Philosophers tell us that the moral faculty varies in nations as the intellectual in individuals. And though our ancestors were reproached by Venerable Bede for a certain inconstancy of temper and an almost Athenian ardour of novelty, yet the sweet gravity and docility of our Saxon forefathers, was never wholly destroyed by the infusion of Norman blood, nor their sober devotion impaired by the blighting taint of heresy. It is certain that in England the Reformation was not a *popular* movement. It was from *the great* that the plan and its execution proceeded, and amongst the great the spoils were divided. Craft and cruelty were necessary to win the people from the religion of their fathers, and both were freely used. The shepherds who led this goodly flock, by an unparalleled treachery, to snares and precipices, had first persuaded them to think that they were only conducting them to their accustomed pastures. And, accordingly, the subsequent history of religion in England, has been almost uniformly that of a *reaction*—often interrupted, always unsuccessful, yet constantly resumed—from that fatal revolution which robbed her of peace and truth at the same moment. Like some fevered patient she has ever since been stretching out the hand, half unconsciously, for something which she knew not to be beyond her reach. Consumed by a perpetual thirst, yet with no physician at hand to temper the healing draught, she has snatched at whatever was nearest, and aggravated the disease by attempting to relieve it. Sorely has England been changed by the cruel plague, and miserably has that saying been fulfilled upon our deeply erring, deceived, and unfortunate country; “*Fiat mensa eorum coram ipsis in laqueum, et in retributiones, et in scandalum.*” But through all the long night of three centuries which has oppressed her, her great and noble character—if it may be permitted us to use such words of our own country—has been manifested, at least at intervals, and struggled in faint resistance against the too potent spell which enthralled her. From time to time the storm has swept over her, and a fanaticism as ungovernable as that which threatens to break up in America the very foundations of religion, or an infidelity as bold as that



which reigns in Protestant Germany and Switzerland, has possessed her like some powerful spirit. But it has not yet wholly mastered her. Something there has been—whether the unwearied mercy which still reserves her for a better destiny, or the merits of her forgotten Saints pleading in Heaven her former obedience, and supplicating her restoration to the faith—something there has been, which has enabled her, at least in part, to baffle that spirit of evil. He may indeed rule her, but not, as elsewhere, without resistance. Her sickness has been heavy—well nigh unto death—but still she lingers. The *strength of her constitution* has hitherto saved her. She has drank of the same deadly potion, but it has not affected her altogether like other people. Some it maddens, others it stupifies; it is the latter effect which the spirit of the Reformation has produced upon England. In other lands it has kindled men into a kind of inebriation of heresy; England it has bound up in a heavy sleep.

We are not about to enter upon a history for which these pages are manifestly unsuited. We shall not in this case, any more than in those which have been already considered, endeavour to follow, step by step, the progress and the development of the reformed doctrines; nor seek to trace the metaphysical connection between the various phenomena of the modern religious history of England, and the introduction of the new religion from which that history dates. Our attention has been occupied exclusively with *facts*. It is to these that we earnestly desire, if the wish be not too bold, to call the observation of our countrymen. Shrewd and sagacious to a proverb, in temporal affairs, we would simply invite them to apply the same practical sagacity to the consideration of this momentous question. They know—too well, alas!—what the English reformers *professed* to do; let them examine, with their accustomed fairness and composure, what they have *actually done*.

We shall not need the aid of rhetorical art, nor are we ambitious of the praise of eloquence. With such persuasive but treacherous auxiliaries, we sincerely disclaim alliance. We desire only to speak simply and seriously upon a subject, the tremendous importance of which we should but extenuate and obscure, if we could think it necessary to discuss it in the set phrases of an artificial harangue. We would rather speak, after the example of

St. Paul, the "words of truth and soberness;" than choose, like the Jews, to have for our advocate "Tertullus the orator."

Let us intimate, in the first place, the design and object of the few observations which are about to follow. They must, of necessity, be brief and hasty. We propose then to invite attention on the one hand to the pledges, assertions, and professions of the Anglican reformers; and on the other, to the actual course and measure of their historical fulfilment; and this with a view to exhibit the contrast and disproportion between the two. The contrast is so obvious, and the disproportion so immense, that upon religious and humble hearts they cannot possibly fail to produce the impression which even the most distorted and hostile prepossessions would hardly contrive to resist.

What view the Anglican reformers professed to take of *their own* work, we have already seen; they considered, or at least they called that work, the "*restoration of the Gospel*," and "*God's own cause*." And what they thought of the Church of their fathers, we have also seen, in their own very clear and unambiguous statements. They could hardly find words to express their eager complacency in the contemplation of the one; and if language did not altogether fail them in describing the other, it was only because they used *such* language as was never heard before; because, in a word, having completely exhausted the old vocabulary of reproaches and imprecations, they invented a new one to supply the deficiency. Every phrase which ingenious hate could devise or implacable passion utter, was unequal to express their intense and unflagging abhorrence of the Roman Church; and when every image which earth could lend to their invectives was used up and worn threadbare, hell itself was searched for a still deeper and darker curse. It was in shapes and colours borrowed from that dread abyss that Cranmer and his confederates depicted to the people of England the Catholic Church of Christ. And if the incessant mementos of Satan, his empire, his ministers, and his works, with which their writings are literally crammed, fail by degrees, as we get familiar with them, to produce much impression, and at last from perpetual iteration seem to lose their natural meaning and significance altogether, this was not at all their design in using them. When Cranmer called the holy Church of God, "*that cursed synagogue of Antichrist*,"



and Ridley styled her "*the whorish bawd of Babylon*;" when Latimer called the Father of Christendom, "*the devil's Chaplain*," and Sandys termed him, "*that triple crowned beast*;" they were not merely employing strong figures of speech, nor implying, (like "high churchmen" now-a-days,) that the Roman Church was partially corrupted, or that some Popes were not so good as they should be; they understood the force of words better than that. They meant nothing less than what they said. *It was upon such views, definitely and perseveringly expounded to the people, that the whole Anglican Reformation was based.* And if later writers of the Anglican communion, secretly ashamed of her origin and early history, and afraid to repeat the language of her founders, have wished to forget the one, and to repudiate the other; if, after having had their share of "the thirty pieces of silver," the traitor's dearly earned reward, they have wished to cast it out of their hands again, and go back from their bargain; what right have they to complain if their brethren, who are still content to abide by it, make a mock of their tardy repentance, and say, "What is that to us?" Or how will they answer the following challenge of a bishop of one of their chief sees, actually spoken within these few months, repeated again and again in their churches, and now finally published and circulated throughout Protestant England; how, we ask, will they answer a challenge in which they are bidden, by one whom *they* call a "successor of the Apostles," to "turn to the writings of the Reformers, and mark the striking contrast between the distinct and even vehement language of repudiation employed by them, and the gentle terms of our contemporaries. Now, the very phrases of the Homilies cannot be used without apology and extenuation. Are we wiser than our fathers?"\* Such is the question of the prelate who now sits in the see of Winchester, and who tells his co-religionists, that they must not fear still to apply to the Catholic Church the words of the prophet, "Come out of her, my people, lest ye be partakers of her plagues."

We are not surprised that some few of our separated brethren are reluctant to act upon this advice; but we do most energetically protest against their singular delusion, that *they*, and not the disciples of the *Homilies*, are the

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\* Bishop of Winchester's Charge at his 5th Visitation, 1845.

true representatives of the Anglican Church, or of Anglican theology. They may very naturally shrink from accepting all the language of that Church, or incurring the terrible responsibility to which it would link them; but let them not suppose that this their timorous protest changes her real character, or that she ceases to be herself because *they* wish she had been different. They cannot undo her exact likeness to the other "reformed" bodies, merely by wishing it had been a little less obvious; nor keep out of sight those formidable features which betray all the counterfeits, however skilfully framed, which the enemy has persuaded men to accept as substitutes for the Church of God. Those manifold systems of error, differing in many particulars, have yet always been in their main outlines essentially the same.

..... "Simillima proles,  
Indiscreta suis, gratusque parentibus error."

And it is too late for Anglicans to blot out the fatal similitude now. Members of other Protestant communities have expressed the same wish. There was a Grotius in Holland, a George Calixtus in Germany, and a Peter Du Moulin in France; and so there may have been a Hooker or an Andrewes in England—men, as we freely admit, immeasurably purer and holier than their own system, however far below that Divine System which it had supplanted in their affections. But as we judge the Dutch, the German, or the French Reformation, not by the inconsistent and equivocal laments of the individuals whom we have mentioned, or of a few others more or less like minded, but by the vigorous, definite, and consistent language of the original authors of the Reformation in their respective countries, and of the great majority of their disciples ever since—so must we do with respect to our own land. There may have been *individuals* who wished the Reformation had been a little less seditious and revolutionary, that so they might have defended it with a better grace, and who would gladly have consumed all the writings of all the "Reformers" in one common flame, that they might be rid of such inconvenient witnesses; but it is no reason that *we* should be silent about the real origin and early history of the Anglican Church, because some few of its members wish to be silent about it too. They have good reason for the wish. When a



successful rebellion has placed its authors in the seat of power and authority, their first thought naturally is, to efface the history of their rebellion. Thus Napoleon, when his own power seemed firmly secured, wished to bury as it were out of sight the interval between the sacred monarchy which had been destroyed and his own new dynasty. He would be thought to have succeeded, in an unbroken line, to the Louises and the Henriés of France. Precisely such is the policy of modern Anglicans. S. Theodore, S. Cuthbert, and S. Anselm, into whose places their rebellion has forcibly thrust them, are their ancestors in exactly the same sense in which S. Louis was the ancestor of Napoleon, or our own sainted Edward of Cromwell. They sit in the same place, and there the similitude ends. The men who destroyed the Ancient Church in England took a different line from their posterity—they had too much to do to be putting on clever disguises—they *said* they intended to destroy that Church, and they were as good as their word. *They* did not affect to call her “Mother,” or “Sister,” or by any other term of relationship; they would own no kindred with “the Beast,” and “the cursed synagogue of Antichrist.” They did not feel constrained, upon their grounds, to invent the later theory of “*branch*” churches, cut off from the root, and boasting themselves against it! This extravagance was part of the burden which they left to their successors. It has been reserved for *them* to affect a reverence for that Church, the utter overthrow of which was the *first step* to the construction of their own. It is they, who, with an almost preposterous unreality, style that “the Holy See,” which their fathers more consistently called “the seat of Satan,” and against which—we say it with sorrow—they are themselves, in spite of vague and unmeaning compliments, the most persevering, and perhaps the least excusable rebels. Their fathers “killed the prophets,” and what do they now but “build their sepulchres?”

But it is time that we return from this long digression. It was necessary, however, in order to mark distinctly the contrast which we are about briefly to trace, that we should remind ourselves of the *real* language and professions of the founders of the Anglican Church; and the more so, because some of their children, a little ashamed of their rather uncouth ancestors, are taking great pains to bury in the very depths of the earth every memorial of them, and

even, in some cases, to disown them altogether. As we do not share this shrinking and sensitive reluctance to confront the Anglican Reformers, we have taken leave to bring them into view again, and as distinctly as possible. We have seen, in their own words, what they professed to do, let us see what they have actually *done*; they promised to restore the Ideal of the Primitive Church, let us inquire how nearly they have approached to it.

Now we are persuaded that a fair investigation of this inquiry will result in no other conviction but this—that the system erected by the Anglican Reformers upon the ruins of the ancient Church, has utterly failed, after a trial of three centuries, not only to accomplish that peculiar work of “restoration” which it was their boast to have undertaken, but even to perform *any one* of the primary and elementary functions of the Church of Christ. That it has succeeded so far as to produce *moral* effects, is admitted—and what false religious system has not?—but as to the peculiar offices which it belongs to *the Church* to discharge, and for the performance of which she was planted by her Divine Founder amongst the kingdoms of the earth, *these* the Anglican Church, by the confessions of many of her own children, has from her origin only thwarted and obscured. Amongst the notes and leading characteristics of the Church, the following, it will be admitted, hold a prominent place. 1. Unity of form and unity of dogmatic teaching. 2. Maintenance of sound doctrine. 3. Hearty allegiance and affection of its own members and subjects. 4. Freedom of action, both internal and external. 5. Education and religious care of the poor. 6. Catholicity. It is so plain, at the very first glance, that the Anglican Church possesses not one of these essential notes, that we shall be thought to have selected them as being precisely the most unfavourable tests by which she could have been tried. We have been influenced by no such motive in making the choice. The same objection would, we believe, have equally applied, if the selection had been of any other notes whatever; each would have appeared the choice of a hostile ingenuity; and certainly no community pretending to the title of a “Church,” could, without a voluntary surrender and a total annihilation of its own claims, decline to be tried by those above enumerated. Let us try this community then by the first test—unity of form and unity of dogmatic teaching.



1. We shall preface our observations by the following striking statement of a distinguished living writer :

“The Church,” says Mr. Newman, “is a kingdom; a heresy is a family rather than a kingdom; and as a family continually divides and sends out branches, founding new houses, and propagating itself in colonies, each of them as independent as its original head, so was it with heresy. Simon Magus, the first heretic, had been Patriarch of Menandrians, Basilidians, Valentinians, and the whole family of Gnostics; Tatian of Encratites, Severians, Aquarians, Apotactites, and Saccophori. The Montanists had been propagated into Tascodrugites, Pepuzians, Artotyrites, and Quartodecimans. Eutyches, in a later time, gave birth to the Dioscorians, Gaianites, Theodosians, Agnoetæ, Theopaschites, Acephali, Semidalitæ, Nagranitæ, Jacobites, and others. This is the uniform history of heresy. The patronage of the civil power might for a time counteract the law of its nature, but it showed it as soon as the obstacle was removed. Scarcely was Arianism deprived of the churches of Constantinople, and left to itself, than it split in that very city into the Dorotheans, the Psathyrians, and the Curtians; and the Eunomians into the Theophronians and Eutychians. One fourth part of the Donatists speedily became Maximianists; and besides these were the Rogatians; the Primianists, the Urbanists, and the Claudianists.”\*

The Church, then, is “a kingdom,” “a city at unity in itself;” heresy is a wrangling and unloving family, of which the members are at open variance and discord, separating, dividing, and subdividing without end. With which does the history and existing condition of English Protestantism correspond?

When the Lord Chancellor Heath, archbishop of York, delivered his famous speech before the House of Lords, in 1558, against the new doctrine of the Queen’s supremacy in rebus ecclesiasticis, he thus solemnly warned his peers of what was coming to pass. “In relinquishing and forsaking the Catholic Church,” said he, “the inhabitants of this realm shall be forced to seek further for another Gospel of Christ, other doctrine, other faith, other sacraments, than we have hitherto received; which will breed such a schism and error in faith, *as was never in any*

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\* *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, chap. iv. p. 246. S. Austin was accustomed to remark of heresy: “Videte illos, fratres mei, qui se ab unitate præciderunt, in quot frustra præcisi sunt,” &c. *Sermo de Jacob et Esau*, cap. 31, tom. x. p. 507: Cf. *Hæres* 69, tom. vi. p. 13; and S. Athanas. *De Synodis Arim. et S. leuc.* tom. i. p. 906; Paris, 1627.

*Christian realm."* Such was the prophecy,\* and how fatally has it been fulfilled! It has been calculated that the original English Protestantism, which its framers wished to bequeath to the country as a complete and inflexible system, has given birth, up to the present time, to considerably more than one hundred different forms of religion!† Of these not a few still survive in our distracted country, besides innumerable colonies of sects which have gone forth from her; and so far is the evil from being abated, or the fecundity of English Protestantism impaired, that at this very day, "*the sin of schism,*" according to the confession of the bishop of Exeter, "*is the opprobrium, and threatens to be the downfall of our country.*"‡ The same humiliating admission, as we need scarcely observe, has been made by Anglican writers of all shades of religious sentiment, and more especially within the last few years. It is impossible, as it is unnecessary, that we should cite them here. The infinite variety of doctrinal opinions, both within and without the establishment, and the ever-multiplying swarm of schisms and heresies, which devour our country like the armies of locusts which once invaded Egypt, and "consumed every green thing," have made England a proverb and almost a laughing-stock throughout Europe. Hardly can the traveller from her shores reach a spot so distant or so secluded as to be ignorant of England's shame, or in which he will not be taunted with it. And yet barely three centuries have elapsed since she was as famous for her unity and peace! How few of our countrymen, contemplating her miserable aspect at this day, and listening to the babel cries of discord which go up from every town and village, can at all realize the thought, that only 300 years ago, *every man, woman, and child in England professed the same holy faith, and knelt at the same altar!* and that the Saviour's last prayer for His children was *then* fulfilled in her, "that they may all be one, as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee: that they also may be one in Us, that the world may believe that

\* More briefly expressed by the great and good bishop Fisher (of Rochester) in the saying: "If liberty take place of faith, farewell religion!" *Speech against the Suppression of Monasteries*, A. D. 1529.

† See Ross' *View of all Religions*: Edwards' *Gangrena*, &c. Staphylus and Cardinal Hosius enumerated 270 different sects of Protestants before the end of the 16th century! See Milner's *End of Controversy*. Letter xv.

‡ Bishop of Exeter's *Charge at his Triennial Visitation*, 1845, p. 44.



Thou hast sent Me.”\* And what shall we think of the work which, professing to be “God’s own cause,” has only this token to offer in evidence of its claim—that it found England such as we have described, and that it has reduced her to what she is !

Let it be observed too, as a circumstance too significant and too important in this contrast to be overlooked, that it is not only the unlearned people, the *masses* who have thus been broken up (as if to render them easier victims to their enemy) into innumerable sections and parties, cohering neither with themselves nor with any other, but the teachers, the very guides, nay the rulers themselves, and that by their own confession, are in exactly the same confusion and disorder. Within these few months we have witnessed the edifying spectacle of bishops openly and publicly arraigning bishops. One strives to enforce upon a reluctant and disobedient clergy the observance of their own laws and rubrics ; and not only do they, as he himself complains, “seek the opinion of counsel” how they may most effectually set him at nought ;† but another ruler chooses precisely that moment to recommend to *his* clergy exactly an opposite course ! Still more recently, we have seen a vehement controversy between a bishop in Ireland and a bishop in Scotland—for their mutual differences demand a wider range than a single country can afford—in which the dispute is not about mere matters of private opinion, nor even about their respective doctrinal views, but concerns the nature and character of their several communities. In a word, the strife and clamour, the unceasing disputes and controversies, which would seem to threaten the immediate dissolution of the Establishment, if we had not seen long since that this is the very atmosphere to which its constitution is most accustomed—the din and turmoil of her wrangling children, and the untiring zeal and assiduity with which they war against the world and against each other, make it a kind of problem to what people we should compare them, or amongst whom we should look for their prototypes—unless it be amongst those untamed Arabs, whose motto still is, “Every man’s

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\* S. John, xvi. 21.

† Bishop of Exeter’s *Charge*, p. 12; a striking illustration, indeed, of what the bishop calls “the *proved impotence* of pastoral rule amongst us.” p. 10. To the bishop of Exeter the *ποιμνικὴ ἐνταξία* may well appear a mere chimera.

hand against his neighbour," or the Philistines against whom Jonathan fought, and who "went on smiting down one another."

And if Anglicanism has utterly failed to preserve even unity of *form*, has it succeeded better in respect of dogmatic teaching? To propose the question is to furnish the reply. Within the borders of the Establishment there is perhaps scarcely a single form of Protestant doctrine, from rigid high-churchmanship down to the wildest excesses of Latitudinarianism, which has not its champions and its representatives. We believe we do not exaggerate when we say, that the Anglican would be fortunate, who, in visiting any two of the parish churches of England in succession, should hear precisely the same doctrine. And it is not about subordinate questions that this infinite diversity reigns, but upon points which they themselves consider *fundamental*—e. g. the doctrines of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. "The opposition of teaching *as respects the Sacraments*," says one of their own prelates, whom we have already quoted, "*is the great evil of our times.*"\* So conscious are they themselves of this "opposition," that the very first step in the selection of a minister for any vacant cure is invariably the enquiry, "What are his religious *views*?" We do not blame the caution—we only regret the necessity for it. And if we were not unwilling to give a ludicrous character to the present melancholy discussion, we might supply illustrations of it, which probably no other sect save the Anglican could furnish. One or two specimens may be useful, as exhibiting the actual state of that community; and if they seem to be used in derision, we shall plead the example of St. Gregory, who defended his own picture of heresy by the apologetic preface, *ὃν εἶπω τὸ καὶ γελοῖως, καὶ περὶ γελοίου πράγματος*.† We are going to refer to the pages of the *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, in which Anglican rectors and curates appear to make known to each other their mutual wants. We shall give a few examples, taken almost at random out of many hundreds, of the mode in which these parties communicate their respective "*views*."

They appear to refer to a great variety of standards. One class, however, appeals to "the Church" as the type

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\* Ibid, p. 30.

† S. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxiii. tom. i. 529.



of their sentiments. Thus we have gentlemen of "High Church views"—of "High Church principles"—of "moderately High Church views"—of "orthodox and moderate Church principles"—of "sober Church views"—of "what are *commonly called* High Church, but not extreme views"—of "Old Church of England principles"—of "sound Church of England principles"—of "moderate Church principles, what is *usually called* orthodox"—of "moderately High Church, though no Tractarian"—of "Anglo-Catholic principles"—of "sound Anglo-Catholic views," &c. One gentleman announces simply, that "his views of the Church are *not low*," which leaves a good deal to the imagination; whilst others have "theological views High Church, but anti-Tractarian"—or again, "sentiments strictly in accordance with the teaching of the Church;" which, we fear, must have been considered rather indefinite, as we are not aware that "teaching of the Church" stands for any very distinct or recognized body of opinions. Others, again, are of "moderate, though strict Church principles"—of "sound Church principles, but not of extreme opinions"—and, in a word, "Church principles," of which the intensity is aggravated or diluted by every conceivable modification of adjective and epithet, are professed by many of the various advertisers in these amusing pages.\*

Another class refer to "the Articles" as the standard of their "views." Of these, some profess "the doctrines of the XXXIX Articles, taken in their literal, natural, grammatical sense," which might seem to exclude all uncertainty, but that unfortunately there is as much dispute about this kind of "sense" as any other. Some, more vaguely, announce "views in accordance with the Prayer-book;" others are "*strictly* in accordance with the Articles;" others "love the truth as set forth in the doctrinal articles of the Church," &c., &c.

With very many the phrase "Evangelical" is the sole test. Some are simply of "evangelical sentiments"—others of "*decidedly* evangelical sentiments," or "*decidedly* evangelical *principles*," or "strict evangelical *views*," or "sentiments evangelical, not Calvinistic." Others again, who think perhaps that in these critical times a little

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\* The references will be found in the Numbers for January, March, and May, 1845.

more obscurity may be expedient, acknowledge views which "*would be termed evangelical*," or "which some, perhaps, *would call evangelical*;" leaving it mysteriously uncertain how far such an arbitrary description of their "views" would be accurate. Whilst, on the other hand, some object equally to "*evangelical*, Tractarian, or other *sectional* views."

With a considerable number "Tractarianism" appears to be the chief criterion. Some are "void of Tractarianism, and other novelties;" or more emphatically, "decidedly opposed to the Tractarian heresy;" or, more briefly, "no Tractarian;" or "zealous, though not Tractarian;" and a good many say pointedly, "No Tractarian need apply." One gentleman has "a strong voice, and good general health, and is decidedly opposed to the Tractarian heresy;" which reads as if the "strong voice" was very anxious to show its capacity, and proclaim its opposition to that particular "heresy." Some are even "free from all Tractarian *tendencies*," and so must be invaluable coadjutors of such gentlemen as the one just mentioned, with the "strong voice and good general health." Others are "alike free from Latitudinarianism and Tractarianism:" but we cannot go through the whole species.

All are, of course, eminently "orthodox," though in various ways; as, "decidedly orthodox," or "strictly orthodox, but averse to all extremes," or "orthodox and moderate;" or again, by way of change, "moderate and orthodox." "Extreme views," and "party predilections," are very commonly objected to, and only mentioned for the sake of reprobation. One gentleman, requiring a curate, protests that "no one of extreme views *either way* need apply;" another is "a minister of the Gospel, *not* extreme;" many vehemently disclaim all "extreme views of *doctrine*," or "extreme views *in religion*" — expressions which to Catholic ears have a very suspicious sound, though doubtless capable of the best interpretation. One individual, however, goes so far as to say, that "he holds no extreme views on *any* of the questions which now divide the Church" — a happy state of philosophical composure and equanimity which cannot be sufficiently admired.

Nothing, perhaps, reveals the grotesque disorder of theological sentiments in this "*branch*" Church more clearly than the mode in which many insist upon "*references as to doctrine*," or that the candidate for what they



have to bestow shall "state *the turn of his opinions*, as to High Church or the reverse;" whilst the applicants, on the other hand, volunteer "references," which are sometimes not a little obscure, and sometimes sufficiently explicit. One gentleman, for example, states only, that "his ministry has been *hitherto* acceptable;" implying, apparently, that there is very little doubt of its being equally acceptable for the future. Another "desires to preserve unity among his people;" which seems a covert way of insinuating that he is not afraid even to attempt impossibilities. Of the same class of rather obscure statements, is the advertisement of one who wishes to minister for the "benefit of his flock;" which does not seem to convey a very clear "reference to doctrine," or the "turn of his opinions." Another proposes as his qualifications, "a powerful voice, and an *impressive manner*," which he may possibly have thought of more importance than such trifles as theological opinions. Another is "opposed to innovation;" what kind of innovation he does not say. One gentleman has "*no objection to the Surrey side*;" which we confess puzzled us a good deal, though it may have conveyed a very distinct idea to his readers. Another, more minute in his auto-biographical sketch, is "without family, possessing a powerful voice, of sound Church principles, without having any extreme views." Another "would not object to undertake a Sunday afternoon duty *at his own risk* in a good neighbourhood!" Here, again, we must profess ourselves utterly at fault. Some are more easy to be understood. Of these, one has "doctrinal views moderate but decided, equally free from Antinomian and Romanistic tendencies." Another states, that "the grand subjects of his preaching are justification through faith, &c., and the necessity of a new nature." Another is "desirous of preaching *a free and full Gospel*;" and another equally "desirous of meeting with a sphere of employment where Christ may be magnified by the Gospel, within the bulwarks of the protesting Church of England."

Lastly, others refer to still more definite standards of religious opinion. One gives notice, that his "theological views are in *general* accordance with those of the Anglican divines of the 17th century;" another has "sentiments congenial with those of the 'Christian Observer.'" Some prefer "the Record," some "Bramhall and Andrewes," some "Jewel's Apology," some "our glorious Reformers;"

one has "religious views similar to those maintained in Scott's Commentary, and Brydges's Christian Ministry;" and another, in whose person we must take leave of these various theologians, who "loves from his heart the Church of England, thinking it apostolical, but loving yet more the pure Gospel as Paul preached it, believing it vital, expects to be disengaged shortly."

It will be suspected, perhaps, that we have selected these as the most ludicrous specimens, after a long search through the pages of the Ecclesiastical Gazette. The supposition would be erroneous. We have, in plain terms, made no selection at all, but taken the cases almost in the very order in which they stand, as the ordinary class of clerical advertisements, and with only two or three exceptions at most, from *three* numbers of the Gazette! We conclude by recommending its pages to the study of all who desire to possess an almost unique record of every conceivable variety of religious sentiment and "turn of opinion"—all professed within the ample fold of what is called, by a happy irony, "the *United Church of England and Ireland*!"

2. It was impossible to apply the first test to the Anglican communion, without discovering, incidentally, that the second would prove fully as unfavourable to her pretensions. If she has so signally failed in preserving unity, it is impossible that she should have maintained purity of doctrine. It is true that English Protestantism has not yet assumed the form under which the new religion is now exhibited in Switzerland or Germany. The genius of the people has hitherto opposed obstacles to such a development. Yet, as has been lately observed: "Here and there, like the intermittent rising of the caldron before it boils, tokens of the same miserable development are visible in the Anglican communion, beginning in what (men) fancy its safeguard—the episcopate."\* How many of that body have openly denied, written and preached against, not merely the dogmas of the Catholic faith, but even the doctrines of their own communion, is sufficiently well-known. And if England be not itself, as a nation, professedly Socinian, Rationalistic, or infidel, there is too much reason to fear, for reasons to which we shall presently refer, that she is extensively so in secret; while it is certain

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\* Faber's *Grounds for remaining in the Anglican Communion*, p. 32.



that she has helped others to become so openly. "In England," says Schlegel, "the Protestant philosophy, true to its character, kept within the limits of a mitigated scepticism, and did not plunge into the same wild, revolutionary excesses as the French philosophy of the 18th century, that started with the same principles."\* Yet M. Villemain assures us, that the latter owed its origin to the English writers. "Ainsi l'Angleterre," says he, "à la fin du dix septième siècle, et au commencement du dix huitième, avoit été remarquable pour une sorte d'emportement sceptique et Epicurien; je parle du caractère de ses principaux écrivains."† And he adds, that it was "the imitation of the English licentiousness which exercised such a powerful dominion over the beaux esprits of France," and instigated them to the unhallowed course which they subsequently pursued. Persons who have carefully examined the writings of the French deists, with this object, have found that they contain scarcely a single original argument—their whole scheme, and often the entire course of their remarks, being borrowed and even copied from the English writers.‡ M. Saintes observes, that "Voltaire was not permitted to know the German literature of his day, and hence it is that he has left to France only the inheritance of the meagre conceptions of English deism."§ His own disciples expressed their obligations to the same quarter. Semler himself makes a similar acknowledgment; and Kant professed to owe the change in his philosophical views to the study of a single essay of Hume. It was the writings of Herbert, Hobbes, Shaftesbury, Toland, Collins, Woolston, Tindal, Bolingbroke, and the rest, which were industriously propagated in Germany about the middle of the 18th century; and an historian of German Rationalism distinguishes between those amongst them, as Bahrtdt and Basedow, whose impieties were akin to "French frivolity," and others, as Mendelssohn, Reimarus, and Lessing, who

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\* *Philosophy of History*, Lecture xvi. p. 261. He elsewhere speaks of "the avowed atheism of the 18th century." p. 240.

† Villemain, *Cours de la Littérature Française*, tome ii. pp. 6, 7.

‡ "Leland, Bergier, Barneſ, Robiſon, and Kett, abundantly prove that the poiſonous plant of infidelity, which has produced ſuch dreadful effects of late years on the continent, was transplanted thither from this Proteſtant Iſland." Milner, *End of Controverſy*, Letter viii.

§ *Histoire du Rationalisme*, chap. ix.

“evinced more sympathy with the phlegmatic hostilities which issued from England.” Voltaire and the French writers did not satisfy the students of Germany, who had recourse also to the “free-thinkers of England.”\* And these “free-thinkers,” we need scarcely observe, did not find the Anglican Establishment a very formidable opponent. Hobbes himself, like so many of his school, “professed to be of the Church of England,” and was accustomed to receive the sacrament at her communion table†—for which theological aberrations do not appear to have been considered a disqualification. And how is it now? We are unwilling, for obvious reasons, to speak of individuals—individuals in high places, whose denial of what even Anglicanism considers fundamental truths is perfectly notorious, and who keep their offices, and use their privileges, without so much as an attempt to remove them, and apparently without anybody caring very much about it. But we are compelled to refer to a work, recently published, as if for the purpose of opening people’s eyes, in which all who desire to look beneath the veil of respectability, under which the “established” religion conceals its real character, may find some aids towards a true appreciation of it. We confess that the terrible revelations contained in the *Autobiography of Blanco White* have occasioned us but little surprise, however apt we may think they are to excite consternation among such members of the Anglican communion as are still struggling, with a devotion worthy of a better cause, against the overwhelming tide of heresy which threatens to engulf her. The following is only a single specimen—for there are many like it—of the disclosures to which we allude. Writing to an Oxford professor, White appears to have said, with reference to expressions employed by the profes-

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\* Saintes, loc. cit.

† Vide *History of Dissenters*, vol. iii. p. 252. We cannot refrain from inserting a parallel anecdote of our own day, for the truth of which we are able to vouch. A gentleman dining, some time since, at the house of a certain archdeacon of the Established Church, deservedly respected for his many amiable qualities, was entertained by his fashionable and agreeable lady during the dinner with an account of “one of the archdeacon’s parishioners.” The subject of the story was described as a “Universalist and a preacher.” “As long as he is well,” said the lady, “we never see him at church; but whenever he is in any trouble or affliction, he always comes to the archdeacon to receive the sacrament. Does not that show a beautiful feeling?” Incredible as this may appear, it could easily be matched with innumerable examples of a similar kind, not only in country parishes, but even in cathedral churches, and under the auspices of “high-church” clergymen. οὐ ξίνα ὁμολῶ.



sor: "You are perfectly right—we cannot essentially disagree; we may disagree in formulas (!) but our truth is the same."\* If we are not mistaken, we have lately seen somewhere an announcement that this very professor is about to give a course of theological lectures. We venture to predict that this amiable correspondent of Mr. Blanco White, from whom he could not "essentially disagree," will include amongst the "formulas" of his orthodox lectures to the youth of Oxford, some very energetic admonitions that, whatever else they may approve, they shall, at all events, give good heed diligently to eschew the "abominations" and "idolatries" of popery. Happy students of theology!—that theology of which it is a first principle, that Socinianism, Sabellianism, Arianism, and the other trifling errors of Mr. White and his friends, are "formulas" in which people "may disagree," while their "truth" nevertheless is "the same!"

It is difficult, of course, to express in a definite form and shape the actual state of religion within the Establishment, or to predict the character which it will ultimately assume. We might, indeed, quote the words of many of her members who have been too ardent to keep their opinions to themselves, and these would afford us means of judging to a certain extent; but the great mass of her population, too immovably lethargic to have any opinions at all, and still more to give expression to them, are almost beyond the reach of ordinary tests. Yet now and then even these manifest certain tokens and symptoms, by which we may approximate to an estimate of their real condition. We have been assured by competent witnesses—persons who either have been, or are still, ministers in the Establishment—that they have found the great majority in parishes which have been under their own observation, to be (unconsciously of course) either Arians or Socinians. And whilst amongst the millions of the True Fold there is not one, who does not know that the Son of Mary, whom the Catholic child learns from infancy to love and venerate as his own Mother, was also Mary's Lord and Creator; we doubt—not from our own preconceived notions of what such a system as the Anglican *must* produce, but from the evidence of innumerable and most miserable facts within our possession—whether the great

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\* *Autobiography of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White*, vol. iii. p. 112.

mass of English Protestants, especially, though by no means exclusively, among the poor and unlearned, can any how be considered as *really believers* in the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, or know more than the bare Name of Him who was "Perfect God and Perfect Man." A late writer, who has possessed abundant means of forming a judgment, has even intimated a doubt, "Whether the character of Protestant devotion towards our Lord has been that of *worship* at all; and not rather such as we pay to an excellent human being, that is, no higher devotion than that which Catholics pay to St. Mary, differing from it, however, in being rude, familiar, and earthly."\* And although there are doubtless many excellent persons in the Anglican Communion who think they have good reason for hoping that this is no true description of *their own* devotion, yet we will venture to assure even these persons—not in a cold, unfriendly spirit, but with the most ardent desire for their true peace and welfare—that if they should ever be so happy as to enter the Catholic Church, and to partake of the fulness of that gift of Faith which out of her fold cannot be possessed, they will then confess, that there were many high and solemn doctrines, even amongst those which they *thought* they held most firmly, which, from the irreparable fault of their position, they had barely touched at all, much less received and embraced within the firm and loving grasp of Faith.

3. Let us say a very few words, in the next place, upon that special characteristic of the Church—her power over the affections and veneration of her own children. With regard to the Catholic Church, we know that, from the beginning down to the present day, it has even been imputed to her as a note of evil, that she exercises a kind of irresistible influence over all her members. To her adversaries this appears a mystery—and they complain, with a mingled feeling of anger and of awe, that she "absorbs and strips of his personality"† each individual over whom her authority extends. While, on the other hand, her children themselves, far from resenting this ceaseless control of their inflexible and imperious Mother, delight in nothing so much as the most perfect surrender of their

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\* Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, chap. viii. p. 438.

† Newman's *Essay*, chap. iv. p. 241.



whole being and faculties to her service, and repay her vigilant guardianship with a tenderness and enthusiasm of devotion at which the heathen of old looked on in admiring wonder, and which extorts even from her adversaries of the present day the reluctant and involuntary tribute of peevish jealousy and fretful indignation.

How does this third test apply to the Anglican Church? Almost every other religionist has at least a *preference* for his own particular sect, and will even manifest that partiality, as occasion serves, by some hearty and vigorous testimony. In our colonies, for example, nothing is more common, we are told, than for emigrants of different sects to shift their locality so as to come within the reach of a preacher of their own form of religion. This is frequently the case in America. Yet bishop Kemper, a protestant dignitary in that country, remarking the profound apathy and indifference of persons who had, nominally, been members of the Establishment, reveals the following truly extraordinary fact. "*Nine-tenths*," says he, "of the *Episcopalians* who emigrate to the far-west, if they cannot enjoy the instructions of their own church, *will seek them elsewhere*. Surely these persons have been suffered to grow up in lamentable ignorance of the advantage afforded them by the Prayer-Book."\* It is certainly an "advantage" which they do not seem very quick to appreciate, either in England or America. In our own country there appears to be just the same hopeless and invincible difficulty in elevating the minds of the people to understand the claims, or even the nature, of the Established Church. It is a difficulty which her rulers do not attempt to conceal. The bishop of Exeter, who has experienced the difficulty in his own diocese, says, "True it is that ours is not the only part of the Church in which these truths" (her very nature, end, and office!) "seem to have been forgotten. Recent occurrences *throughout England* all tend to the same point, *all prove the universal need of the same instruction*." Again, "This ignorance is exhibited not in the multitude only, *but in all ranks and degrees of men; and most prominently in those whose station is most exalted!*"† And so this, by their own confession, is all

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\* *Church Advocate*, vol. i. no. 31, p. 123. New York.

† *Charge*, p. 31. Not even "the universities are exempted from this formidable charge, for the bishop adds, that "this great particular" was never touched

that the Anglican Church, after three hundred years of trial, has been able to do, towards grafting upon the minds of her nominal adherents even the most superficial notion of her own character, claims, and authority!

4. We have said that "freedom of action, both internal and external," is one of the conspicuous notes of the Church—and it has ever been so. Not even the persecution of heathens, nor that far more formidable persecution which she endures at this day, in some places, from the violent interference of the State, has ever compelled the Church to accept the decrees of her enemies, even when she was forcibly restrained from acting upon her own. In our own country, for well nigh a thousand years, she resisted and overcame the oppressor, and submitted to no other, no meaner authority than the paternal government of the Holy Pontiff, and of St. Peter whose sceptre he bears. In an evil hour her children were persuaded to rebel against that authority, under the pretext of a complete emancipation from external check or control; and the new church to which they transferred their allegiance has been groaning ever since, by a most manifest judgment, under the iron yoke of the Civil Power—literally bound hand and foot, and delivered over to the tyranny of that crafty world which she thought only to take for her ally, but which speedily became her master. From that time the very laws and canons, which in their hour of visionary and short-lived *freedom* her founders had framed, have been not only ridiculously inoperative, silent from their birth, and for their subsequent ineffectiveness a kind of proverb among her own children—so that the very phrase, "canons of the Church," is said to be a familiar jest and to provoke a significant smile—but she is admonished by her own supreme authority, the Parliament which made and sustains her, that she shall not be per-

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upon "in his own days," (p. 40); and elsewhere he speaks of "that spurious liberality, which, *having already infected the head*, is rapidly spreading over the whole body." (p. 62.) And yet, when Catholics venture to repeat some small part of the serious and fatal charges, which Anglicans bring so freely against their own communion, they are answered with a torrent of indignant declamation. Reproaches, which are true in the mouths of others, become false in theirs. Like the man in the story, who had an unfortunate habit of beating his wife, but was very angry that any body should seem to approve of his doing so, Anglicans claim the privilege of abusing their church as their own peculiar and inalienable right. To any other censor they object the old maxim of civil law, "*Inimicus non potest esse iudex*." Yet it seems a little unjust that Catholics alone should be debarred from lamenting these evils of their country, precisely because they only had no hand in inflicting them upon her.



mitted, even if she should attempt it—superfluous taunt!—to act upon the laws which, by way of harmless indulgence, she is still allowed to call her own. Worldly and ambitious men, enemies sometimes not only of the Church but of all religion, legislate for her, and control her most solemn affairs; and if her nominal rulers venture to lift up a voice against the power from which they receive their offices and their rank, they are presently bid to “set their house in order.” If they would augment their own number, so as to exercise a more effective supervision over the multitudes who are daily slipping away from their weak and nerveless control, some paltry etiquette of state is pleaded to shut their mouths. If they would promulgate disciplinary laws, or chastise those who violate them, they must still sue to the state to enforce the one, and entreat its permission to effect the other. Lastly, for it would be tedious to reckon all the links of the fetters which bind her, if her ministers find their obligations to her clash, whether in a great matter or a small, with their allegiance to the state, it is a received maxim that the former must yield to the latter;—if the ecclesiastical power declare of any criminal or recusant that he shall be restrained from spiritual privileges, and the common law decree that he shall be admitted to them, the world prevails, and the “church” succumbs.

And all this is but the inevitable result of that first guilty compact whereby Cranmer and his confederates sold to an earthly ruler the Church’s birth-right, and rejecting the sacred authority of the Apostolic See, resigned all to the arbitrary fancies of a Henry or an Elizabeth. They would “have no king but Cæsar,” and they have never since been able to shake off his authority. Willingly they parted with their freedom, and now their descendants have almost forgotten that their fathers ever were free. The relations of the church to the state have been reduced to a system, and it is thus that they are described by one of the most celebrated writers of the Anglican Communion.

After enumerating “the privileges, which, through the concession of the state, the church gained by this alliance,” bishop Warburton says, “Let us see next, what privileges, through *the concession of the church*, the state gained by it. These, in a word, may be comprised in its SUPREMACY IN MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL. *The Church*

*resigning up her independency, and making the magistrate her SUPREME HEAD, without whose approbation and allowance she can administer, transact, or decree nothing.* For the state, by this alliance, having undertaken the protection of the church; and protection not being to be afforded to any community, without power over it in the community protecting it; it necessarily follows that *the civil magistrate must be supreme.*”\*

Again; “The third consequence of this supremacy is, That no member of the Established Church can be excommunicated, or expelled the society, *without the consent and allowance of the magistrate.* For expulsion being an act of *supremacy*, it must needs be authorised by him with whom the supremacy is now lodged.”† In a word, the “Established Church” is here admitted by one of her most acute rulers to be precisely in that state of bondage into which her authors sold her at the first; and if she has wholly failed to perform any of the functions of the true Church, and especially to maintain pure faith and doctrine, this is not at all matter for surprise, since Warburton informs us—that “the true end for which religion is established is, *not to provide for the true faith*, but for civil utility!”‡

5. It has ever been a characteristic of the Catholic Church to cherish with a peculiar tenderness those who have least power to help themselves. The aged, and little children; the defenceless, and the poor; those whom the rude world pushes hastily aside as unable to minister to its gratification; these are objects of her special regard—*hæ sunt opes Ecclesiæ*. This tenderness and watchful care the Catholic Church has manifested in a thousand ways. She has often postponed in favour of this the execution of other duties—and many of her rudest trials have been occasioned by the obstinate and unyielding firmness with which she has defended the Poor of Christ against the strong arm of the rich oppressor. It is in this labour that she has ever gloried, after the example of her Divine Master. It continues to be one of the dearest objects of her maternal solicitude, and it will so continue, until the day when she shall present to her Lord, in one goodly band, all the children whom she has begotten unto Him.

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\* Warburton's *Alliance between Church and State*, book ii; Works, vol. vii. p. 153, (London, 1811.)

† Pp. 161—2.

‡ Book iii. p. 287.



How different has been the deportment of that pretended mother who has robbed her of so many of her little ones! How speedily did *she* abandon the Poor, whom she had bereft of their loving guides, to cheerless, desolate, and unpitied penury! Scarcely were the religious houses, in which they had so often, and for so many generations, found meet nourishment for soul and body, levelled with the ground that sensualists might feed upon their revenues, when England was filled with troops of starving beggars. In vain the stern and merciless laws forbade them even to ask for the bread which once, made doubly sweet by the blessing which accompanied it, they had freely received at many a gate of love and mercy. The cry of the famished and oppressed grew louder—insurrections followed in rapid succession, though immediately repressed by force—in London it became necessary to overawe the turbulent by the constant presence of armed bands—till at length, in the 43rd year of the reign of Elizabeth, was passed that Act which provides a compulsory maintenance for those whom the Catholic Church used to style “Christ’s Poor;”—“and here,” to use the vigorous words of a well-known writer, “we have the great, the prominent, the horrible and ever-durable consequence of the ‘Reformation;’ that is to say, pauperism established by law.”

Yes, it is the Poor who have been in a special manner sufferers by the subversion of Holy Church in this country, and the introduction of the new religion. And it is evident that they began to feel the mournful change from the very beginning. “Both the gentry and the clergy,” we are told, in the accounts of those days, “grew extreme covetous. And as for the lay sort, they fell to raising their old rents, turning their arable into pasture, for grazing sheep, and enclosed commons, to the great oppression of the poor.”\* “Rich men,” according to the statement of the “reformer” Becon, “were never so much estranged from all pity and compassion towards the poor people as they be at this present time. They devour the people as it were a morsel of bread.” The same reformer says elsewhere, “What unmercifulness reigneth among

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\* Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i. p. i, p. 604. “As for the spiritual men, they affected mightily courtly living, and taking their pleasure. Little residence upon their benefices, and less hospitality.” p. 607. Such were the sort of men to make “reformers” of.

men at this time! How slenderly are the poor members of Christ provided for now-a-days!.....Moreover, what covetousness reigneth among men at this present time!.....Furthermore, what detestable, filthy, stinking, and abominable whoredom, reigneth in the world now-a-days!"\* &c., &c. "London," said Latimer, "was never so ill as it is now. In times past men were full of pity and compassion," (he could not deny what was known to every one,) "but now there is no pity; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold, he shall lie sick at the door...and perish there for hunger: was there more unmercifulness in Nebo? I think not."† Sandys too exclaims, "O, what shame is this to a Christian commonwealth! a reformed country! obstinate Jews would never show themselves so unthankful."‡ And if these were the first fruits of the "Reformation," its subsequent effects upon the condition of the Poor have been at least equally disastrous. We do not speak now of their scanty food and scantier clothing—though for these also the Church was ever wont to make pitiful provision—but of a far heavier loss, a more fatal and irreparable destitution. Where now are the holy men and women, those gentle recluses, who fed the souls of the Poor with spiritual counsels, and affectionate advice, while they supplied due nourishment for their bodies? They are gone alas! and there are none to take their places. It is within these few years that we have seen almost the first attempts made on the part of the establishment to perform this primary function of the Church, and to provide for the general education of the poor. And it is only necessary to know the methods which have been adopted with this view, even in her normal schools, to comprehend the causes of their failure. A melancholy spectacle truly they are to such as have ever witnessed the system by which the Catholic Church, as a wise and tender Mother, seeks to train her children in the first lessons of religion. And it is no marvel if members of the Anglican Church are heard complaining that even of the few whom she does profess to "educate," many in after life do but use the scanty gifts she bestows upon them to make war against herself, and the ranks of Dis-

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\* *Prologue*, pp. 40, 41.

† *Sermon of the Plough*, vol. i. pp. 64, 55.

‡ *Sermons*, p. 51.



sent are perpetually recruited by the grateful pupils of the National School!

6. There is yet one test of the Church to which we have not alluded—the test of “Catholicity.” And if those of which we have already spoken have refused to give evidence in favour of the new church and the new religion, here is one which is yet more fatal to both.\* But we have already far exceeded our proposed limits, and more than enough has been said to suggest sad and serious thoughts upon that “contrast” which it was our purpose to illustrate—the contrast between what the “Reformers” promised to do, and what they have actually done. They promised the “restoration of the Gospel;” and now, after their system has had full possession of the country for three hundred years, we are told, by one who sits in their high places, that “absolute heathenism, and worse than heathenism—intense hatred of the Christian faith—is raging in many parts of England.”† Whilst another speaks of “a moral contagion, polluting our atmosphere, choking our breath, and greater than we can know of or conceive;” or says to his brethren, “we have allowed *a large nation of Heathen* to spring up among ourselves, unconverted, unnoticed, uncared for, and sent out nations of heathens, in part with the worst vices of the worst of heathens, to colonize the world.”‡ Yes, they can freely confess—it costs but a few words—the immeasurable greatness of the failure, to which they refuse to apply the only remedy; and can even descant eloquently upon the contrast between the days of what they call “our Catholic forefathers” and these rueful times which have succeeded them. And yet when some, moved by these very thoughts to seek rest and peace in that Holy Church from which, through the sins of their fathers, they have been so long estranged, begin once more to turn loving looks towards their true Mother, it is by such writers as these that they are persuaded to forego their resolve, and to lie down in their sorrows once more! “Wo to you,” said He who

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\* The claims of the Anglican Church to the title of *Catholic* being represented, as Mr. Faber says, by “*a miserable communion with nothing and with nobody*,” which reminds us of Bishop Milner’s equally happy description of her eucharistic feasts, which he called “an imaginary banquet on an ideal viand.”

† Bishop of Exeter’s *Charge*, p. 56.

‡ Dr. Pusey’s *Sermon* entitled “Christ, the Source and Rule of Christian Love.” *Preface*, pp. 5, 11.

formed the Church to be our home and sure refuge, "because you shut the kingdom of heaven against men; for you yourselves do not enter in, and those that are going in, you suffer not to enter."\*

7. If our narrow limits have compelled us to curtail our illustrations in the cases already considered, how can we hope to deal satisfactorily with so vast a subject as that to which we now approach—the developments of Protestantism in the United States of America? The materials lying before us are so ample, and present such a mass and concourse of proofs, that even to make a selection is a task of no small difficulty. The real nature and tendencies of Protestantism have, however, been manifested so unmistakeably in America, and upon so gigantic a scale, that we hope to be able to present in a brief space, at least an outline of some of its most prominent features.

In order to acquire, in the first place, a general notion of the religious aspect of this great country, after its long and unrestricted enjoyment of "the blessings of the Reformation," we shall produce a few pictures, drawn by the most impartial hands, out of the immense number of similar ones which have been under our inspection.

"When we look at the state of the Christian religion in this country," says a respectable episcopalian minister, "where the much abused dogma of the Reformers so called, (*sic*) 'the Bible, and the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants,' has been acted upon to its fullest extent; we see, as a legitimate consequence of its literal interpretation, sect upon sect arises and falls, every kind of heresy is taught for the doctrines of Christ, and infidelity itself almost assumes the name of Christianity."† From this, as a kind of text, we may conveniently proceed to more minute illustrations.

Our first citation shall be a reply to the question, "What is an American?" by one who himself enjoys the distinction of that title. "As Christians," says he, in answer to his own interrogation, "*religion curbs them not in their opinions*; the general indulgence leaves every one to think for themselves in spiritual matters; the laws inspect

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\* S. Matt. xxiii. 13.

† Missionary Failures the Reason for Renovated Exertions, by Evan M. Johnson, Rector of Brooklyn, New York. March 15, 1840.



our actions, our thoughts are left to God. Industry, good living, selfishness, litigiousness, country politics, the pride of freemen, *religious indifference*, are their characteristics.”\* We are not aware to what particular “denomination” of Protestantism this witness belonged; our next informant, however, is a bishop of what is called the “Protestant Episcopal Church.” “A spirit of misrule,” says Dr. Onderdonk, “of impiety, of infidelity, of licentiousness, *is stalking throughout the length and breadth of our land*, threatening ruin to every interest connected with individual, domestic, social, and civil welfare. It must be resisted, it must be kept at bay, it must be crushed, *or we are a ruined people.*”† Professor Stephens, of the Nashville University, after describing in eloquent terms to that body “the inordinate pursuit of the physical and material, to the neglect of the intellectual, moral, and immaterial,” which he considers “the great master principle or passion that rules and absorbs the whole American mind,” proceeds as follows: “This great radical propensity, *which is sapping the very foundations of civil society*, and running our republic upon the breakers, must be checked and remedied, it must be counteracted and eradicated.....else, the glorious visions of our young republic shall never be realized, and the day of darkness shall come while the dew is fresh upon her.”‡ Another describes her condition as one of “confusion, and trembling, and infidelity, if not utter ruin,”§ and such accounts might be multiplied almost without limit.||

Another “ground of anxiety,” to use the expression of one of their most respectable periodicals, (which had first given a description of the rapid decay of “the theological seminaries,”) “arises from *the extensive, the unparalleled wreck of ministerial character*. This heaviest of all calamities is not confined to any single denomination; it has

\* *Letters from an American Farmer*, by Hector St. John; Letter iii. p. 65.

† *Sermon preached at the Consecration of Christ-Church.*

‡ *New York Churchman*, vol. ix. No. 12.

§ *Ten Letters on the Church and Church Establishments*, by an Anglo-Canadian; Letter ix. p. 66.

|| “Whether such a state of religion will long continue.....time only will demonstrate. There are, indeed, people who seem to be of opinion that it will end in no religion at all. While they talk of the moral and religious principle, of true liberty, honesty, &c., their actions belie their words, and make them appear a nation of unprincipled atheists.” Welby’s *Visit to North America*, p. 178.

fallen upon all, more or less, and covered all with shame and confusion. Ministers of all creeds, and of no creed at all, orthodox, and heterodox, radicals and conservatives, those professedly engaged in moral reform, and those not so professing, have been guilty of wicked and immoral conduct. *The defection has been so general as to excite among all sects the utmost consternation.*"\* The *Congregational Journal* also asks, with reference to the same phenomenon, "How can we account for the crimes and the apostacies so rapidly accumulating in the ranks of the ministry, and for that suspicion under which it labours in the public esteem, to say nothing of the systematic efforts made to accomplish its overthrow?"

The *Christian Watchman*, the chief organ of the largest "denomination"† in America, says, "The present state of religion among us is discouraging, and in many respects alarming..... Meetings for prayer are but thinly attended, and though the customary services of the Sabbath are sustained, yet manifestly with a great decrease of interest. Religion as a topic of conversation is virtually banished from many circles. In short, a general apathy in respect to the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, the conversion of sinners, and the sanctification of believers, appears to prevail among the professed people of God." Such are the humiliating statements of members of the various denominations, and they might easily be confirmed by innumerable other citations of the same kind—for as all the sects appear to be equally implicated in these unfortunate disclosures, there seems to be an unhesitating frankness and candour in making revelations which equally affect all, and which none can employ to the disadvantage of another.

The author of the *Religio Medici* has observed, "as there were many reformers, so likewise many reformation," and this is specially true in America. "The sects which exist in the United States," says De Tocqueville, "are innumerable ;‡ or, as Mr. Colton remarks, "the land

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\* Vide *Christian Witness*, April, 1845, "Present Condition of the Christian Ministry in America," where a number of important statements from the American press will be found.

† "The Baptists are the prevailing sect in this country." Birkbeck's *Notes on a Journey in America*, p. 100, (1818.) See Caswall's *America and the American Church*, chap. xviii.

‡ *Democracy in America*, vol. ii. chap. 9, p. 228.



literally swarms with religious sects.”\* Even in earlier days, a writer who professes himself unable even “to recollect the names of the multifarious religious sects” then existing in Connecticut alone, gives the following list “of a few of the most remarkable.”† Episcopalians, Scotch Presbyterians, Sandemanians, Sandemanians Bastard, Lutherans, Baptists, Seven-Day Baptists, Quakers, Davisonians, Separatists, Rogereens, Bowlists, Old Lights, New Lights, &c. &c.; and it will be anticipated that in this land of “progress” Protestantism has not lost its characteristic fecundity. In Albany and Rochester there were a few years since, besides Catholics, the following sects: Methodists, Presbyterians, Reformed Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, Dutch Reformed, Lutherans, German Lutherans, Quakers, Orthodox Friends, Hicksites, Evangelicals, Free-will Baptists, Universalists, Free Bethel Church, Free Congregational Church, African Church, &c.; and all these communities of barbarous nomenclature are the progeny which Protestantism has generated in the short space of *thirty* years!‡

It is natural to inquire how these various hordes agree together in the spiritual wastes which they have parcelled out and divided amongst them. “Toleration,” we are told by a Protestant writer, “which we should have reason to expect from one fellow-creature towards another,§ does

\* *Thoughts on the Religious State of the Country*, pp. 204—5. New York, 1836.

† Vide Dean Wilberforce's *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America*, (1844.)

‡ Buckingham's *America*, chap. iii. vol. 3, p. 66. “In all the States of the Union,” says De Tocqueville, “wandering preachers may be met with, who hawk about the work of God from place to place.” Vol. ii. chap. 12, p. 273. “Sects are constantly springing up, new congregations are formed, and existing ones are dissolved. Nevertheless, there is a saying heard from one corner of the Union to the other, that *the most numerous sect consists of those who believe in nothing*, and therefore are called *Nothingarians*.” Wingard, *Review*, &c. p. 159. “They will soon be in America in the situation where M. D'Alembert has placed the ministers of Geneva.” Brissot de Warville, *Travels in America*, p. 102. (1792.)

§ The words are bishop Wingard's; but he had certainly very little right to expect this “toleration” in America, if he had remembered how consistently it has been violated, till very recently, in the religious history of his own and other Protestant countries. See Catteau's *Sweden*, chap. vii. pp. 140, 148. When 167 Protestants, English and others, fled in the reign of Queen Mary to Denmark, because they were not of Luther's opinion on the sacrament, they were driven out of the country in the depth of winter, though they asked to be permitted to remain only during the continuance of the severe weather, which happened at that time to be particularly inclement. Ruchat, *Histoire de la Reformation*, tome vi. p. 9. Cf. Spon, *Histoire de Genève*, tome ii. p. 225; where there is a similar instance. Mosheim himself says, speaking of the “severe and despotic prin-

not, in fact, exist between the many different confessions. They assail each other, not only from the pulpits, and in the newspapers, (of which every sect has one or more of its own,) *but also with actual violence.*” “Differences of religious opinions,” says Colonel Hamilton, in his *‘Men and Manners in America,’* “rend society into shreds and patches.....In a village, the population of which is barely sufficient to fill one church, and support one clergyman, the inhabitants are either forced to want religious ministrations altogether, or the followers of different sects must agree on some compromise, by which each yields up some portion of his creed to satisfy the objections of his neighbour. This breeds argument, dispute, and bitterness of feeling. The Socinian will not object to an Arian clergyman, but declines having any thing to do with a supporter of the Trinity. The Calvinist will consent to tolerate the doctrine of free agency, if combined with that of absolute and irrespective decrees. The Baptist may give up the assertion of some favourite dogmas, but clings to adult baptism as a *sine qua non*. And thus with other sects. But who is to inculcate such a jumble of discrepant and irreconcilable doctrine? No one can shape either his faith or practice according to the anomalous and pie-bald creed prescribed by such a congregation, and the practical result is that some one sect becomes victorious for a time; jealousies deepen into antipathies, and what is called an *opposition church* springs up in the village. Still harmony is not restored. The rival clergymen attack each other from the pulpit, newspapers are enlisted on either side, and religious warfare is waged with the bitterness, if not the learning, which has distinguished the controversies of abler polemics.....\* ”

“The clergymen with whom I had an opportunity of conversing during my different journeys, (in the country,) were unlettered and ignorant of theology, in a degree often scarcely credible. Some of them seem to have changed their tenets almost as often as their coats. One told me that he had commenced his clerical

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ciples” of his co-religionists: “Until this very day, the Lutherans of Frankfort on the Maine have always refused to permit the Reformed to celebrate public worship within the bounds, or even in the suburbs of that city. *Eccles. Hist.* vol. v. p. 291.

\* Cf. Tucker’s *Life of President Jefferson*, chap. iv. vol. 1, p. 107.



life as a Calvinist, he then became a Baptist, then a Universalist, and was, when I met him, an Unitarian!"

If we turn now from these general descriptions, and inquire into the religious condition of individual states, or other divisions of the republic, we shall perhaps acquire a more definite impression of their actual character. Let us begin with New England, because, as Bancroft remarks, "New England was a *religious* plantation, not a plantation for trade." Its history is certainly instructive. "From Luther to Calvin there was progress," says the same writer, "from Geneva to New-England there was more."\* The following is an account, by an American writer, of the present state of New-England.

"Infidelity has made rapid strides in that part of the country during the last twenty years, and, at present, *not one half* of the adult population are in the habit of attending *any* religious worship, or even belong to any Christian sect; I am able to state this from statistical facts, gathered by clergymen (of all denominations) from different parts of the New-England states."† The largest sects, who still retain the profession of a form of religion, are said openly to "deny the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son of God."‡ "There are, in almost every town, Unitarians;.....but in far the greater number of parishes in New-England, they are still blended with other sects. The number of these silent Unitarians is increasing.....they are introducing themselves into every village;"§ &c. It is remarkable too that Unitarianism, which has absorbed so large a portion of Protestantism, and to which that religion almost everywhere tends as its ultimate form, is itself undergoing changes, and seeking for "a lower deep." "A short time since," says Professor Moses Stuart, "almost all the Unitarians of New-England were simply Arians: now, if I am correctly informed, there are scarcely any of the younger preachers of Unitarian sentiments who are not simple Humanitarians."|| We will only add, with reference to New-England, for we are compelled

\* Bancroft's *History of the United States*, chap. x. vol. 1, p. 503; and chap. xviii. vol. 2, p. 464.

† Quoted in the *New York Churchman*, vol. ix. No. 25.

‡ Marshall's *Notes on the Catholic Episcopate*, &c. ch. 5, p. 500.

§ *First Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association*, 1827.

|| *Letters to Dr. Channing*, Letter v. p. 152.

to lay aside many important testimonies for which we had hoped to find room,\* that she appears the more easily to have fallen a prey to Socinianism from that infinite diversity of creeds and opinions to which allusion has already been made, and which, we need scarcely observe, has been the uniform and inseparable accompaniment of the Reformation in every land. "The diversity," says an American Protestant, "cannot, I think, be less than some hundreds.....One can hardly go from one town to another, although he is in the same denomination, without finding a different creed;" and he adds, that ten or fifteen different creeds have been actually delivered, by the *same* minister, to different congregations, which at various times he had formed and organised.†

Of Pennsylvania it is enough to repeat the account of an intelligent traveller of the last century, who says, "In travelling through Pennsylvania, you meet with people of almost every different persuasion of religion that exists."‡

Massachusetts was celebrated in the middle of the 17th century for "the severity of its institutions against all those who deserted" from the established form of worship, and for "punishing heretics, and introducing conformity in matters of faith."§ What is its present condition?

On the one hand, it is eminent for the intelligence of its population, of whom De Tocqueville says, that "every body is acquainted with the evidences of his religion, the history of his country, and the leading features of its institutions." This is its favourable side; now let us look at the other. "In Massachusetts," we are told, "the tendency of the popular mind has been more towards Unitarianism than infidelity, owing to the influence of a few powerful minds exerted in support of its doctrines; but in other states, for the want of a half-way house, they have

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\* We must refer, however to a book called *Universalism as it is*, by Edwin F. Hatfield, (New York, 1841) for some fearful disclosures of the spread of blasphemous sentiments. It is necessary to read this work to understand fully the present religious condition of America. De Tocqueville mentions, as a significant fact, that "*religious insanity* is very common in the United States." Vol. ii. ch. 12, p. 274.

† Colton's *Thoughts on the Religious State of the Country*, ch. ii. pp. 63, 65; and see his *Church and State in America*, p. 8.

‡ Auburey's *Travels in America*, vol. ii. p. 254, (1791.)

§ *Life of Washington*, by Chief Justice Marshall, vol. i. chap. 4, p. 164.



gone the whole distance, from unintelligible metaphysics to open infidelity.”\* In the town of Boston itself, there were, when Mr. Buckingham visited it, no less than fourteen Unitarian churches, and of these “the greater number were originally either Presbyterian or Episcopalian, and have since been occupied by Unitarian ministers. The change in opinion took place in many instances while the clergymen filling the Episcopalian and Presbyterian pulpits were preaching what was considered orthodox doctrine; though there was great caution used in the manifestation of the change, until a period arrived which was thought favourable to its development, and then it is said, there was only one church of importance in all Boston, the Old South, which appeared not to partake of the change.”†

There is one church in Boston, of which the history is so curious, and so illustrative of the character of Protestantism, that we cannot avoid a reference to it. “It is perhaps,” says Mr. Buckingham, “the only one in the world which recognises Royalty in its name, Episcopacy in its ritual, and Unitarianism in its doctrine.” The congregation are styled “Unitarian Episcopalians.” Dr. Greenwood, the present minister of this “Unitarian Episcopal Church,” which appears in former times to have enjoyed the unusual support and patronage of a Protestant bishop of London, observes in his account of it, “Thus the first Episcopal Church in New-England, became the first Unitarian Church in America.”

Another writer, describing the singular religious condition of the same place, says, “Many of the families are divided in their religious sentiments, some of the members attending Episcopal, others the Unitarian churches;”‡ and so little real distinction appears to exist between these two forms of the Protestant religion, that the same writer, referring to the objection which people might be supposed to entertain against sending their children to Socinian colleges, remarks, “The objection has less influence than one would expect among those who are opposed to Unitarian sentiments.” The author of “Aristocracy in America,” also furnishes curious illustrations of the

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\* *New York Churchman*, loc. cit.

† *Buckingham's America*, vol. iii. chap. 18, p. 343.

‡ *Hodgson's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 245.

same characteristic fact, and even mentions one case in which "the family were inclined to orthodoxy, but the father worshipping at an Unitarian church, the daughters followed his example!"\*

We need scarcely observe, after what has been already said, that Socinianism is the vortex which is rapidly swallowing its victims and receiving fresh accessions, from all the various sects. It is the resting-place, as it were, of such as do not abandon every profession of faith whatever. "The great stream of religious opinion in America," says Dr. Wilberforce, "sets toward the chill decencies of Socinian error."† The same writer also remarks, that "the mass of the population has not yet greatly felt the influence of the Episcopalian body." If he had said that it is one of the weakest and least influential among the various sects into which Protestant America is divided, he would have spoken more accurately—and his own history of the community which bears the odd title of "the Episcopalian body,"‡ affords sufficient explanation of its powerlessness. Almost all the other sects are rapidly increasing, this alone seems to be incapable of growth or extension. Like the same "body" in England, it may be compared to some inert mass of earth, without life and motionless, which while it never receives any addition to its original substance, is daily rent and split by wind, and sun, and rain, growing ever less and less, until it becomes only a heap of confused and shattered fragments. Long ago Bishop Berkeley complained that America was a place "where many English, instead of gaining converts, are themselves degenerated into heathens."§ The same prelate predicted that the immeasurably superior character and qualifications of the Catholic missionaries, (which, he says, "hitherto gave the Church of Rome, in regard to her missions, great advantage over the reformed churches,") "would one day

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\* Grund's *Aristocracy in America*, vol. ii. p. 135, (1839.)

† *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America*, p. 437.

‡ We observe that the bishop of London also calls the Establishment "the reformed Episcopal Church." *Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury*, 1840, p. 16. St. Austin would have said that such titles are pretty conclusive evidence of the real character of the institutions which they designate; but it is no wonder if Protestantism, which has invented a new faith and a new church, has been obliged to invent a new phraseology also. Vide S. Augustin, *De Vera Religione*, cap. vii. tom. i. p. 303.

§ Bishop Berkeley's *Proposals for converting the Savage Americans*, &c. Works, vol. iii. p. 229.



spread the religion of Rome throughout all the savage nations of America.”\* It appears that the natives of that country at this day observe precisely the same distinction which Berkeley lamented in his own. When the governor of Wisconsin addressed the Indians of that territory last year, and informed them that the President of the United States would send them Protestant missionaries “to teach them how to live well,” their chiefs replied, “Our children do not listen to *them* any better than to ourselves; we wish for Catholic priests.”†

Nor is it only among the untutored natives that the Apostolic missionaries prevail. “The mass of the population” also, upon which “the Episcopal body” appears to produce so little effect, is in many places gradually submitting to that sweet influence of the Holy Church of Christ, upon the growth of which depends, in our judgment, the future destiny of America. It is the Catholic Church alone which can prevent that magnificent republic from becoming ere long, the plague of the world, and degenerating into a mere nest of heresy and unbelief. The Protestant primate of Sweden informs us, that “the Roman Catholic Church, according to Tocqueville and other trustworthy travellers, is daily on the increase.”‡ “Great alarm,” says a recent traveller, “appears to prevail among the Protestant sects in general, as to the progress making by the Catholics in the West, and it is undoubted that large and costly churches are springing up in every city.”§ Even in Boston, of which we have lately spoken, there are already considerably more than “10,000 Catholic communicants,” and they “are every year increasing.” At Baltimore, with its 100,000 inhabitants, we are told by Protestants, that the Catholics “far outstrip any other separate sect in numbers and in zeal;” and that the character of their “learned and pious clergy,” of the “intelligent and devoted” Sisters of Mercy and of Charity, and of their educational and other institutions, “secure not merely the permanence of the

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\* Ibid, p. 224 and p. 214.

† *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, vol. vi. p. 366. Bishop Wilberforce quotes the reply made in earlier times by the Indians to certain Protestant missionaries: “We value not your Gospel,” said they, “which shows so many roads to God; some of them must be crooked, and lead to the evil spirit.” *History*, &c. p. 119.

‡ *Review*, &c. p. 160.

§ Buckingham’s *America*, vol. iii. ch. 2, p. 39.

present supremacy of Catholic numbers and Catholic influence, but its still further steady and progressive increase.”\* Indeed, the grand religious phenomenon of the United States at the present time appears to be briefly this—on the one hand, a rapid and almost universal development of the various Protestant sects into Socinianism, and in many cases into utter infidelity; and on the other, a steady, gradual, and unchecked advance of that Holy Church, which alone has power, because she alone is the Bride of Christ, to remedy those gigantic evils which have so long threatened to destroy in America even the very name and form of Christianity. “I am inclined to believe,” says one who had carefully studied, in the temper of a philosopher, the aspect of religion in America, “that our posterity will tend more and more into a single division into two parts—some relinquishing Christianity entirely, and others returning to the bosom of the Church of Rome.”†

We have now presented some account of the development of the reformed doctrines in most of the principal Protestant communities throughout the world, and it is time that we should conclude. Had our limits permitted, the testimonies which have been cited might have been multiplied twenty fold, but it is enough.‡ If what has been said does not suffice to determine the true character

\* Id. chap. 22, vol. i. p. 439.

† De Tocqueville, vol. iii. chap. 6, p. 56. “If the Protestant cause,” says Captain Marryatt, “is growing weaker every day from disunion and indifference, there is one creed which is as rapidly gaining strength,—I refer to the Catholic Church, which is silently but surely advancing. Judge Halliburton asserts that all America will be a Catholic country. . . . I think that the author of *Sam Slick* may not be far wrong in the assertion.” *Diary in America*, vol. iii. p. 166.

‡ We might have described the state of Scotland, but it seemed unnecessary. It has long been the very battle-field of conflicting sects, and presented one of the most striking illustrations of the results of the change of religion; but the last great division appears to have thrown all former movements into the shade. It appears that the advocates of the “Free Church” now represent the clergy of the Establishment as “Rubbish,” “Chaff,” “Drones,” “Drunkards,” “Dotards,” “Infidels,” “Enemies of God,” and “Atheists.” Vide *Christian Observer*, February, 1846, p. 119. Dr. Cunningham calls the Kirk “a synagogue of Satan.” Dr. Candlish refuses to hold “even occasional fellowship” with “the ministers of the Establishment;” and Dr. Chalmers calls it, “a moral nuisance, to be swept away.” It seemed better, therefore, to leave them to describe one another.

We might have spoken, too, of the separated communities of the East, whose condition exactly coincides, in many cases, with that of European Protestants. Those in Syria, are so disordered in their religious aspect, that “the Turks themselves regard them as a people without religion.” Vide Jowett’s *Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land*, pp. 25, 26. “Even the Mohammedan,” says another writer, “despises the Protestant, whom he calls the ‘prayerless.’” *The Crescent and the Cross*, by Eliot Warburton, Esq., chap. xii. p. 113; and see D’Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*. tome ii. p. 280; Art. Jacoub Al Baradei.



of the Protestant reformation, and of its disastrous effects upon the religion and the welfare of mankind—if the uniformity of the terrible results which that revolution has accomplished in every country, and the testimony of its own adherents as to the nature of those results, be not a sufficient token of the source from whence it proceeded, whose work it originally was, and to whose fatal designs against our race it has ever since been ministering; we cannot think that a firmer conviction on these points would be attained by any augmentation of the evidence. No, that evidence is sufficiently clear, persuasive, and irresistible. It cannot be depreciated by ingenuity of argument—it is beyond the reach of cavil or objection; and if it fail to exert a proportionate influence upon the minds of those whom it so seriously concerns, this will not be because of any inconclusiveness in the proof, but upon themselves will rest the whole responsibility of its ineffectiveness. The deluge which swept away the old world—the flames which hastened from heaven to consume the guilty cities of the plain—the yawning earth which opened to receive the rebels in the wilderness—surely not even these were more manifest tokens of the judgments of an offended God, than are set before our own eyes at this day in the aspect of those unfortunate countries from which His holy Church has been cast out. Upon them also a deluge has been poured out, a deluge of heresy and unbelief; they too are consumed by flames, the internal fires of pride and sedition; while beneath their feet the earth is ever open that they may search in its recesses for some lower depth of darkness and error. And of these results of the “Reformation,” its own disciples are themselves at once the witnesses and the historians. It is they who have revealed to the world their own terrible secrets, and disclosed the full extent of that corruption and decay, which we might indeed have suspected, but of which we could have possessed no proof or assurance so complete and satisfactory, as that which is supplied in their own confessions.

And now at length one might hope that this weary strife and controversy, which has already lasted three hundred years, and in which so many millions of precious souls have perished, is approaching its end. Time, which has only served too often to aggravate its fierceness, has also simplified more and more the questions upon which it has been occupied. The battle has not ceased to rage, but the

position of the combatants is no longer the same. On the one side, where the armies of the church are ranged, we perceive still the same stedfast order, the same unbroken array; like the "living creatures" whom the prophet saw, they show ever the same beauteous but awful front, they stand on the very spot, and in the very attitude, in which they stood three centuries ago. Their armour is still as bright and unstained, their banners float as tranquilly in the air, as in the days of peace, before the battle had begun. On the other side all is changed. No longer advancing in one line as against a common foe, the enemies of the Church, scattered as it were over the plain, and divided into a thousand confused and broken bands, have turned their weapons against each other, and strive and fight with a suicidal fury as deadly and as vehement as though they had but just begun the conflict, and were no longer conscious that they stand in the presence of a hostile camp. The soldiers of holy Church look on in sorrowful compassion, while her enemies hew each other to pieces, or, like Saul, fall upon their own sword.

And meanwhile, as we have said, time has simplified the controversies in which this sad warfare originated. Men begin at length to perceive what is really at issue in this strange and mysterious strife. It might have been hard to tell in the first uproar and confusion what was demanded on the one side, or refused on the other. It is so no longer. We begin at length to catch distinctly, amid the din of many voices, the common battle cry of all. We understand for what the adversary is contending. All now is plain and clear. We are no longer compelled to predict or to anticipate; it is not from the uncertain future that we have to seek instruction, *the past*, with its solemn lessons, is our warning teacher and our infallible guide. Yes, it is the past which tells us for what Protestantism, under its manifold forms, and in spite of the internal divisions which will for ever suffice to frustrate its purpose, is now struggling and contending. It is the past which admonishes us,—whether it point to England or to Holland, to Germany or to America,—for what end Protestantism was devised in this the old age of the world, and *whose* work it is doing. The day of boasting and confidence, the day of promises and professions is gone by; every disguise has been stripped off, and we see it at last in its true character. It may still contrive to assume new forms, it may affect to be



monarchical as in England, or democratic as in Switzerland; it may retain nominal creeds in the one which it rejects in the other; but it cannot hide, as it once hoped to do, its real character. It may still talk of what it once called "the restoration of the Gospel," but even that deceives no longer. We know it now, and what it is bent upon doing, it must henceforth do openly. Already men are seen, almost in every part of the world, ranging themselves, some unconsciously and some of design, into one or other of two great classes. "Rome," as they have openly declared in Geneva, is confessed once more to be, as in the days when she merited even the praises of St. Paul, the defence and bulwark of Christianity; while it is under the banners of Protestantism that the enemies are crowding and thronging together, from whom Christianity is to receive its last assault, and over whom it is to gain its final victory. "Rome and unbelief," says one who has lately chosen his side in this coming conflict, and by Divine grace chosen aright—"Rome and Unbelief are the two vortices round which and into which all other modes of opinion are visibly edging, in more or less quickening circles." And let us add, in the words of the same amiable writer, "It is a sight to make those breathless who have a care for their fellow-men."

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ART. VII.—*Entire Absolution of the Penitent. A Sermon mostly preached before the University in the Cathedral Church of Christ, Oxford, on the Fourth Sunday after the Epiphany.* By the REV. EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY, D. D. Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Oriel College. Oxford: Parker.

IT is our great blessing, as children of the Holy Catholic Church, that from the lips of our dear Mother we receive the whole cycle of Divine truth at once, and from the first. We are thus shielded against the danger of taking it up in insulated portions, as the result of a merely intellectual process, and in the way of gradual

discovery ; a danger the more serious, when it is considered what stress divines have ever laid upon the integrity and inviolability of the Faith, and the mutual relation of its several parts to one another, and to the whole. It is from the fact of its destroying or disturbing this orderly arrangement and just equipoise, that heresy has introduced such terrible confusion into the world. For so closely and so exquisitely are the several doctrines of our holy Religion intertwined with one another, that in faith, as in morals, there is place for the axiom, "*Quicumque totam servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus.*" Hence the merit and even the very essence of faith consists in maintaining the creed of the Church "whole and inviolate." The capital mischief of heretical intrusion is indicated in its very name, (*αἵρεσις*); its impiety depends not so much on *what* it casts aside, as on the fact of its exercising a choice at all. He who keeps nine of the commandments,\* and deliberately and habitually breaks the tenth, in that he does not strive to keep all, manifests that he keeps none on the principle of Christian obedience: in the same way, although we may have better *hope* of one heretic than another, yet in one, and that the material point of view, all are alike ; all equally criminal, as such, in God's sight, in that, whereas He has vouchsafed to mankind, through his Church, a revelation of Himself which may neither be added to, nor impaired, it is no compensation, in His sight, for the deliberate rejection of one part of His revealed disclosures, that a man accepts even all the rest. It is the heretical *spirit* which is the scourge of the world ; the peculiar shape in which that spirit clothes itself, is matter rather of accident than of essence. And besides, as we have already suggested, he who casts away any portion of Divine Truth, receives no other portion of it *entire*. The "Unitarian," for instance, not merely denies the doctrine of his "Trinitarian" antagonist ; he does not hold aright even the verity for which he contends. In the same way, those modern blasphemers who impugn the Sacrifice of the Mass, are as really defective in what they hold concerning the Blessed Eucharist, as positively heterodox in what they deny. This is a truth on several



\* Objectum fidei nequit dici multiplex, cū reverā unicum tantū sit, nempe veracitas Dei revelantis; idcirco, qui unum fidei articulum negat, non minus est infidelis quam qui omnes negat.



points very important to be remembered. Nothing, for example, is more common than to hear men argue as if an orthodox Christian could be formed by supplying the deficiencies of one heretic out of the positive admissions of his antagonist. They suppose that a heretic is right, *all but* the point in which he is heretical. But the fact is, that he is vicious at the core; he is a broken, and not merely a damaged, vessel; his faith wants, not repairing, but recasting. And though it should be true, that the whole creed of the Catholic Church might be gathered out of the scattered fragments of truth which have been preserved in different heresies, yet it would be a great mistake to suppose that such a collection would be tantamount to her own sacred deposit. As well might we expect that the unearthly beauty of the bow that spans the heavens could be matched by combining in equal proportions the several colours of which it is made up. Those hues, as we well know, which nature blends with such inimitable skill, that one melts into its neighbour without losing aught of its own intensity and precision, if commingled by our rude hands, would result in a confused mass, without remnant or vestige of their original characteristics.

It is very painful to be forced on borrowing an illustration of this important principle from the history of a theological school which has rendered such important service to the Catholic Church, as that with which the respected name of Dr. Pusey is popularly connected. But it may be esteemed providential, that even this school, so venerable in some of its members, and so far above some other extra-Catholic manifestations in its general tone and temper, should yet in its progress have yielded evidence, along with other external movements, (in many points materially unlike itself,) to the divinity of our holy religion; and that in the way, not merely of direct testimony, but of undesigned contrast. Let us proceed at once to explain ourselves.

We began by speaking of the Catholic Faith as a system of adjustment, or, as we prefer to call it, *a body* of Divine truth. In no instance, perhaps, is this its character more beautifully exemplified than in its continuous application of the promise which received, of course, in the Incarnation of our Lord, its original and adequate fulfilment; "*Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi, justitia et pax osculatæ sunt.*" Whereas heresy has constantly oscillated towards the oppo-

site extremes of rigour and laxity; one party, with the Novatians of old, denying the remissibility of post-baptismal sin; another, with the Lutherans and other sectaries of later times, insisting upon faith as the sole instrument of justification, the Catholic Church has faithfully transmitted and exercised to the great comfort of penitent souls, though with special regard to the prerogatives of innocence, those gifts of spiritual healing, those powers of free, though not, of course, unconditional pardon, which form part of our Lord's precious legacy of grace and peace. In their attempts to provide for the state of the lapsed without tarnishing the glories of the "right of heart," uncatholic or anti-catholic systems, as was natural, have issued either in the substitution of some merely personal test of forgiveness for the appropriation of those promises which our Lord has annexed to the faithful use of His Sacraments, or in giving an undue prominence to one of His Divine Ordinances to the injury of the rest. In the mean time the Church, under that heavenly control which sweetly and calmly disposes all things, has steered her own majestic course midway between the rocks which have proved fatal to wanderers. So awful, indeed, and so high does she account those privileges which accrue through the Sacrament of our New Birth, that by no ordinance of less than a kindred dignity can the abuse of them, according to her solemnly recorded judgment, be rectified, and the violator, through any mortal offence, of the temple which the Holy Ghost has once deigned to inhabit, be re-instated in the grace which he has deliberately forfeited. But, while the Church assigns no limits to the power of this remedial Sacrament, which can restrict its efficacy in the case of sincere penitents, she yet accompanies her proffers of mercy by the specification of very definite and binding conditions. Hence the dependence of her absolutions upon a contrite sorrow, as their concomitant disposition, and the necessity of penitential acts, as their complement. For thus she reminds us that her absolutions are (to use Dr. Pusey's word) "entire," so far only as relates to the eternal penalties of sin. Its temporal consequences she cancels through a different part of the same Sacrament; whether, as in earlier times, by severe and protracted penances, or, as under her present more lenient regimen, by accumulated dispensations from those penances (them-



selves, however, also conditional,) in the form of authoritative Indulgences.

And now, after this brief summary of our own doctrine on the Sacrament of Penance, let us turn to the history of the Oxford opinions, so far as it relates to the same point of theology.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that, in the earlier stage of the movement, the learned and esteemed author of the Sermon under review, published more than one elaborate treatise on the Sacrament of Baptism. The declared purport of those tracts was the very laudable one of counteracting views on the subject of the sinner's relations with Almighty God, at that time especially rife in the Anglican Church, which not only struck at the root of the whole sacramental doctrine, but were even subversive of the very first principles of morality. Those tenets, the immediate offspring of continental Protestantism, but which the Anglican Church herself has imbibed with a very suspicious eagerness, and to which she has lent the sanction of her own more respectable name, are therefore most pernicious to morals as well as faith, in that, for the corporate, they substitute the purely personal, relation of the Christian to his Redeemer; set up a merely critical and apprehensive faith as the condition of Gospel promises, without any sacramental medium whatever; and, in denying the freedom of the will, destroy human responsibility, and reduce to a mere form the judgment according to works. In opposition to this depraved heresy, Dr. Pusey insisted, in the above-mentioned tracts, upon Christian Baptism, as the ordained channel of God's regenerating grace, no less than the ordinance of initiation into that state of renewal in which the child of Divine love enjoys, in virtue of his union with the Church, a corporate title to the privilege of the Christian inheritance. So far was well; but a theory which, however sound in its positive statements, breaks off suddenly with the bare doctrine of Baptism, and takes no account whatever of restorative provisions ordained by our Lord for the recovery of the penitent from the state of mortal sin, which, by common acknowledgment, breaks friendship with God, is plainly not merely unequal to the solution of painfully apparent facts, but becomes, in the highest degree, however undesignedly, mischievous, in proposing a test of acceptance with Almighty God, which no humble believer can apply

to himself without imminent peril of despair.....For while the majority of baptized persons, (especially those who have been debarred from the grace of the Catholic Church,) will feel no doubt of having been involved, perhaps time after time, in the guilt of mortal transgression, there is absolutely no one who can positively determine for himself that he has preserved inviolate the sacred gift of Baptism, or been certainly restored to the possession of it. Neither is this serious deficiency in Dr. Pusey's earlier system compensated by even the most exalted estimate of the second of the "two only" Sacraments, which the Church of England recognizes as necessary to salvation; because, far from *remitting* mortal sin, the Holy Eucharist requires, of course, the freedom from such sin as the indispensable condition of the privileges it conveys; nay, is itself profaned, and becomes the occasion of death unto death, when received into a soul thus fatally disqualified.

If Dr. Pusey was not the first to detect this grievous flaw in his theology, he had doubtless the merit of acknowledging it as it was gradually evolved by experience. It was soon found that his views were wanting in one infallible test of Catholicity; in that (to use the popular phrase) they would not *work*. Those especially, whose ministerial lot was cast in the world, would soon be led to observe, or suspect the ravages which mortal sin had made in the souls committed to their care; nay, had they always to go beyond their own hearts in order to learn the same humbling lesson? Yet they preached, it may be as they had been taught, the fearful havoc which one single mortal offence must cause in regenerated nature; and, in truth, could they overstate the intrinsic evil of that which transforms angels into devils, and plunges the impenitent soul into never-ending flames? Certainly, they could not; but sermons of this alarming tenor, unrelieved by others of a more cheerful complexion, though they might act as probes to the diseased, struck as very daggers into the less callous flesh of the healthy. However, the mistake, (for it was but a mistake,) speedily wrought its own cure. No religious system can be true which is unnatural; nor can any be lasting which is not true; and accordingly, the radical defects of this were not long in revealing themselves through its injurious influence upon "humble and contrite hearts," the very field of all others in which the triumphs of the genuine Gospel are most apparent. Whether Dr.



Pusey did not till more recently appreciate that gentler aspect of Christianity which, in the present, as generally in his later publications, he has so beautifully unfolded, or whether, though appreciating it, he felt it his duty to withhold the exhibition of it against a more convenient time, we have not the means of determining. Certain, however, it is, that independently of any errors in the positive views which, earlier in his career, he may have put out, great and serious evil must have resulted from the severance, even though but for a time, of doctrines so mutually dependent on and corrective of one another as those of Baptism and the Power of the Keys. Many a heart surely was, during that long weary interval, made sad which God would have bidden rejoice; many a soul passed to its accompt, under the pressure of the warning, and before the arrival of the comfort; some, perhaps, were even repelled from piety altogether, by representations of the Gospel which observation and self-knowledge alike must have convicted of the most chilling unreality, but which were yet brought before them on authority which they hardly ventured to question, far less to reject. For these consequences we trust and believe that individuals will not be held responsible; but it should meanwhile enliven our own thankfulness to Almighty God for our election into His Church to reflect, that, under her gracious auspices, and in the midst of her luminous, and authoritative, and uniform teaching, such risks are *impossible*.

But we must not here be supposed to grant for an instant that, by his present attestations to the fuller Catholic truth, Dr. Pusey has altogether undone the evil of his former suppressions. Not to speak of retractations and apologies, which might fairly be claimed of a writer whose earlier publications exhibit such remarkable discrepancies with his later ones, Dr. Pusey's more *recent* writings are rather contradictory to his former on the same subject, than explanatory, or merely corrective, of them. Could he know how difficult many persons find it to reconcile the statements of his present Sermon, for instance, with those contained in his Tracts for the Times, we are sure that he would have made some attempt to harmonize them. But, as it is, we find in his later publications a singular and almost studious absence of all reference to those of a much earlier date; so that of many which are advertised with his name in the fly-leaf of the present Sermon, (his Letter

to Bishop Bagot, for instance,) we are really at a loss to know what portion he still recognises and what he would disavow.

Comparing at present, however, the lately published Discourse with the Tracts on Baptism, we seem to feel ourselves in the hands of an author who is not so much qualifying over-statements, as rushing from one extreme into its opposite. As we formerly felt his doctrine of Baptism too rigid, so do we now feel his doctrine of absolution too lax. Laxity, to be sure, is the very last form of religious error of which we should antecedently have expected that Dr. Pusey could ever have even been suspected; and yet when a preacher, so mortified in his own practice, so zealous against the profligate doctrines of the day, has, through his misplaced devotion to the Anglican Church, been inadvertently betrayed into this line of error, how solemn a warning does such a fact present to those who are blindly trusting themselves to his guidance!

But we must not lay so heavy a charge without attempting to substantiate it. We confess then, that the advertisement of this Sermon raised a suspicion which the perusal of it has not tended to allay: we liked not the aspect of the title, 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent.' For although it is true that the absolution of the Church *is* in one sense "entire," yet we think that a Catholic would have avoided laying prominent stress upon this epithet, under a just apprehension lest without explanation it should convey the sense of "unconditional." No Catholic treating of that subject could possibly have omitted, as Dr. Pusey has done in this Sermon, a distinct recognition of those *temporal* penalties of sin, from which absolution does *not* relieve the penitent, but which are either obliterated through works of satisfaction, remitted by the application of indulgences, or, *actually sustained* before the day of judgment. Dr. Pusey will, perhaps, retort upon us that we are here getting into the province of "Uncatholic additions." And yet, surely, upon his own theological principles, he is bound to adopt one or other clause of the following alternative; either to fall back on the penitential system of the *Ancient Church*, or to accept that of the present Church, not as he understands it, but as the Church herself exhibits and explains it. But as a fact he does neither. At page 62, he thus gives up the ancient discipline.



"The Church every where has in later times mitigated her strictness; and because she could not bring us to the severe discipline of the Ancient Church, would invite us, as children with weak wills, to do what we can. She abridges the long-protracted period of penitential acts; disuses, almost every where, the recommendation of the stern instruments of ancient penitence," &c.

"The Church;" may we ask, what Church? Certainly another than that which is *established* in England; for to speak of a Church as "mitigating strictness," and "abridging" conditions, who stipulates for nothing, and imposes nothing, were more like irony than solemn speech. The *Catholic* Church then must be meant. Yet neither is it correct to say that the Catholic Church "disuses the recommendation" of austerities, which, or the like to which, form part of the rule of every strict religious order; and again, is it fair towards the Church, or sound in doctrine, or safe, or charitable, amid the largest offers of forgiveness, (vide pp. 26, 39,) to omit all notice of that vast compensatory system by which the Catholic Church, while dispensing, for reasons satisfactory to herself, with the institution, *maintains the principle* of the ancient penitential discipline? Indeed, if there be one sentiment more than another, which the *actual* provisions of Holy-Church, even her very provisions of mercy, tend to arouse and keep alive in the breasts of her children, it is that of the unspeakable heinousness of sin in the sight of our most innocent Lord. Her repeated masses for the living and the departed, her prayers to the Saints, her prodigal Indulgences, her multiplied Benedictions, her sacramental anointings, her solemn aspersions, down to the very holy-water which offers itself at every entrance of every church, all these are, at the same time, opportunities of effacing the vestiges of forgiven, or the accumulation of forgotten, sin, and mementoes to us of what in the arms of so tender a Mother we are apt to forget; the *exceeding difficulty of salvation*. What substitute (definite and authoritative) does Dr. Pusey's theory provide in the way of counteraction to the obvious danger of exposing to the greatest sinners, no side of the Gospel but the merciful? *On the part of the Church*, nothing whatever of this superabundant care of her children; nothing of this abiding, this incessant, this clamorous, this ubiquitous witness against sin, at daily congregational service, (and that not universal,) and communions, at the most but weekly, such is all which the

Anglican Church *actually*, and *as a Church*,\* supplies in the way of correspondence to our own daily sacrifice, with the opportunity, nay, and the practice, of *daily communion* also; the mere basis, let it be observed, of our devotional and penitential system. But to the wondrous and varied superstructure, of which we have just spoken, there is, out of the Church, absolutely no counterpart.

It is true that our author has (at p. 25.) a very beautiful, though still indefinite, passage on contrition; and farther on reminds his readers how

“The effects of sin upon the soul *may often be to be* worked out by sorrow and toil; the forfeited crown and larger favour of Almighty God, to be gained by subsequent self-denial, or suffering for Him, or devoted service.”—(Page 38.)

But these are all contingent, and merely optional conditions; and act *on the side of the penitent alone*. *The church* has no voice either in directing and defining, or, on the other hand, in remitting them; although meritorious if performed, they may be neglected without reproach; and, if neglected, it is not actual disadvantage which is incurred, but only higher glory which is lost. Above all, there is nothing in the Church's demeanour towards her weak and sinful child to remind him that he has an accumulated and accumulating score of sin to wipe off; nor anything on her side to help him in bearing his load, by uniting her sacramental expiations with his loving performances. When a Catholic, for instance, takes holy water, and, on taking it, says secretly, “Munda me, Domine,” or the like; here is an act of faith on the one part, and a blessing on the other. For, as a fact, even the penitent's confession and absolution, though much, are not all. His joy in absolution cannot, without such running consolations, be devoid of misgiving: his self-examination, however searching, has assuredly been too shallow: his confession, however minute, too general: his sorrow, however keen, quite insufficient. It is in this state of temporal rejoicing, and of trembling hope, that the Catholic Church is studious to encompass him, and, as it were, to haunt him with her means of grace, small as well

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\* She cannot be said, for instance, to require Fasting *as a Church*, when her authorities, far from directing the observance of the rubrics in this respect, themselves infringe them.



as greater ; that so he may, at any rate, catch some stray blessing from the shower. If burning for more costly devotion of self than she imposes of necessity, there are the religious orders, adapted to every variety of disposition, and tempered to every shade of physical ability—for the enterprising, those of a missionary profession, for the retiring, the contemplative ; those of stricter rule for the robust, those of gentler for the feeble ; all these various estates of life and aids in the pursuit of glory are at his command, each presenting its own way of devotion under the guiding eye, and the sheltering care of his ever watchful Parent. What has Protestantism, what has Anglicanism (we ask it, God is our witness, in no scornful mood) to offer in the place of these multiplied encouragements in tribulation—these diversified channels of holy enthusiasm—these sacred opportunities of seclusion without moroseness, of enterprise without eccentricity, of discipline without self-will ?

In passing forward now to the more directly practical portion of the Sermon, we must by no means be understood to have exhausted the subject of its doctrinal declarations. Grave questions remain untouched, intimately affecting the theory on which it proceeds, or rather preliminary to the whole controversy ; questions concerning which Dr. Pusey maintains a dignified, or perhaps what (present circumstances considered) we might be justified in calling a somewhat haughty reserve. We allude, of course, to the flaw in the claim of the Anglican Church, independently of the question of her Orders, on the score of mission and jurisdiction. The line of remark which we have chosen is evidently clear of all contact with this more elementary ground ; and would retain its just value, even though we were to yield, for the purposes of the argument, every one of those points in debate with the Anglican church, which, under actual circumstances, we of course do no more than waive. And we purpose dealing in the same untechnical and unsystematic way with those practical recommendations of the Sermon, which its doctrinal statements are intended to justify.

The introduction into his Church of the practice of auricular confession (as a voluntary, however, and not as a necessary act) is the main object to which the learned preacher directs the hortatory portion of his discourse. He labours, indeed, to show that what we have just

termed an "introduction," is, in fact, no more than the revival of an obsolete practice, and the carrying out of definite and explicit, although dormant provisions. How little we are able to enter into this view of the case will appear from the tenor of subsequent remarks. We confess that it appears to us to share the common defect of the system which Dr. Pusey, no doubt with the best intention, is endeavouring to build up—essential *unreality*. It goes surely upon an hypothesis, which, however admitting of a colourable defence on paper, wants that foundation in fact, and that answer in experience, which are necessary to the conviction of dispassionate and practical men. Let us but imagine, for instance, the outcry which would be raised throughout the whole of this country, were Dr. Hawtrey of Eton, or Dr. Moberley of Winchester, or Dr. Tait of Rugby, to propose the introduction of auricular confession into any one of those distinguished places of education; and then, with the actual state of things in the Anglican Church, let us, for a moment, contrast the natural, matter of course way in which the same blessed ordinance takes root and thrives in our own favoured seminaries, without an objection, or a misgiving, or any feelings indeed but those of devout thankfulness and happy confidence on the part of Catholic parents, throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom. This will serve to explain what we may hereafter observe upon the comparative *genius* of the respective systems.

Let us now premise that, in what we are about to say, we shall speak solely in reference to the idea which we understand the sermon before us to throw out, of introducing private confession *as a general practice*, under the actual circumstances of the Established Church of England. Such is the construction which we must needs put upon a recommendation proceeding from the pulpit of the university; the nursery, of course, of the Anglican clergy, no less than the sphere of close moral relations between the youth of England and a body of clerical superintendents. It is upon this hypothesis, and not upon any other, that we are about most reluctantly, but as an act of duty to the Church, to enter the lists with an antagonist, whom (it is our heartfelt prayer, and no mere form of speech) may God of His great mercy grant us to find some day by our side as an ally in the encounter with His enemies; that pressing and most momentous encounter, in which we can



so ill afford to part with the assistance of any one strong arm, or the sympathies of any one devoted heart.

We are not then desiring to question that, in some very few favoured cases, a relation between individuals and their authorized spiritual guides, akin to that which the Catholic Church has invested with sacramental importance, may be established and sustained, even out of that Church, with essential advantage to one at least of the two parties concerned. We are not even anxious to deny that there may be instances (so rare, of course, as rather to illustrate than weaken the Catholic rule;) in which a happy tact, or a special gift for the "discernment of spirits," may stand, at least for a time, in the place of that systematic and cautious *training* which the Church has ever accounted necessary as a preparation for the work of a confessor. That such intuitive helps, indeed, can wholly supply the need of rules, or that it can be safe for a Church to entrust the souls committed to her to the capricious effects of mere natural penetration, (rating its capabilities at the highest) or to the accident of a special gift, this indeed we do *not* concede. But we are most desirous of narrowing to the very utmost our ground of difference with Dr. Pusey.

We would again draw a broad distinction between a sermon delivered in such a place, and before such an assembly, and a merely tentative inquiry into the benefit of auricular confession; in the shape, for instance, of a reply to the infamous work of which Dr. Pusey speaks in terms of such just indignation and abhorrence. An exposure of the shallow philosophy, no less than the flagrant misrepresentations of that miserable production, copiously illustrated from those patristic stores with which Dr. Pusey is so familiar; illustrated too, had he so pleased, from the testimony of Protestant writers, as well as from the successive service-books and ecclesiastical literature of his own communion, illustrated too from the practice of the separated Greeks, but illustrated, of course, especially (as were but meet and just) from the storied annals, the diversified hagiology, and not least, the *current experience* of our own Catholic Church; an undertaking such as this would have compromised no single principle which Dr. Pusey holds sacred, nor would one single Catholic, we will venture to say, have hailed it with the less gratitude because it came forth as the homage of a generous stran-

ger, rather than as the offering of a devoted son. In what precise respects Dr. Pusey's actual work falls short, as we must feel, of the type which we have ventured to sketch, we would rather imply by subsequent criticisms, than state in the way of contrast to a possibly romantic and over-sanguine ideal. Suffice it to say, for the sake of clearness, that Dr. Pusey does not speak tentatively, but hortatorily; that he confines his view to the Anglicans, to the entire exclusion of the *present* Catholic Church; that he speaks with honour of Ridley and Latimer, (p. 48.) and that he rests upon the apparent, but utterly inoperative, provisions of the Anglican prayer-book, in the way not of testimony but of authority. All this may have been the inevitable result of the method which he adopted; and he had, of course, a perfect right to select his own course.

First, then, we would ask, in the way of demur to Dr. Pusey's proposals: Is it conceivable, that auricular confession should have made so little way in the Anglican Church during three whole centuries, except from some invincible contrariety to what may be called its *genius*? Is there evidence to prove that it was *ever* more than an occasional practice carried out in instances, few and far between? Anglicans will remind us that the duke of Buckingham confessed to Laud, and Hooker to his friend Saravia; but does not this stress upon particular instances betray the weakness of their cause? It is also, we believe, a fact, that the great light of their Church in the last century, bishop Butler, had a travelling companion in the form of a confidential priest, not, however, of the *Anglican* communion, but of *our own*. Again, particular Anglican divines, we know, have advocated the practice, though with serious deductions, and under most suspicious protests. Yet is it possible that the hortatory theology of the Anglican Church should be so entirely, or so nearly, devoid of allusion to an engine of such enormous moral power, had it ever been extensively recognized except on paper? Or, again, is it conceivable that the department of theology which is termed moral, should, with one or two exceptions, be wholly without representation in the Protestant Church of England, had any material stress been at any time laid upon this branch of clerical education?

Now, we do say, that this circumstance presents a formidable *à priori* presumption against the soundness of Dr. Pusey's views, and not a mere difficulty in the way of



carrying them out. Dr. Pusey will be the last to deny, what neither do we desire to gainsay, that the Anglican Church has produced, from time to time, men of an earnest, and (allowing for their disadvantages) of an ecclesiastical spirit; whence, then, the ominous fact, that either these men have made no attempts to restore confession in their Church, or that their attempts have perished with themselves or their generation?

And does not a closer inspection of the subject corroborate the antecedent impression, and abundantly justify this caution in making attempts, or account for their ill success?

The great obstacle, past, present, and future, to the introduction of the Confessional into the Anglican, or any other than the Catholic Church, is surely the want of a celibate clergy. A celibate clergy there will never be, while human nature remains as it is, without a compulsory rule; and to suppose a compulsory celibate of the clergy throughout England, is to suppose England in communion with the Holy See. The heresiarchs and schismatics of the 16th century cast off compulsory confession and compulsory celibacy together; and they were so far wise. Both these matters of discipline they left, we are told, to the "discretion" of the Church which they constructed; with what effect let its annals proclaim. Dr. Pusey, indeed, ventures upon the most extraordinary, and, as we are bold to think, most hazardous assertion, that this dropping of the reins of ecclesiastical discipline was "providential."

"Yet God, who in his wisdom suffered their designs to come to naught, has thereby the more cast the Church upon herself, and we may trust, would make her discipline the purer, in that He has deprived her of all outward aid in restoring it. And we may even be thankful that the rules which remain, *requiring all her members to partake of her ordinances, have passed into disuse.* For this is most certain, that to encourage indiscriminately the approach to Holy Communion without a corresponding inward system whereby they, who are entitled so to do, should know intimately the hearts of those whom they so encouraged, has brought with it an amount of carelessness and profanation, which, if known, would make many a heart of those who have so done, sink and quake.

"It is then, we may trust, of God's manifold mercy to this portion of His Church, that He has, at the same time, by His Providence allowed almost all remains of that outward compulsory system to be broken down."—pp. 48, 49.

A strange account, indeed, of a dispensation which has issued, according to the writer's own acknowledgment, in a series of unworthy communions, in the stinting of the Bread of Life, and in the practical abrogation of the very cardinal test of Church-membership! May God in his mercy, say we, deliver His Church from reformation of her discipline, of which such are to be the issues! But at any rate, the Anglican Reformers were so far long-sighted, that they did not attempt to insist upon private confession *without* celibacy. What were their real, at least their ultimate and practical, views about Confession itself, we cannot at this distance of time, and amid so much contradiction as their documents and acts present, undertake to decide; but, whatever may have been their intention upon this subject, it is not difficult to pronounce upon the result of their labours. History and experience in the Anglican communion have yielded a signal testimony to the Catholic Church in working out, independently of her, the conclusion which forms the warrant of her discipline; that the *existence* of sacramental confession depends upon its *obligation*.

But here is Dr. Pusey, proposing to restore this Catholic practice to his own communion, without any corresponding security whatever for the celibacy of the clergy. Does he consider that this institute also may be safely left to come about through "the prompting of the conscience within, rather than the provision of discipline without?" (p. xv.) Let him then take a survey of the parochial clergy of the established Church, even of that portion which is distinguished by the profession of high-church opinions, and see what number of them have chosen for themselves the more perfect way. Let him further reflect, what sort of encouragement is given to celibacy, whether by precept or example, on the part of his own episcopate. Let him especially observe that, of the three prelates who have shown the largest amount of sympathy with the Oxford movement, Bishops Denison, Bagot, and Thirwall, although one, it is true, is at present unmarried, yet one affording a practical comment upon the language of his recent charge, has lately entered for the second time into the bonds of matrimony.\* And what wonder, for men will naturally and

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\* "The members of our Church will count it good that the clergy were restored (by the Reformation) to that Christian liberty in respect of the holy estate of



even rightly surround themselves with earthly blessings, which neither their Bible nor their Church forbid.

But of the absolutely insuperable difficulties which marriage opposes to the restoration of confession, it can hardly be necessary to speak at any length. To allude to no objections of a more intricate nature, let us but consider the hindrances which it offers to the inviolability of the seal. Mr. Faber has a case in point at page 49 of his pamphlet; "Some months ago, a lady wrote to me from a distance for some spiritual direction; saying that confession where she was, was out of the question; for it was getting more and more notorious, that *things were talked of in society, which had been revealed in confession.*" And other similar instances have come to our own knowledge. Now let it be said, (as it will,) that anonymous examples are valueless; and let it be granted accordingly for arguments' sake, that no breach of confidence has hitherto occurred; yet surely this is one of those cases, in which the characters of parties must be not only defended against charge, but must likewise be above the reach of suspicion. In the Catholic Church, the whole power of sanction, association, and immemorial precedent, (not to speak of what might also be added, supernatural protection,) is arrayed on the side of security; the character of a priest who should be proved to have revealed a confession would be blasted for ever, and the awful penalties of perpetual suspension from his duties, if not degradation from his office, would render him not only the reproach of his generation, but the warning of all posterity. But in the Anglican communion, what corresponding safeguard shall justify the confidence of the timid, and pacify the scruples of the confiding? The mortal sin which had ruined a reputation with the profession of administering a spiritual comfort, would be brought home to the conscience of the offender by no difference in the aspect of the world around him, by no stigma, by no penance, by no change in his relations to society, by no disqualification in the exercise of his profession. Yet how great is the probability, or at all events how reasonable the suspicion, of so miserable and disgraceful a conjuncture. How few are those secrets which are secure against the freedom and *abandon*, (to use the expressive French word,)

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matrimony, the undue and enforced restraint of which had been the source of great evils."—Charge of Bp. Denison, in 1845, p. 16.

of social intercourse; how still fewer those, which keep their ground against the temptations of unguarded moments in domestic life, and the blandishments of female solicitation or influence. And can Dr. Pusey be serious, when he calls upon the sons and daughters of England to disclose the sins of their youth and the thoughts of their inmost hearts with no better security than these, for the inviolability of the awful deposit?

But while Dr. Pusey would set no limits to the exercise of the judicial functions on the part of the clergy, he makes but a slender provision indeed for their own subjection to the searching discipline, which they are to enforce upon others. The Catholic Church does not commit to her priests this awful power over the consciences of their brethren, without requiring that they shall be themselves bound by the law, of which they are to become in turn the administrators. For the satisfaction of her children, and of herself, as the guardian of the souls of her clergy as of all others, she allows no deviation, in their favour, from the rule which makes Confession imperative upon her members, as such. *The Sovereign Pontiff himself is no more exempted from this duty, than the humblest and most obscure of his spiritual subjects.* Little needs to be said upon the advantage, nay the necessity, of accompanying an office so liable to abuse and so exposed to peril, by the annexation of this stringent condition; the complete and only effectual safeguard against those peculiar dangers to which Dr. Pusey himself is alive.

“Sin is an awful thing to handle. To hear of it continually and not be defiled with it, nor dulled to it; to compassionate a fellow-sinner, and be austere with self; to hear of the defilement of every sense, and keep watch over his own, comes not from man himself, but from God.”—*pp.* 55, 56.

Assuredly; yet here, as in other cases, Almighty God works through appointed means. Nor is the protection which is offered against this danger by the mutual confession of the clergy among themselves, the only advantage of such an extension of the rule. It is a warrant for the confidence which the people are to repose in their spiritual guides. It tends to divest the sacerdotal power of every thing unamiable and repulsive; for it continually reminds the judge that there is a tribunal to which himself is amenable with others; and thus, in counteracting the ten-



dency to imperiousness so peculiarly incidental to the office, allays all such fear of an unsympathizing spirit, as would be fatal to the efficacy of a ministration of comfort; and which no mere kindness of manner can so well obviate, as a knowledge, on the penitent's part, that he and his judge are the subjects of a common law. The Church leaves nothing to chance which is necessary to the well-being of her children. Though it were true, that nine hundred and ninety-nine of every thousand priests might be safely left, in such a case, to the natural operation of good sense and good principle, the Church would not rest, till she had done her utmost to secure the competency of every single guide to whom she entrusts the souls of her little ones.

Dr. Pusey is too acute an observer not to discover the importance of some such regulation against the especial dangers of the Confessional; but how does he propose to secure the end?

*"It may often be desirable that, before any exercise of the Physician's office" [the Priest should] "himself lay open some.....sin of his own bosom."*—Page 57.

Now, considering how very much more serious are the difficulties which stand in the way of a middle-aged clergyman revealing, without absolute necessity, to a brother clergyman, some principal sin of his life, than those which the same clergyman would feel to preclude him from receiving the confession of another person, Dr. Pusey surely takes too favourable a view of human nature when he supposes that the bare recommendation of an optional act, will be in practice equivalent to the authoritative enforcement of a binding rule. Dr. Pusey forgets that we must deal with men as we find them. But does he not also lose sight of the great truth, that rules, while they are a check upon the ill-disposed, and a stimulus to the careless, are to the humble a support and protection? Our Lord's yoke is never felt to press, except by those who wince under it.

Such are some, and some only, of the difficulties for which Dr. Pusey, in his zeal, appears to have made a most insufficient provision. Were we to regard the Confessor in his active, as well as his passive relation, we should of course have to dwell upon the unspeakable danger which we have here but hinted, of consigning the office to men,

like the clergy of the Established Church, utterly unversed in the very rudiments of casuistical theology; a department of education, as need hardly be observed, most carefully tended, and during long courses of study, in the Catholic Church of this as of other countries; but in which Anglicans seem to imagine that a clergyman may "minister to himself" at any time in his life, and in the midst of whatever avocations, by dipping into the "*Manuel des Confesseurs*," or other similar directory; forgetting, that all such summaries presuppose a thorough acquaintance with the principles of that intricate science to which they relate. Surely, if there be any field of professional duty in which less than another a priest is at liberty to extemporize, it is that inexpressibly dangerous one, of the direction of consciences.

Dr. Pusey, however, for whatever reason, takes no formal notice in his Sermon of the *directive* part of the confessor's office; and since our article seems likely, as it is, to swell to a considerable bulk, we are glad to feel that there is no present call upon us to go into this collateral province of the subject.

We heartily wish that we could feel as easy about Dr. Pusey himself, as about the ultimate issue of the course to which, for the present at least, (and we pray that it may be only for the present,) he seems to be committing himself. That in his zealous efforts to reanimate the Anglican, he is really subserving the Catholic Church, we entertain not the shadow of a doubt. The more his views shall be subjected to the crucial test of experience, the more surely, we are convinced, will the way of all sincere members of his communion be hedged round with difficulties, from which they will find but one escape. He and his are taxing their Church beyond her powers; they are trying to elicit tones from her which are not in her; they take her for another instrument than she is; they are screwing her up too high; and her strings will snap, or respond to the performer's touch by one long discord.

The Anglican Church has, or till lately had, a *genius* of her own, and anything but an unamiable or unattractive one. Her genius is essentially quiet and domestic, as contradistinguished from heroic and enterprising. Among her past worthies, this character had its exemplification in such men as Hooker and Herbert; it finds its present illustration in Mr. Keble, for instance, or in Mr. Isaac



Williams; and with them, as we expect, or at least with their immediate successors, it will die out. This distinguishing temper is neither quite of the world, nor quite of the Church; not of the world, in as far as it is the reverse, and even the antagonist of the scheming, political spirit of the day; in that it is simple, reverent, affectionate, humble, virtuous, disinterested, and in its measure, uncompromising; yet, assuredly, also short of the "science of the Saints," in that it is defective in its appreciation of the higher walks of the ascetic or the mystic life. It goes upon the presumption, (at least as we understand certain passages of the "Christian Year," its fairest, and yet most favourable exponent,) that worldly ties are no necessary impediment to the most exalted degree of Christian perfection.\* It is a religion of peaceful duties, rural associations, and domestic courtesies—the highest of its kind, but that kind not the highest. It is *not* the religion of St. Ignatius, or St. Teresa, or St. Francis of Assisium, or that other Francis, who died unwept on the sands of Sancian. It is not the religion, which at this day, as in all past times, is abundantly exemplified in the Catholic Church; and of which the Catholic Church is always *capable*, under whatever circumstances of actual corruption or disadvantage. In fact, whatever *be* the peculiar temper of the Anglican system, it is easy to see with a glance what its temper is *not*. High and amiable as it may be, it is not Catholic, according to the only view of that term which we, of course, can recognize. Nay, it is not even that imperfect Catholicism, which is exemplified among the schismatical Greeks. It is something native and indigenous to England; a modification (in many respects a most happy one,) of the temper which came with the religious revolution of the sixteenth century; yet still something which has no precedent in the history of the Catholic Church, and no existence out of the southern part of this island. It is not Catholic, for the mere reason that it is national; for the Catholic spirit is more elastic than that it should be confined by geographical bounda-

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\* E. g. "We need not bid for cloistered cell,  
Our neighbour and our work farewell;  
*Nor strive to wind ourselves too high,  
For mortal men beneath the sky.*"

"Christian Year"—Morning Hymn.

This, as it stands without relief, sounds like a slur upon monasteries.

ries. And that this Church of Englandism is something national, rather than ecclesiastical, is proved especially by this circumstance—that, whereas the Anglican Establishment has a sister in Scotland, and a daughter in America, her relatives bear no resemblance to her in respect of this peculiar *morale*. Scotch Episcopalianism is stiff and pedantic, American is this and more besides; but genuine Anglicanism (not, of course, that gaunt form of it which recent emergencies have elicited,) is (in its merely social aspect, and apart from questions of faith,) something essentially real, gentle, affectionate, and refined.

And such, in himself, is Dr. Pusey; but not such is that exterior side of himself, with which alone, as critics, we are concerned. Never, indeed, was there a religious teacher who had a more unhappy knack of misrepresenting himself than this amiable divine. Judging of him simply in his relations with the outer world, we repeat that Dr. Pusey utterly mistakes the bent and the capacities of his system. He is joining the new with the old; presenting us with a piece of anything but skilful patch-work; and making worse the rent which he seeks to repair. His recently-edited books of devotion, the work of Catholics, but “adapted to the English Church,” are the very types of his whole course. In them, as now in the case of sacramental confession, he is giving his Church forms without realities. He conceives that Catholicism, or “Romanism” as they call it, is nothing more than Anglicanism, *plus* the invocation of the saints, the supremacy of the Roman see, &c.; and, again, that the passive acceptance of those doctrines (according to the famous distinction between “holding and teaching,” which, in his letter to the *English Churchman*, he appears through a cloud of reserves and qualifications to recognize,) is tantamount in effect to the habit of energizing in them. The truth which Dr. Pusey has yet to grasp is, that Catholicism and Anglicanism are of essentially diverse natures; that they start from different points, and run in different lines, and tend to different results; and that he can no more make the Anglican Church Catholic, by loading her with Catholic doctrines or practices, than he can enable a man to fly by providing him with artificial wings. Mediocrity, as the fables bear witness, is never otherwise than a respectable state till it grows ambitious; and it is surely the moral of the well-known episode in *Rasselas*, that they who soar above their



nature, will not merely fall back into their place, but fall over to their destruction.\*

What then is the conclusion at which we must arrive? Here is an Anglican clergyman declaring, in the most public manner, that without regular and systematic confession there can, ordinarily speaking, be no worthy communions, no effectual absolutions; that absolution is the ordained medium of the remission of sins; and that, without sins remitted, there is, of course, no salvation. And, on the other hand, without even entering upon those more strictly theological arguments which might cast still graver doubts upon the ministerial acts of the Church of England, we have evidence open to the eyes of the most unlearned, that some, at least, of the links in this great chain, which connects sinful man with the Fountain of Pardon, are necessarily wanting, except in communion with the Roman See. Thousands and tens of thousands of polluted souls are there in this country, which neither have, nor can have, in their present state of banishment from their home, the benefits of this great sacrament of restoration. And although the Catholic Church is at their very doors, with her gracious tenders of reconciliation, dependent on no condition but that of an affectionate surrender, this estimable but short-sighted divine would have them die under these fearful disadvantages, while he and his friends are forming their baseless schemes, and hugging themselves in their too sanguine anticipations, without authority to support them, or precedent to guide them, or, indeed, any better token than self-interpreted "providences" to guarantee even their distant success. We tremble to think of the responsibility they are incurring in thus drawing thirsty souls away from the wells of life and salvation to these miserable leaky cisterns; in substituting, for the powerful and searching remedies of the Church, a

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\* We observe, in the list of devotional books which Dr. Pusey is to edit, the Exercises of St. Ignatius. Does Dr. Pusey know that the saint himself, in the words of another Saint, his editor, "*non eo animo exercitia sua l'impressit, ut passim in vulgus emanarent, cum parum sit ea legisse, nisi strenuè quis in eis se exercuerit, et magistrum in rebus spiritualibus versatum sit nactus;*" that they were not, in short, meant to be circulated among chance readers as ordinary books of devotion, but to be *undergone* as a great spiritual act, in retreat, with the advantage of a presiding director? Does he also remember that, in his rules for the election of a state of life, St. Ignatius expressly confirms the choice of the exercitant, "*intra Ecclesiæ Catholicæ limites?*"—a tacit, and therein all the more impressive, censure, by anticipation, upon those who at this day presume to talk of "vocations" to states out of the Catholic Church!

course of feeble palliatives ; in devising a scheme of shifts and expedients, of unsubstantial theories and vague promises, which is the precise correlative to man's natural love of ease and tendency to procrastination. Numbers in every place, rank, and condition ; self-complacent gentry and mincing ladies, politicians eaten up with the cares of office, lawyers absorbed in the whirlpool of excitement, physicians hardened by the sight of misery, men of business entangled in the snares of covetousness, youths encompassed by the temptations to vice, (for, in truth, this great religious movement has extended itself among all classes,) are actually at this moment diverted from the means of restoring grace by the specious but hollow professions of this miserable, however well-meant, Anglicanism : a system just religious enough to mislead the conscience, but not commanding enough to bow the will ; which affects Catholicism without reaching it ; caricatures, but never represents it ; which is continually setting forth the imperative necessity of institutions which it is wholly powerless to realize ; which seems to impose no harder condition of membership upon its adherents than an acknowledgment of its great abstract capabilities ; and which is so easy a creditor to those whom it suffers to draw upon its resources, as to accept a series of promissory notes in the shape of tenders of submission to its contingent regulations, instead of the good ready-money of downright sacrifices and instant performances.

But let us hear Dr. Pusey himself on the fruits of the system through which he expects to work the desired results :

"Every where around ; our crowded cities, our mines, our ports, our manufactories," (he might have added, our country villages, our cathedral cities,\* and our public seminaries,) "are one wide desolation ; often, except in the suspension of punishment, the types of hell for lack of devoted, self-denying service."—*Page 65.*

And elsewhere he says of auricular confession :

"They, who, through ministering to such as after sin have

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\* This is not said without a definite meaning, which will be understood by any one who is acquainted with the moral state of cathedral towns, especially in the north and west of England. Compare with all this the fruits of the confessional —e. g. in Ireland.



again been brought back to God, have known their whole sorrowful history, have had no doubt that, humanly speaking, in most cases, *early confession would, by the blessing of Almighty God, have saved them from their sin and misery.*"—Preface, p. xiii. (The italics are Dr. P.'s.)

Now who (we would ask of any fair and candid judge) that should stumble on this sermon some three centuries hence, could easily be persuaded, that in the country, and even in the town where it was preached, there existed the Church in which this very practice of auricular confession—the *panacea*, according to its author, of our worst national evils—was actually in full and vigorous operation? Who, that did not know the sad, blinding, cramping effects of party restraints and obligations even upon minds naturally the most high and generous, could bring himself to believe that, at this very time, when, as Dr. Pusey knows and acknowledges, the youth of the universities and public schools in connexion with the Established Church are deeply sunk in the vices of their time of life, for want of those particular checks to which he is desirous of drawing public attention, in the Catholic colleges of the United Kingdom, these securities of virtue are so carefully provided and so faithfully administered, that while mortal sin is in each case promptly detected, and met with its appropriate remedies, *the instances are far from uncommon*, as any one conversant with those institutions can testify, *in which its inroads are effectually and once for all anticipated?* Now certainly we do not pretend that an Anglican clergyman is bound to take account of the Catholic Church in every sermon he preaches; neither should we have noticed such a slight upon her in a divine less cognizant of facts, and of a less Catholic profession, than Dr. Pusey. But when a preacher goes out of his way to recommend a practice which, in this country at least, has its *sole witness* and its only complete illustration among ourselves, and yet pointedly omits all reference to any communion but his own; and this not from ignorance, for Dr. Pusey has on several occasions manifested a deep interest in our institutions, nor yet from enmity, for he has recently spoken in public of Mr. Newman's conversion, in a way utterly inconsistent with the belief that the Catholics of England are in schism; we do think that there is no want of charity in ascribing the fact to the continued operation of those baneful influences, to the power

of which we had hoped that Dr. Pusey was at length rising superior.

But this ungenerous dealing, as we are constrained to call it, with the Catholic Church, is not limited to the department of omission. In one place the writer even brings her solemn offices of prayer and sacrifice into unfavourable comparison with the work of the Anglican Reformers. He says,—

“And while among us private confession has been left to the consciences of individuals, the church has both deepened the tone of the public confession, and made the public absolution more solemn and authoritative, in that where, in other offices, (the Breviary and Missal,) there is a sort of mutual absolution of the priest and people, in ours the absolution is confined to the priest alone.”  
—Page 13.

Dr. Pusey should be better acquainted with our liturgical offices before he ventures to criticize them. He does not seem to be aware, that, although the Confession and Absolution, at the beginning of the Mass, is mutual, at *Communion* there is no confession on the priest's side, nor any absolving prayer on that of the people; and that the communicants are authoritatively absolved, by the alteration of “nobis” into “vobis,” in the form “Indulgentiam,” &c. Moreover, considering that the mutual Confession in the Breviary and Missal, is in literal conformity to the Apostolic precept, “Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra,” &c. (St. James v. 16.) and that in the Anglican Church there is no corresponding fulfilment of this primitive direction, we think Dr. Pusey might have found some more suitable description of it, than is given in the words “a sort of mutual confession.” Nor of course can we agree with him in assigning the merit of depth to the verbose and somewhat rhetorical form at the beginning of the Anglican Service in comparison with those child-like sobs of shame, “Confiteor.....quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo, et opere, meâ culpâ, meâ culpâ, meâ maximâ culpâ.” When the Church makes abundant provision for the enumeration of sin *in private*, the forms in which she couches our more public avowals of it cannot be too brief, so they be strong, nor too indefinite, so they be comprehensive.

Perhaps the most serious misrepresentation of the Ca-



tholic Church which arises from this superficial mode of dealing with our authorized standards, is at page 53.

"It is certain, by consent of the Universal Church, that whoso is truly contrite of any the most deadly sin,—all, which the Ancient Church subjected to years of penitence, [penance,] and then, by imposition of hands, formally restored, yea, *if he had on him the sins of the whole world*, and longeth for absolution, is absolved."

It is quite true that the Council of Trent attributes this effect to perfect contrition ; but its very words, "*priusquam hoc sacramentum [penitentiae] actu suscipiatur,*" impose upon the contrite sinner the necessary condition of having recourse to the Sacrament at the earliest opportunity.\* The case presumed, is evidently that of Catholics dying, for instance, in battle, at sea, or under other such circumstances of impediment. But what would the venerable Fathers of the Council have thought of their permission being construed into a justification of persons remaining on for an indefinite period under the disadvantage of mortal sin, with a priest in the next street to attend to their call? Upon any hypothesis such a proceeding is without excuse. Either the Anglican clergy are true priests or they are not; and if they be not, there are priests at hand, whose services are always accessible, and whose authority is no where disputed.

And then, how many among Dr. Pusey's hearers are furnished with the means of testing a "true contrition?" Verily the private study of Holy Scripture itself would be a valuable substitute for this sort of slip-shod theology.

There are also passages in this Sermon bearing on the Catholic Church, the *tone* of which we dislike. They seem to betoken a desire, on the author's part, of obviating the suspicion of "Roman" tendencies; and this, in a writer who makes such very free use of us, where he finds occasion, is, to say the least, unbecoming. In such cases, we seem to lose Dr. Pusey in the party-leader. The following is a specimen.

"People speak commonly of the evils of Confession, as likely," [to convey] "or in some cases as actually having, conveyed to the

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\* Docet præterea, etsi contritionem hanc aliquandò charitate perfectam esse contingat, hominemque Deo reconciliare, priusquàm hoc sacramentum actu suscipiatur, ipsam nihilominus reconciliationem ipsi contritioni *sine Sacramenti voto, quod in illâ includitur*, non esse adscribendam. Concil. Trid. Decret. Sess. xiv. cap. 4, De Contritione.

soul, the knowledge of evil. And it is painfully true, that, in *unskilful hands, in other countries,\** conducted in a *dry technical way*, it has."—Page xi.

Now it is very well for members of the *Catholic Church* to refer to abuses, actual or possible, (as in so vast a field weeds there must ever spring up,) in *their own Communion*. Nor could objection have been reasonably taken against a writer, who, after doing full justice to the efficient state of the Catholic Church in respect of this particular ordinance in this as in other countries, should have qualified his testimony by such deductions of this nature as he might feel requisite. But really, for the member of a communion in which Private Confession is in "abeyance," to notice the existing Catholic Church no otherwise than by sinister glances, and to support himself in these intangible, because indefinite charges, upon frank acknowledgments and precautionary admonitions of *Catholics*, is a proceeding which we are only deterred by our sincere respect for Dr. Pusey from characterizing in the very severe language which it deserves.

But it is the miserable result of Dr. Pusey's present position, to cripple the exercise of his characteristic generosity, and convert him from a very hero of the cross, into what nature never designed him to be—a tactician. Dr. Pusey, if he will trust us, is formed not for generalship but for obedience; nor will *he*, we are sure, consider such an opinion as uncomplimentary. We admire more than we can express, his dauntless resolution, his indomitable perseverance, his elastic vigour, his unswerving, unsuspecting loyalty; let none suppose that we are blind to these qualities in his character, because we lament, and deeply, their exhaustion upon objects so utterly unworthy of them. Rather, we would say, "*Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses.*" But we cannot in charity disguise our apprehensions, lest the circumstances into which Dr. Pusey has been forced, should eventually prove a most serious drawback upon the amount of his service to the cause of religion, to say nothing of his own spiritual advancement. He has been raised by the acclamation, rather than the

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\* Is this to be understood as an exception in favour of the Catholic Church in England? Or is the comparison meant to be instituted between the *foreign* Catholic and the Anglican *Established* Church? If the former, we owe it to Dr. Pusey to draw attention to the acknowledgment. The latter supposition is almost too extravagant to be conceivable.



mere suffrages, of his party, to the dangerous elevation of a "leader." Let not him, or them, complain of the term, it is their own. They use it, as their writings prove, with the most unsuspecting simplicity. They evidently consider that it involves no anomaly, and should awaken no distrust. We, on the contrary, as instinctively feel that the very notion of a "leader," is a piece of downright sectarianism. There is no such word in the Catholic vocabulary, because there is no such idea in Catholic nature. When "leaders" find their way *into* the Church, they cease to be leaders, and become subjects; and when they spring up *within* her, they soon pass out of her, and so are no longer of her. But leaders by profession, leaders by public acknowledgment, leaders for life, of these the Church knows not. That Dr. Pusey is no "leader," in his own estimation, (so far at least as that character implies pre-eminence,) we entirely believe. But we will by no means allow that he is not therefore in imminent danger of those especial dispositions which, in the devotional books he has edited, as elsewhere with the spiritual masters of the Church, are so prolific a theme of warning and condemnation. The consciousness of power over the minds of others, however pure the motive, and however high the end, is so subtle a snare, that the Church has imposed some extraordinary mortifications *of the will* as its only adequate corrective. Let us consider how this deep spiritual principle is embodied in that wonderful society, the idea of which was conceived by St. Ignatius in the most intimate intercommunion with God. Every Jesuit has three great and abiding checks upon the dangers incident to a position of influence; the obligation to pass a portion of each day in meditation, and the review of his interior; the duty of implicit obedience to those who are immediately set over him; and the constant uncertainty that his place and sphere to-day will be his portion on the morrow. Such are the safeguards which a Saint has provided against the peculiar liabilities of a state of influence, (observe) *in the Catholic Church*; and of course, St. Ignatius sought no more than to give intensity by concentration to the spirit of our common gospel.

But what shall we say of the perils of a state which, while it allows a man unrestricted influence over those below him, presents at the same time no adequate scope for the exercise of his own obedience?

We can assure Dr. Pusey that it has gone sorely against us to say so many hard things of one whom we so sincerely admire and respect as himself. Will he then allow us to take our leave of him with the strongest proof we can give him of that admiration and respect? He is formed by nature to be a Catholic, and this he will never be, until he comes to us. Where he is, he is out of his element, and he consequently works at a disadvantage, and continually does himself most gratuitous injustice. Simple submission where he is, there can be none, at least for him; for where rule is depraved, obedience becomes a sin. He is then thrown, in spite of himself, upon the alternative of *leading*; and here, we think, he shows in more ways than one that he is not at home. He feels that to lead, though not necessarily against humility, is yet not its natural result, and in consequence (mainly, we are sure, with the view of reminding himself of his obligations,) he is constrained, as if in the way of apology for his position and compensation to its disadvantage, to disburden himself, and that as we think to a displeasing extent, in the *language* of humility. The very Sermon which is here under review, supplies an illustration of our meaning almost at its commencement. This peculiarity in Dr. Pusey lays him open to a good deal of uncharitable, but perhaps not wholly groundless criticism. People say, and we think not without some reason, "Here is a clergyman, from necessity perhaps, and doubtless with the very best intentions, but still as a fact, taking a good deal more upon himself than in a proper state of things would be regarded as becoming; and we, at least, have no doubt that our own ecclesiastical state is such, ergo," &c. For instance, he is just emerging from the effects of a sentence with which an authorized tribunal of the University has visited him in punishment of alleged heresy, and against which his Church in no way protested. That sentence was either just, or unjust. If the former, then Dr. Pusey should accompany his re-appearance in the university pulpit by an act of retractation and of submission; at any rate he should not preface his first discourse, after the termination of his punishment, with a sort of re-assertion of the doctrine which led to it. Neither should he take an early opportunity of republishing the condemned Sermon in immediate contiguity to its successor.\* But if, on the contrary,

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\* See his advertisement.



the sentence were unjust, then Dr. Pusey should have proved it so, by appealing, as was competent to him, to the proper tribunals. In either case a public, but quite meaningless confession of sin, such as that with which this sermon opens, appears to be out of place; not to say, that indefinite confessions in public are always undesirable, since they cost their authors nothing, and tell the hearers nothing; the essence of confession being, that a man exposes (before the authorized judge, not before the world at large,) what is peculiar to himself, not what he shares with all other men. Such irregular confessions seem to have no effect but that of giving a man's enemies an advantage over him. Moreover, there is surely the greatest danger (a danger not the less because it is a subtle one,) of employing such self-reproaches as appeals *ad misericordiam*.

Now, although we have just been putting out rather an adversary's view of Dr. Pusey's recent demonstration before the University than our own; yet is it a view which does not seem obviously capable of such an answer as many of Dr. Pusey's best friends would desire to find for it. We certainly desiderate in that amiable and revered person, a less equivocal appearance, and a less vulnerable attitude. We could wish to see him either less assuming, or more manly; less forward in deeds, or less diffident in profession; withdrawn from the sphere of active influence, or publicly accredited in the exercise of it. We should rejoice to see him a religious, and we should rejoice to see him a bishop; what we feel of him at present is, that he is a nondescript in the ecclesiastical system; his position has no place assigned it in the Church's map, nor his office in her register. Were he in ostensible power, it would be natural for him to speak freely and act with decision; were he in shelter from the world, he would gain upon it in another way. As it is, his high qualities do not sit naturally upon him, while the world seriously misunderstands him. And though much of this misconstruction is owing to the shallowness and censoriousness of the world, yet something is also due to his own defective, and we will add, needlessly defective, exhibition of himself. The world contrasts his forwardness of action with his lowliness of profession; and these opposite tempers, instead of resulting in a graceful equipoise, exhibit an uneasy antagonism. Each is the other's drawback, not its corrective; his rest-

less zeal causes his self-depreciation to seem affected; while his almost obtrusive disclaimers, instead of gaining him, as they should, the character of humility, involve his efforts in the charge of presumption. Dr. Pusey's place is at Christ Church, Oxford; and most conscientiously, we doubt not, does he discharge the duties of his canonry and professorship; but he acts as if he had a mission for England. One day we hear of his preaching fifteen sermons in a week at Leeds; the next of his organizing conventual institutions in London,\* and directing the consciences of its inmates. He is known to be on terms of religious confidence with a large body of obedient disciples, chiefly ladies. All this is in itself most admirable and meritorious; but it would be infinitely more so, if Dr. Pusey could produce his credentials for a charge of such tremendous responsibility, and such gigantic power, as that which he claims to exercise, without limit of place or department, in the communion in which he is no otherwise *ostensibly accredited*, than as a dignitary without cure of souls. Has he the free sanction of the proper local authorities in the exercise of his various functions? We strongly suspect that he has not. Where are his "faculties" for hearing confessions, where his authority for administering vows, where his ecclesiastical precedents for taking applicants for spiritual direction under his charge without the implied consent of their respective pastors? His answer would probably be, that, in a desperate state of things, like that in which he finds himself, all means which are not sinful become allowable, and that all which are allowable, are necessary; that a Church *in extremes* is no subject for the rules which apply to a Church in health. At least, if he do not say this, we know not what else he can say. But, if such be his apology, it is obvious to rejoin, that, far from the actual needs of any Church justifying, by possibility, the adoption of measures which violate the first principles of order, the very need of such measures which circumstances have created in the Anglican body corporate, is proof conclusive against the character and claims of that society. Sure we are that, in the Catholic Church, of any age or country,

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\* We are, of course, prepared with our facts. That of the convent has lately become generally known among Catholics through the reception of one of the members into the Catholic Church at St. Chad's, Birmingham.



such a state of things would be simply impossible. Nor indeed do we see in what respect the ground upon which Dr. Pusey is now going, differs from that which has been taken by religious fanatics from the beginning—the supposed call of Divine Providence. The following sentence in which we seem to read his defence of himself, embodies the very fundamental principle of all anti-ecclesiastical movements.

“Our duties lie severally to individuals of whom God assigns the charge to any: as a whole, we need to follow, not to guide; for *that which we should follow is the only sure guide, the deep workings of the Holy Spirit.*”—Page xvi.

O, that by force, or by guile, through sweet persuasion, or by startling call, we could secure to our stranger friends but one hour's possession of that deep, incommunicable gift—the blessing of Catholic experience! “*N'est il pas vrai,*” it was once said by the convert of another land, “*que lorsqu' on est sorti de l'heresie pour devenir Catholique, on ne comprend pas comment ceux qui ne le sont pas, peuvent endurer l'existence? on voudrait pouvoir leur faire sentir ce que l'on éprouve de joie et de calme interieur, car on est convaincu que si l'on pouvait faire passer tout le monde par un seul moment d'experience Catholique, il n'y aurait bientôt plus un Protestant sur la terre.*” But it may not be; they will not believe our words, and we cannot impart to them our blessedness. The Church will not reveal to aliens the secrets which are the inheritance of her children. And well it should be so; that all may learn how Faith is the one condition of the promises, and how all faith has its prototype, to the letter, in him, “*qui vocatus obedivit in locum exire quem accepturus erat in hæreditatem; et exiit, nesciens quò iret.*” Strangers ask for signs, and we in our zeal would press on them our experiences; but God deals more mercifully with them than we, or than themselves with themselves, in that He casts them back on the “signs” which surround them, and suffers our exhortations to return to us void. They daily mistake our words and misconstrue our motives; they embitter themselves against us by false imaginations, or by drinking in the rumours of the day, or by judging of us by the accounts of declared enemies. And well if, with the Psalmist, we the rather give ourselves to prayer, and

remember that Paul planted, and Apollo watered, in vain, until the increase was given from above.

But, though we cannot convey our experience to strangers, nor anticipate the work of Divine Providence upon our separated brethren, yet we may deal with them upon their own principles and direct them to sources of light and help which they themselves recognize. In rejecting our words and slighting our testimonies, in turning a deaf ear to our entreaties, and perhaps even closing their eyes against our recorded sentiments, they are doubtless, as themselves will acknowledge, incurring a serious responsibility, and putting aside what *may* be one class of providential tokens. But we will be content, if with all the more eagerness, they will betake themselves to the Divine Oracles by another and a still surer road. Would they but dismiss all private views and lower objects, and leave their ends to be shapen by the invisible Hand, instead of carving them out for themselves; would they but say in simple faith, the "*Loquere, Domine, quia audit servus tuus,*" or the "*Domine quid me vis facere?*" would they but pray without a bias, ask for guidance without shrinking, interpret tokens without reserve, and follow them up without lingering or halting; and would they above all do this *at once*; it is part of our confidence in the Divine Goodness to feel assured, that, now at least, they would receive the answer of blessing.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—*Annals of Virgin Saints.* By a Priest of the Church of England. London: Joseph Masters. Cambridge: J. T. Walters. 1846.

WE owe this pretty and interesting volume, we believe, to the Rev. J. M. Neale, one of the most distinguished members of the Cambridge Cambden Society, well known for his previous works. We are glad to see any symptom of the natural transition from admiration of material Ecclesiology, to love of the principles, the feelings, and still more the doctrines, which inspired and filled its models. Too many members of that Society have given evi-



dence of a mere hollow, almost childish, satisfaction with externals—of a sort of fancy that by restoring the former accessories of worship, they are reviving the sacred glories of a better age, that by recarving the niches of our ancient sanctuaries, they will produce the Saints whose effigies are to fill them. Mr. Neale, we have every reason to hope, is not one of these; and the work before us gives evidence of a love, beyond mere admiration, of the spiritual and holy beauty of the Catholic Church, in the days when she could freely display her charms. In this volume, we have the lives of holy Women, (for all whom he commemorates were not Virgins,) proposed as models, we suppose to “to the devout female sex,” of the Anglican communion. Yet, there is not one among his chosen Patterns, who, if asked by any person desirous of imitating her virtue, what should be its first foundation, would not have answered, “the Faith and Communion of the Catholic Church,” or, in the words of an Anglican “Treatise on Holy Virginity,” “that the Virgin should be in communion with the See of St. Peter.” How comes it that Protestantism has produced no Virgin Saints, if such a class of Sanctity is among the perfect fruits of Christianity? We are led to these remarks by one passage in the book which gave us pain, almost the only one. It is as follows, in the life of B. Coletta.

“And here we are called on to notice a wonderful, and to some of us in these days, a *comforting* dispensation of Providence. The Church of France was at this time in a state of schism, as following the faction of the Clementines: Coletta as a member of that Church was herself in schism: and the Pontiff to whom she applied,” (for approbation of her rule,) “was the Antipope Benedict XIII.”—Page 350.

We have already, in the course of this Number (and Mr. Faber in his pamphlet has still more) protested, almost with a shudder, against the profane appeals to Providential direction, contrary to established ordinances of God, now so current among Anglicans, to support their position. This is a case in point, and a most painful one. The reasoning of this passage, if it have any meaning, amounts to this, “Divine Providence allowed Blessed Coletta unknowingly to be involved in schism with her Church, by its choosing the wrong pope out of two competitors, that we might be comforted in remaining in a known and avowed schism, by the rejection of the one recognised successor of St. Peter.” There is no comfort in her providential schism to an Anglican, unless *his* Church is also recognised by him to be in state of schism. If this be the case, is it not folly to justify in this light way the remaining in its communion? Is Mr. Neale prepared to show, that the Blessed Coletta knew and avowed her Church to be in schism? Would he venture to assert, that she would wittingly have remained in such a state for one hour? And how unparallel the cases of a retired recluse-virgin going with all the Church of her country in a state of conflicting claims to the papacy, of which she

could not possibly judge, and the open defence of a state of schism by total separation from the undisputed centre of communion, by a minister of a church!

Having thus protested against the unfortunate taint of Anglicanism in the work, we can sincerely praise the many beautiful, and most Catholic passages with which the volume abounds, and would gladly extract some of them, did space permit. These serve to fill up the scanty details of some biographies; at the same time that we must own ourselves occasionally disappointed that all available materials have not been used. We know not, for instance, why the most tender narrative of St. Scholastica's prayer for rain, given by St. Gregory, should have been omitted. It is the gem of her life. Again, how often do we miss the last touch, which no hand but a Catholic can give to Virgin-hagiography—the exquisite sense of that virtue

“Cui nec lapillos præferas Erythræos  
Nec modo politum pecudis Indicæ dentem  
Nivesque primas, liliumque non tactum;” (Martial.)

the prizing of the inward beauty of spotless fidelity to Love Divine, the idea of Espousal with the spotless Lamb, the mystical bond of spiritual intercommunion between God and the soul, which that death to the world of sense establishes. All this and more we fail to recognize in the annalist of “Virgin Saints.” The Anglican conception of such purely Catholic creations seems to be, that of holy Women—who did not marry. What a vast distance between this and a Catholic Virgin-Saint! Yet we doubt not that this little volume will do much good, especially by the beautiful episodes to which we have already alluded.

- II.—1. *The Missal for the Laity.* Richardson, Derby.
- 2.—*A Short Explanation of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.*
- 3.—*The Lives of Saints*, vol. 9.
- 4.—*The Catholic Instructor*, vol. 2.
- 5.—*The Little Vesper Book, for the use of Churches and Chapels.*

THESE are all new productions of the Derby press. Of some it is hardly necessary for us to speak, because they are only continuations of works already noticed in former numbers. We are glad to see the publication of the “Saints’ Lives” drawing to its close, because the value of the work will never be recognized till it is complete. It was a spirited undertaking from the beginning; and we suspect that many who have wished to possess the work, have entertained fears that it would not be carried through. But now there can be little apprehension on the subject; and we hope soon to see the remaining three volumes.



Of the "Weekly Catholic Instructor," we need only say that it has fully sustained its reputation; and that while in numbers it is a most valuable boon to the poor, in volumes it is a worthy addition to any Catholic library.

The new Missal will be a treasure to all classes, as different editions have been printed at the same time, so as to meet the wants of all. We do not, by any means, wish to see the Missal supersede in use other prayer-books; but we should like every Catholic to have the means of thoroughly analysing and understanding the matchless and divine Liturgy of the Church. Every prayer and ceremony ought to be familiar to child and adult, and their sublime meaning and beauty should be explained and inculcated. As an aid to this important study, we are glad to see the "Short Explanation of the Mass," in which the text of the Liturgy is accompanied by a short but clear commentary upon it, adapted to every capacity. In the "Little Vespers Book," the poor man can have for his penny the whole of Vespers in Latin and English, with the tones in musical notes, the Complin, also in two languages, Night-prayers, the Litany of the B. Virgin, and various Psalms and Hymns in ordinary use.

III.—*Sacerdos Sanctificatus; or, Discourses on the Mass and Office, with a Preparation and Thanksgiving before and after Mass.*

Translated from the Italian of St. Alphonsus Liguori, by the Rev. JAMES JONES. London: Richardson.

2.—*Aspirations of Love after Communion; selected from the Manuscripts of St. Francis of Sales, by St. Alphonsus Liguori.* Translated from the Italian by the Rev. JAMES JONES. Derby: Richardson.

EVERY new instalment of the golden works of St. Alphonsus must be hailed with joy by every Catholic; and the fidelity and elegance of Mr. Jones's translations give them an additional value. We only wish that he could find leisure to prepare a complete and uniform edition of all such works as are not of a purely technical or theological character. We have no doubt that subscriptions would easily be formed, if requisite, to ensure the success of such an undertaking. The two works here presented belong, one to the clergy, the other to the laity; each class will receive its gift with gratitude and profit. And we must add that both these little works, especially the second, are *got up* in a superior style, and do great credit to the publishers. St. Alphonsus' work must not, however, be confounded with a longer Italian treatise, with nearly the same title, "*Il Sacerdote santificato nell'attenta recitazione del Divino Uffizio; nella divota celebrazione del SS. Sacrificio,*" &c. This most excellent treatise, of which the author is not certainly known, is considered a classical work on the subject on which it treats; and

we mention this circumstance, lest any one should think that he might now dispense with procuring it, had he ever intended to do so.

IV.—*The Jesuits, from the writings of Dallas.* Extracts edited by WILLIAM NUGENT SKELLY, Esq. Derby: Richardson, 1846.

At this moment, such a little work was wanted to counteract the attempts to injure the character of a society which has done so much for literature, science, and religion. But we hope to have soon occasion to enter more fully on the topic.

V.—*A Distinct View of the Doctrine of Purgatory.* By a Catholic Priest. London: J. Brown, 1846.

THIS is unquestionably the best popular English treatise on this subject; or rather it should be called a collection of testimonies and authorities from every variety of sources, in favour of the Catholic doctrine of purgatory. Great pains have been taken in the compilation; and we earnestly recommend its being extensively circulated among Protestants, as excellently calculated to remove their prejudices.

VI.—1. *Lives of the English Poets from Johnson to Kirke White, designed as a Continuation of Johnson's Lives.* By the late HENRY F. CARY, M. A. London: Bohn, 1846.

2.—*The Early French Poets; a series of Notices and Translations.* By the late Rev. H. F. CARY, M. A. London: Bohn, 1846.

THESE two uniform volumes are not exactly posthumous works of the learned and elegant translator of Dante. Their contents originally appeared as papers in the London Magazine, and they have now been collected by the author's son, who has added valuable notes and preliminary notices. The first of these volumes fills up the space in English poetical literature, between the middle of the last century and our own time; not certainly a bright period, but on that very account less known, and more needing a careful historian. The materials at Mr. Carey's disposal were but scanty; for there is little, either in the lives or in the writings of the authors of whom he treats, to make them interesting. But he has made the most of what he had, and exhibits throughout that kindly and indulgent feeling which distinguished him in life. He presses lightly on the defects, whether of character or of composition, of many of his subjects; and even where it was impossible not to blame, as in the sad history of poor Chatterton, there is a mild and amiable spirit in his reproof. Yet with all its indulgence, we must not consider this a partial work, nor deficient in rightful criticism.



The "Early French Poets" introduces us to a range of literature almost unknown in England, scarcely cultivated in France. Who reads now-a-days the Romance of the Rose, or Thibault of Navarre Clement Marot, Antoine Heroet, or Pierre Gringoire? Yet they, were men of great note in their days, stars that hardly looked for an eclipse. How does Time sift the sands of Castalia, and how few are the gems that it puts by for immortality! While Dante and Petrarca in Italy, and old Geoffrey in England, have stood the trying process, and still bear the varying tests of age after age, without showing a flaw, France, even coming down to a later period of her literary history, has not preserved one poet in the esteem or regard of Europe, or even of herself. It is a mercy, therefore, to her literature to present us with the sketches and samples here collected, as well as with the preliminary account of very early French poetry by the author's son. We will notice one little error on a Catholic subject, because we have lately seen it committed elsewhere, though we do not remember exactly where. In the account of a very profane allegory of Marot's, where the parts of a church are described, the author is represented as saying: "I never saw a temple so well fitted at all points, excepting one—and that was, that there was no *pix* (*paix*) on the altar." (p. 12.) The *paix* is the *pax* not the *pyx*, which is never on the altar.

VII.—*Henry Bohn's Standard Library.* 1. *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth.* By WILLIAM ROSCOE. Fifth Edition. 1846.

2.—*The Philosophy of History, in a course of Lectures delivered at Vienna.* By FREDERICK VON SCHLEGEL. Translated from the German, with a Memoir of the Author. By JAMES B. ROBERTSON, Esq. Second Edition.

THE taste of the present day is certainly in favour of compressed and accessible editions of works, which their volume and splendour have till now excluded from general circulation. The age of expansion, of uncial types and wide-spread margin, when a Memoir or a Poem was not supposed to come out dignifiedly in less than a royal quarto, that age is certainly passed; and the public craves for two or three *quondam* octavos at least in the compass of one goodly duodecimo. Hence "Family Libraries," "Colonial and Home Libraries," "Monthly Volumes," and "Shilling Volumes," which are bringing sometimes valuable, sometimes very trashy, publications within the reach of poorer scholars. Mr. Henry Bohn has begun a series called "The Standard Library," of which two works are now before us, compactly and neatly brought out, and giving promise of a valuable collection. In noticing, in a Review, works which have already established their reputation in the world, and are considered therefore "Standard" works, we must naturally be supposed to advert more to the new form in which they appear,

than to their substance or literary merit. But we cannot pass over the works before us without a few words more. The Life of Leo the Tenth must be read by a Catholic with feelings of an almost conflicting character; as he contemplates the Reign of that Pontiff under its two-fold aspects, of a most glorious one for Letters and the Arts, and a most disastrous one for the Church. The most splendid productions of Raffaele's pencil will not be able to cover over and hide from his sight, the rent which Luther made in the walls of the Sanctuary. Corresponding feelings will be excited in the mind of a Catholic, by the perusal of Mr. Roscoe's Life. In so far as he has placed in a good light the influence exercised by the Pope on the development of art and learning, we must naturally be gratified by this work. But for the mass of protestant prejudices and protestant views which warp the writer's mind, when the religious questions of that age have to be handled, we cannot but grieve; the more because of his otherwise amiable and upright character.

In one respect, however, Roscoe's work is well worthy of our regard. He was the first, among Protestant writers, who had the honest courage to write a favourable biography of any pope. He is the precursor and harbinger of Voigt, Hurter, Hock, and Ranke, (whatever his faults,) in the work of overthrowing prejudices of old standing against the occupiers of the Chair of Peter. For it is just to say that Roscoe rejects as mere scandal, and disproves, the imputations cast upon the moral character of this pope. This edition contains another instance of the author's love of justice in his able and satisfactory vindication of Lucretia Borgia from the foul aspersions, which have made her name an object of execration, and her life the favourite theme of such dramatists as Victor Hugo.

F. Schlegel's *Philosophy of History* requires no commendation from us. Its deep thought and extensive learning have long given it an enduring place in European literature. Mr. Robertson is one of our few German scholars who could have satisfactorily translated such a work. The memoir of Schlegel prefixed to his version is highly interesting, and makes us thoroughly acquainted with the lofty genius and the amiable character of the illustrious convert, who with Stolberg, may be considered among the brightest witnesses of modern Germany, to the overpowering evidences of the Catholic Faith.

VIII.—*The Pleasures of Poesy*; a Poem in two Cantos. By Henry W. Haynes. London: Yates, 1846.

A little volume, the enthusiasm and true feeling of which amply atone for some ruggedness and irregularities in the versification. We know nothing of the author's history, but he certainly has poesy in his heart.



IX. — "*Royal Descents.*" *A Genealogical List of the several Persons entitled to quarter the Arms of the Royal Houses of England.* By CHARLES EDWARD LONG, Esq. London: Nichols, 25, Parliament Street.

THE above is the title of a work which preeminently displays the research and antiquarian zeal of its Author.

X.—*On Famine and Fever as cause and effect in Ireland; with observations on Hospital Location, and the Dispensation in Outdoor Relief of Food and Medicine.* By D. J. CORRIGAN, M.D. M.R.C.S.E.

THIS admirable and well-timed Essay has already attracted so much attention, and especially from those who possess the power to adopt and carry out its benevolent suggestions, that it is hardly necessary at this late period to bring it before the notice of our readers. The name of the author is too well known and too universally respected to need any introduction at our hands.

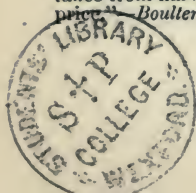
The proposition which Dr. Corrigan undertakes to establish in this able pamphlet, is laid down distinctly in the title which we have cited above; it is, that famine and fever may, in Ireland, be regarded, morally speaking, as cause and effect. His opinion abstracting altogether from the arguments by which he sustains it, recommends itself strongly from the fact, that having been put forward by him sixteen years ago, in the very outset of his professional career, it is now brought forward once more, enforced by the long and extensive experience which sixteen years of a career as eminently successful as Dr. Corrigan's has proved, would not fail to command.

We can hardly presume within the brief limits at our disposal to offer even an outline of the argument. The author does not confine himself to fever alone, but he shows that all the epidemics of later times have invariably followed the same general laws; and among these the most striking and prominent is found to be that they have always, without exception, been preceded by a failure of the harvest, and thus by a scarcity of the ordinary food of the people. In support of this position he produces the following remarkable table, which we regard as so valuable that, pressed as we are for space, we gladly devote a page to its preservation.

"1728.—Spring mild; summer *cold and wet*, ice in the Liffey 23rd June; autumn and winter variable;\* three bad harvests in succession. Provisions at an extravagant price.†

\* Rutty, pp. 12, 22, 26.

† "Scarcity drove the poor to begin with their potatoes before they were full grown, so that they have lost half the benefit of them. Oatmeal is, at this distance from harvest, in many parts of the kingdom, three times the customary price." *Boulter's Letters*, March, 1727. It may not be amiss to remind the



- "1729.—Spring *cold and dry*; summer *dry*; autumn *wet*; winter *open*.\* Scarcity of crop; distress continued; housekeepers begging bread in the streets of Dublin.†
- "1730.—Spring *variable*; summer *wet*; autumn *variable*; winter *open, mild, dry*. Distress still continuing.‡
- "1731.—Spring *dry*; summer *hot*; autumn *variable*; winter *wet and warm*.§ Distress still prevailing. Fever commenced in 1728, and lasted to 1732.
- "1734.—Summer *wet*; autumn *variable*; winter *mild*; harvest *bad*, much straw and little grain.
- "1735.—Summer again *cold and wet*; autumn *wet*; winter *open*. Fruits and grain very backward.
- "1736.—One of the *hottest* summers remembered; autumn *fair*; winter *open*. Petechial Fever appeared in winter of 1734, continued through 1735, became very frequent and fatal in summer of 1736, and disappeared in autumn of the same year, which brought a most abundant harvest. (Vide Ruty, pp. 42, 59.)
- "1739.—Spring *cold*; summer *wet*; thermometer not higher than in May; autumn *variable*; winter *cold*; most intense *frost*, continuing with scarcely any intermission from the 27th of December to the 14th of February in the following year. Potatoes, the food of the poor, rotted; tillage interrupted in spring.
- "1740.—Spring *dry and cold*; summer *dry*; autumn *unusually frosty*; winter *frosty*. 'Great dearth of provisions this autumn, 1740, which proceeded almost to a famine in winter; the potatoes having failed, while other provisions bore double or treble their usual price.'|| Fever appeared in summer of 1740, increased in autumn, and rose to a terrific degree of violence in spring and summer of 1741. 80,000 persons died of fever and dysentery, in this epidemic.¶ The fever which had begun last autumn returned in spring, and raged through the summer of 1741. It was computed that one-fifth part of the inhabitants died, though probably with exaggeration.\*\*
- "1741.—Spring *dry*; summer *dry*; autumn *variable*; winter *frosty*. Plenty of good corn in autumn of 1741, fruits of the earth duly matured, winter concluded healthy, and the bills of mortality sunk conspicuously.††
- "1742.—Spring *dry*; summer *hot*; autumn *variable*; winter *stormy and frosty*. Provisions most plentiful. Bread sold at twenty-one pounds six ounces for a shilling.‡‡

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reader that March, 1727, in Boulter's Letters, is, according to the present, and to a computation even then not unfrequently adopted, March, 1728. Boulter, in common with many writers of the day, dated by the civil or legal year, which in England commenced on the 25th of March, which mode of reckoning was in use until the reign of George II., when the same act of parliament that altered the style, decreed that the year should henceforth commence on the first day of January. The time between the two periods being often marked thus, as February, 1751—52.

\* Ruty, pp. 12, 22, 26.

† Commercial Restraints of Ireland, p. 44.

‡ "In the year 1731, there was a great deficiency in the public revenue, and the national debt had considerably increased. The exhausted kingdom lay under great difficulties by the decay of trade, the scarcity of money, and the universal poverty of the country." Ibid, p. 46.

§ Ruty, pp. 12, 22, 26.

|| Ruty, p. 83.

¶ O'Connell Observations Medicinales.

\*\* Ruty, p. 86.

†† Ruty, pp. 92, 123.

‡‡ Ruty, p. 98.



- "1743.—The summer and autumn were remarkable for health, as well as for fertility and plenty in large crops of corn of all sorts, and we had scarce any disease then or in winter, except cold and sore throat, from which we are seldom exempted.\*
- "1798.—Summer and autumn of 1797 wet, crops scanty, fuel scarce. 1798, gentry flying out of the country; poor out of employment; tillage neglected; consequent starvation. Fever prevalent in spring of 1798, spread in the end of summer to a frightful extent.
- "1799.—Summer *wet* and cold; general deficiency in the crops. Fever now assumed a most malignant type.
- "1800.—Summer unusually *hot* and *dry*, but followed, like the previous wet summer, by deficient crops; the crops, moreover, of very bad quality; the people in a state of starvation. Malignant fever continued from 1798.
- "1801.—Most abundant harvest, fever began to decline, and disappeared in the summer of 1802.†
- "1817.—Crops of the preceding year very deficient, did not arrive at maturity; corn was uncut in November, much of it lost. Corn saved was green in the husk, or malted; potatoes scanty, wet, unripe. No straw even for the beds of the poor; turf also deficient. This combined deficiency of food, fuel, and bedding, felt most severely in winter and spring of 1816—17, when fever appeared, which became very prevalent in summer of 1817. Spring and summer of 1817 wet, cold, and unproductive, as the preceding year.
- "1818.—Spring *moist*; summer unusually *hot*; crops good; provisions in abundance. The epidemic, which had arisen in spring of 1817, continued to increase at a rapid rate through summer, winter, spring, and summer again, until the autumn of 1818, which brought with it a most abundant supply of food, fuel, and straw for bedding. Fever at the very same time began to decline, and soon after disappeared. One million and a half of the population suffered from fever in this epidemic.
- "1826.—Potato crop of the preceding year, 1825, very deficient. The weavers in Dublin were, by a sudden reverse of trade, thrown out of employment to the number of 20,000. Fever appeared rising rapidly in spring of 1826, reached a terrific height in the autumn and winter following, declined in summer of 1827, and disappeared in autumn. Summer of 1827 produced an almost unparalleled abundance of crops.

Even allowing for the frequent fallacy of the popular argument, "*post hoc, ergo propter hoc*," there is more than enough in this table and in the excellent observations by which it is illustrated, to make it as plain as any moral truth can be made, that famine has been in these cases, and is of its own nature, the cause of the pestilence which is thus invariably found to follow in its foot-steps.

The main proposition thus ably sustained, receives additional support from the correlative statement which follows—that, in cases of threatened pestilence, a supply of food opportunely administered has proved the best and surest prevention of the evil. Of this cheering and consoling fact, Dr. Corrigan produces

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\* Ratty, p. 107.

† Barker and Cheyne, p. 18.

(pp. 17—22) several illustrations from the history of the epidemics already referred to.

The concluding pages of his pamphlet are devoted to practical suggestions, the value of which has been already appreciated in the highest quarters. We shall not dwell upon it further; but we cannot conclude without pressing upon those who possess power or influence, the manly appeal with which these benevolent suggestions are introduced.

“I have, I trust, shown enough to prove the intimate connexion between want and fever, and sufficient to prove that want stands paramount beyond all other causes. It is not *my* province to go farther. It is for the political economist, when the medical observer has pointed out this cause, to devise the measures best calculated to take away, or lessen, that cause. To him whom fortune or station has called to such a task, there is a high incitement to serve his country. He will have the gratification of feeling, that while promoting the prosperity and wealth of his country, he is its best physician, diminishing deaths and dispensing longevity.”

XI.—*Vie de Saint François d'Assise par M. Emile Chavan de Malan.*  
1 vol. Paris, 1845.

THIS work is one of great literary merit in the execution, and adorned with all those graces of style of which this eminent French writer is so distinguished a master. He is one of a number of young men who have devoted themselves with great zeal and great talent to the meritorious work of bringing before the public, in an attractive form, the religious history of the middle ages. But besides the attractions of a most fascinating style, he displays also a more than ordinary industry and research in the volume before us. Though it is published as a separate work, it is in reality but a portion of a larger work on which the author is engaged, on the religious institutions of the middle ages. As a proof of the eminently Catholic spirit, combined with great literary ability, which are visible in the pages of this volume, we may mention that the General of the Franciscan Order was so delighted with its perusal, that he requested of the gifted author to write a history of the Franciscan Missions, and offered to place at his disposal for this purpose all the original papers and documents in the archives of the Order. We should have made it the subject of a longer notice, and introduced it to the public more in detail, but that we have it in our power to state, that it is already translated into English, and in the course of a few weeks will be presented in its new dress to the Catholic reader. We know no more valuable accession to our religious biographical literature.



XII.—*Water-Wheels, especially Turbines or Whirl-Wheels; their History, Construction, and Theory, illustrated for the Use of Mechanics.* By MORITZ RÜHLMANN. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by SIR ROBERT KANE, with six Plates and Tables of Calculations. 1 vol. 4to. Dublin, 1846.

THOSE who recollect the admirable chapters of *The Industrial Resources of Ireland* upon the development of the available water-power of the country, can hardly fail to remember the very interesting pages devoted to a description of the various water-engines employed in our own and also in foreign countries. Among those descriptions there was one, tantalizing by its brevity, but yet interesting by reason of the apparent simplicity and effectiveness of the machine which it professed to describe, which at the time attracted considerable attention, and which has since been the subject of so much and so anxious enquiry, that the author has been induced to search for and translate the most detailed and practical description of the machine which has been published up to the present time. It is the treatise whose title stands above, by Professor Rühlmann.

The Turbine or Whirl-Wheel has many advantages over those in common use.

"Besides the great velocity of rotation, and the property of running either above or immersed in the back-water without sensibly altering their useful effect, the peculiar character of these wheels consists, above all others, in the fact that the water enters at all points in the inner circle of the wheel, and issues at the farthest part of the external circumference. Moreover, for most of their industrial applications, they may be made of very small size, and consequently there may be, for a much smaller expenditure of money than is usual, an employment of water that may be considered as almost unlimited. With nearly every variety of fall and velocity, they work advantageously, and without the weight of the wheel and its parts, or that of the moving water, reacting injuriously, as occurs with almost all vertical, and particularly with other horizontal wheels."—p. 13.

The treatise, however, we should add, is purely scientific, and possesses little interest for the general reader; but to the practical engineer it is absolutely indispensable. The tables which it contains are all reduced from the German standards to those in use in this country.

XIII.—*Twenty-two Reasons for Entering the Catholic Church.* By THOMAS WILLIAM MARSHALL, Author of "*Notes on the Catholic Episcopate.*" Richardson, London and Derby.

THE author of this short, but able tract, is one of the gifted little band of seceders from Anglicanism whom the last few months have brought into the bosom of our Holy Mother. It may appear to depart from the usage of our contemporaries in noticing a publication apparently so trifling. But we cannot refrain from expressing our hearty admiration of the mild but clear and forcible tone in

which the "Reasons" are conceived. We are tempted to transcribe the twenty-first and twenty-second Reasons as a specimen of the entire.

"Because the very tenets which have been most confidently imputed to the Catholic Church as *errors and corruptions*, have received a new and striking justification in the history and development of those very bodies by whom they have been so unhappily rejected. The honour rendered by her to the holy Mother of our Lord, for example, which Protestants have not scrupled to call 'idolatry,' has now been farther proved, by their own general declension from the Faith, to be not only the correlative, but also the *safeguard* of the true doctrine of our blessed Lord's Incarnation. For while the Church has ever continued to maintain, even in her least-educated members, the purest faith and most rapturous devotion towards His adorable Person—and this, as it appears, in no slight measure by the aid of *those very tenets* which have been condemned as superstitious and idolatrous;—*the rival communions*, whose special boast it was, to give to the Divine Redeemer 'the incommunicable honour due unto His Name,' have to a fearful and almost incredible extent denied Him;—either consciously, and by open blasphemy, as in Germany, France, Holland, the Swiss Cantons, and elsewhere; or unconsciously, by deep and sluggish ignorance and indifference to doctrine, as in England, Sweden, &c., and the very fire which they once gloried to have kindled afresh, has long since died away upon their altars. So that, in fine, it has come to pass that, even as regards those few Protestant systems which have not yet been overwhelmed in complete destruction, the chief distinction which separates them from the rest is this: that their more religious members are at this moment engaged, as in England and some parts of Lutheran Germany, in vainly striving to repair the ruin effected by the 'Reformation,' to soften and humanise the harsh theology of its principal authors, and to restore, by little and little, those fundamental and evangelical truths of which Catholics have not even been tempted to lose sight, but which from all the Protestant schools have been well nigh banished and effaced.

"XXII. Lastly, because the so-called Reformation has proved in every place, even by the confessions of its adherents, a complete and lamentable failure; and while it has conducted the larger part of its victims to the extremest limits of confusion, heresy, and misbelief, and all its manifold systems—Lutheran or Zuinglian, Calvinistic or Anglican—are at this day either in a condition of miserable decay, or of positive and hopeless dissolution; the Catholic Church alone remains precisely such as she was for centuries before her rivals had even commenced their ill-fated career—tranquil, inflexible, undisturbed—easily repelling, as if by some secret spell, the heresies and impieties which reign triumphant in all the separate bodies—fearing nothing, retracting nothing, changing nothing, conceding nothing;—and while the most powerful human dynasties have in turn become extinct, and the greatest empires of the earth changed or lost, one after another, their very form and constitution; kingdom after kingdom, and sect after sect falling away, 'like water that runneth apace,' or 'consuming as the snail and like the untimely fruit of a woman;' the Church of S. Peter alone remains, calmly resting upon eternal and imperishable foundations—watching from her safe bulwarks the ruin of nations and people—surviving by a perpetual miracle all her enemies and the overthrow of every other institution—and still trusting in and cleaving unto Him who has thus marvellously confirmed to her His gracious purpose and decree, that she should be, like Himself, 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'

"Thus has the experience of three hundred years—years of almost unparalleled trial and temptation—only served to demonstrate anew the truth of God's twofold covenant with His Church,—His covenant of judgment against her enemies, and of mercy towards herself:—

"(1) *Of judgment against her enemies*, in that He had said, 'They shall surely gather together, but not by Me; whosoever shall gather together against thee shall fall for thy sake..... No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper, and every tongue that shall rise in judgment against thee shalt thou condemn;'—

"(2.) *Of mercy towards herself*, in that He had declared, speaking to her in the person of her chief Pastor, S. Peter, 'Upon *this* rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'"



We have seen with very great satisfaction that a larger work, "The Church and the Sects," from the same pen, is announced for early publication.

- XIV.—1. *The Hop Blossoms*, translated from the Works of CANON SCHMID.
2. *The Strawberries*, translated from the French, to which is added, *Neglect of Prayer, The Christian Servant, The Infidel's Death-bed*.
3. *The Chapel of the Forest*, and *The Robin Redbreast*, from the Works of CANON SCHMID.
4. *Hans the Miser*, a Tale of Central Germany, to which is added, *Perrin and Lucette, The Envious Girl Reformed, Divine Providence, The Farm and the Presbytery*.
5. *The Angel of Consolation*, a Catholic Story, translated from the French.
6. *The Easter Eggs*, translated from the Works of CANON SCHMID.
7. *The Adopted Son*, a Catholic Story, translated from the German of the Abbe HAGEL SPERGER. London and Derby: Richardson.

IN these cheap and beautiful little volumes we recognize the first part of what we trust will prove the most complete and the most valuable juvenile library which has ever been offered to the young Catholic generation of England.

It contains, as the titles will explain, a miscellaneous selection from the best and most esteemed Catholic writers of France and Germany, Canon von Schmid, the Abbe Sperger, and many others; and we learn from the prospectus that it is intended to introduce original tales from the pens of some of the eminent ecclesiastics under whose direction the series is understood to be published. We have so often expressed our anxious and earnest wishes for the publication of such a series, that it is unnecessary for us at present to do more than repeat our hearty good-wishes for its success and our cordial commendation of it to all who feel an interest in the moral and religious training of the young generation.

As a specimen of the religious tone which pervades, we submit one single extract from a most instructive though very brief tale, *The Infidel's Death-bed*.

"One evening as she sat at home, buried in her gloomy thoughts, and listening to the roll of distant thunder announcing an approaching storm, all of a sudden she heard an unaccountable noise in the court of the hotel, and mechanically opened the window. Her servants were lifting from the carriage a wounded

man, whose face was pale as death, and his head covered with bandages. 'Who is that? Who is that?' cried the baroness, in terrible agitation. 'M. le baron has been wounded in a duel,' said the young secretary, who at that moment entered. 'A duel!' replied the baroness, with eagerness, 'and with whom?' 'Ah Madame, excuse.....' 'For mercy's sake, speak—tell me,' cried the frantic woman. 'It was the man you lately divorced, who met him in a public place, and spoke some outrageous words regarding you.....' 'Enough, enough—I understand all.' She rushed past the young secretary, and ran half dead with terror into the apartment of the wounded man. With a movement of her hand she signed to all to retire. 'Wounded for me!' she cried, kneeling at the bed of the dying man, 'wounded for me! This malediction only was wanting.'

"'Listen to me,' said the baron, in a feeble tone, 'human assistance can avail me nothing, I have but an hour to live. I am tormented by remorse. My agony begins—it is horrible! I see around me women, children, and priests, with their throats cut; altars on fire; images of Christ dragged in the dust. Alas!—Oh Mary, I have done all these things!' 'It is true,' said the baroness, while her teeth chattered with fear, 'it is true!' 'On the bed of death, a new light dawns on me. The belief of my early years comes back urging me to repent. O that some holy man would pray for me during my agony, and pronounce over my cold remains words of peace and reconciliation. I would not die alone. No, no; have pity on me, Mary; send away those people, and go yourself and find a priest. You will do a good action, and no one will know anything about it.'

"'I will go,' said the baroness, moving slowly away as a person walks in a dream.

"'Haste, then, oh make haste, for I feel myself dying.'

"'Madame d' Herbigny crossed the apartment trembling in every limb. She fell—she got up—she fell again. 'Oh my God,' she cried, muttering a prayer, 'sustain my feeble strength, thou alone canst.' She arose with an effort and gained the door. The door opened, and her sister entered pale, cold, and dressed in black. 'How is thy husband?' she demanded in an icy tone. 'He is dying, sobbed the baroness, and I go..... —' 'Not to look for a priest I imagine,' said the widow with a fiendish sneer, using the same words by accident or design, that her sister had used twenty years before.

"'Madame d' Herbigny recoiled in horror, her arms fell powerless by her side. 'O my God, thou art just,' she said; then dragging herself to her sister's feet, 'hear me, Amelia,' she cried eagerly, 'thou wast once good and merciful, be not cruel like me, permit me to go out, it will give peace to my husband who has been slain for me, it will restore peace to me. O Amelia, my dear sister, let me go—he is dying in the next room—hark—the death rattle is in his throat.'

"'Thou shalt not go. Thy husband shall die as mine died, it is but just.' 'O this is horrible, most horrible,' cried the baroness, extending her supplicating hands towards her sister; 'in the name of heaven.....'—'I wish nothing better,' said the terrible widow with frightful energy. Aristides, thanks to thy care, has gone to his place; where he has gone, there will I go also.'

"'I am dying,' feebly murmured the wounded man.

"'Hearest thou that mourn? Oh! pity me, pardon me, pity us both.'

"'No no, though I should be damned a hundred times—no.'

"'Madame d' Herbigny fell almost lifeless on the floor, a cold sweat bedewed her forehead, the limbs were stiff and motionless. She saw her sister open the door, she heard her savage laugh as she turned the key, unable to rise from the floor; she saw the lightning flash, she heard the thunder roar, and the noise was ming-

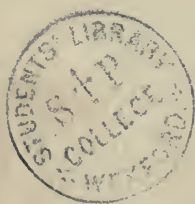


led with the sound of instruments proceeding from the ball-room where she had intended to pass the evening; and, in the intervals of silence, she heard the death rattle in the neighbouring chamber. She was delirious during the next hour. A violent knocking at the door roused her from this state. Then all her faculties returned with redoubled energy; she screamed aloud, they burst open the door, but when the unfortunate woman gained the chamber of her husband he was dead!

“Unfortunately, this story is not a fable of the imagination—it is true in all its details. The names only are changed in consideration of the feelings of a respectable family. Such are the results of infidelity—such is the death-scene of the impious.”











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ART. I.—*The Speeches of the Right Honourable John Philpot Curran, with Memoir and Historical Notices.* By THOMAS DAVIS, Esq., M. R. I. A. Barrister at Law. Dublin: 1845.

WE have at last, what we had so long wished for, a cheap and popular edition of the speeches of one of our greatest orators. The neglect, from whatever cause it may have proceeded, was not over creditable to our national taste and feeling, and we hail the work before us as a proof of a growing spirit of nationality not less perhaps than as a tardy tribute of justice to Irish genius and Irish eloquence. The concluding years of the last century, were years of great political excitement, terminated by an event of political importance, more momentous to this country than any perhaps that occurred since the landing of the second Henry upon our shores, and were succeeded, as great social convulsions generally are, by years of a corresponding torpor and inactivity. In this respect the social resembles in no small degree the physical system, and exhibits its well-known vicissitudes of excitement, and alternate activity and repose. The great struggle for equal rights and privileges, in which the Catholic body was engaged, had been commenced long before; and it was only when that struggle was crowned with success, and the great majority of the Irish people restored to their rights as freemen and as citizens, that the elements of the social system began to combine, and its developments to assume somewhat of a national character. There is more than one indication, that the political horizon is clearing and brightening around us, and that other and better days for Ire-



land are at hand. Not the least remarkable of these, is the respect which men of all parties are disposed to give to those great men who worked well and faithfully, even though unsuccessfully, in the cause of their country. Other times are at hand in which justice shall be done to their character, and among the names that in years to come Ireland shall mention with gratitude, there are few more illustrious than the name of John Philpot Curran.

The merits of the present edition can be seen only by comparing it with those that have preceded it. No collection of Curran's speeches was published until the year 1807, more than thirty years after he had been called to the bar, and more than ten after he had delivered some of the finest speeches that ever advocate addressed to a court or jury. In four years from that time, three editions were published by Stockdale, consisting principally of his speeches at the bar. In 1843, a fourth edition was given to the public by the present publisher, containing ten speeches not included in any of the other editions. The great superiority of the present over all its predecessors, consists in the addition of thirty-three parliamentary speeches, and six of those delivered at the bar, in the chronological arrangement of the whole, and the insertion of historical notices, sometimes of considerable length, of the circumstances in which they were delivered, and the results to which they led. In this respect, it has a very decided advantage over all the others, even independently of the able biographical memoir of Curran prefixed to it, which appeared also in the preceding edition. Alas! that the promise of usefulness to literature and his country which this work affords, should have been so soon defeated by the premature demise of its gifted editor.

The present collection consists of sixty-seven speeches of various degrees of excellence. Some of them are mere scraps, owing to the imperfections of the reporting. In fact, many of them seem not to have been reported at all, and the fragments that remain are rather sketches of some passages of more than usual power, taken down in a hurried and often careless manner, than regular reports of what was said; but like broken gems in the hands of a skilful artificer, they owe much to the tasteful and judicious setting in which, so to speak, they are presented to the reader. The speeches that have suffered most from

curtailment, are those which were delivered in Parliament. Those spoken on other occasions are very fully preserved, and appear to be accurate reports of the originals. The difference in style, whether arising from the diversity of circumstances, or not, is very observable. In the parliamentary speeches we miss, in great measure, the qualities for which Curran was so eminently distinguished, and which constitute the peculiar character of his oratory. There is neither his diffuseness of expression, nor his exuberance of fancy, nor those bursts of deep feeling and pathos, that are found in all his great efforts. But there is in their stead, a more settled earnestness of purpose, a more perceptible determination to grapple at once with the difficulty he has to encounter, a greater conciseness of argument, and a more visible anxiety to place it immediately and forcibly before his hearers. Perhaps this is owing in some degree to the conciseness of the report, which from its imperfect character, is confined to the mere point of the speaker, and omits much of the accessaries by which the argument was enforced and illustrated. But making due allowance for this defect, a striking difference is observable. In the House of Commons he seems to have been more matter of fact, to use a familiar expression, and to have addressed the opposite party, as if it were embodied in the person of the private secretary, employing at one time the strongest terms of invective and censure, at another the strongest powers of ridicule. The latter seems to have been his most favourite mode of defending the rights and privileges of the people. If the wretched government of the day was deaf to argument and callous to every feeling of humanity, he was resolved at least to hold it up to the contempt and derision of the empire. But at the bar, his speech was of another character. He appeals to a jury of his countrymen, as if he made the prisoner's wrongs his own. He infuses his whole soul into the advocacy of his claims, and speaks not so much as a lawyer may plead for his client, but as a mother, were she gifted with a lawyer's knowledge, might be supposed to plead for her only son. We know not whether there are finer passages in the forensic eloquence of any land, than some of those that Curran delivered at the bar. What for instance, can be finer than the well-known passage in his speech for Finnerty, which combines every topic of tenderness, of passion, and of sublimity? And every



compilation of oratorical extracts abounds with passages which exemplify this quality of Curran's eloquence, and which, during the eventful times of the rebellion of 1798, was so often exercised on behalf of the unhappy sufferers, and exercised, we grieve to say, so often without success. For it required more than the power of human tongue to stay the arm of a sanguinary and infuriate government, or save its victims from danger.

Another peculiarity of Curran's genius was the power possessed by him of holding up depravity and vice to the public execration. What can be finer than the celebrated picture of the informers, who were then avowedly in the pay of the government, which is found in the same speech? Some of the figures employed in this thrilling passage, may be considered too strong for the taste of the present day, at least in a public orator with any pretensions to elegance; but we must in our estimate of Curran, take into account the times in which he lived, and the men or rather the wretches whom he had frequently to encounter. And strong as the language is, which he employs, it affords but an inadequate picture of the depravity, that in defiance of all decency, the Irish government of the day employed for the promotion of its nefarious purposes. In fact, the imaginative faculty had a more than usual share in the workings of his mind. If the poet and the orator be akin to one another, the approximation was never perhaps so perceptible as in the eloquence of Curran. Sometimes he allows himself more than a poet's license, and employs his figures and his metaphors with a profusion very perplexing to the reader. Such is the fecundity of his fancy, that we have often several and not unfrequently contradictory illustrations of the same idea, starting simultaneously into existence, and issuing almost in the same breath from the mouth of the impassioned speaker. It may be this excess of ornament, that has given rise to the popular notion, at least at the other side of the channel, of the nature of Irish eloquence, and which many of our less gifted fellow-countrymen have contributed to encourage, by their efforts to make stupidity and dulness bear some resemblance to genius. But these defects in Curran are clearly owing to an excess, not to a want, of power. He has strength and genius within him, and he knows that he has them; and if the current of his eloquence at times seems turbid and confused, it is caused by the abundance,

not the poverty of the stream. The Amazon or the Ganges will at times upheave a sand bank in its course, as it flows in the fulness of its waters to the ocean, while a smaller and less copious stream is free from any such obstruction in its bed.

In truth, it is hardly fair to judge of oratorical compositions from a bare perusal. A reader in the quiet, unimpassioned tranquillity of his closet will be more fastidious, more critical, more censorious; he will perceive defects or redundancies more readily, and perhaps pardon them less willingly, than a hearer, who listened to their delivery in all the excitement which the circumstances were calculated to create, and under the influence of that fascination which a great orator is ever capable of throwing over his audience, and by which he holds them, as it were, spell-bound under the magic influence of his genius. Nor should we forget that the master-pieces of Curran's eloquence were not like those of several others, deliberately conceived and prepared, and brought to maturity in the calm reflection of the study; where imagination, if exuberant, may be pared down, or if barren may, by laborious thought, be nourished into fertility—where the diction, if inaccurate, may be corrected; if languid, strengthened; or, if diffuse, be chastened and improved. On the contrary, they are said, and in most instances they seem, to be the fruit of very little previous study, and of no written preparation; and, like the luxuriance and majesty of the tropical vegetation, to have sprung into existence in the teeming fertility of a gifted mind, and the stimulating action of a day. Those to whom nature has given a colder temperament, or a less ardent mind, may deem some of the most impassioned passages mere gaudy tinsel; but they were spoken by an ardent speaker to an imaginative people, keenly alive to every appeal, however glowing, to the feelings. What would the words of Demosthenes be, if addressed to an Eastern people, but a cold and powerless harangue; or the fervid outpourings of an orator of Persia or Hindostan, to a canny audience upon the Clyde? The great secret of a speaker's power is to know the persons to whom his words are addressed, the tendencies of their national and individual character, and the readiest and most effective mode by which their sympathies are to be enlisted in his cause. If Curran's eloquence is distinguished by a large propor-



tion of imaginative illustration—larger, perhaps, than to a colder and less ardent people he would be justified in employing—we may be assured that this copious imagery was one great element of his power, and that the Irish heart was not the less accessible because the orator thought fit to strew the avenues that led to it with the sweetest flowers of his fancy. Whence Curran drew the rich stores that seemed ever at his command, whether from the exhaustless mine of his own imagination, or the wild and romantic legends to which he was made familiar in his youth, it were, perhaps, difficult to tell. It may have been, and probably was, from both; for it is certain that his youth was passed in one of the wildest and most legendary parts of the South, and that from infancy he was familiar with the tales and stories that had been handed down from immemorial time in the traditional recollections of the peasantry.

It has been said that Curran's genius disdained to have recourse to the slow and laborious task of written composition. We doubt much whether it was always so, or whether his faculties, prompt as they were, would have attained the eminence they subsequently did, if they had not been previously strengthened and disciplined by the salutary process of writing, and the necessary and continuous reflection which such a process inevitably requires. The following is the exordium of one of the earliest of his great efforts. We think we can trace in it the marks of more than extempore composition. It is taken from the speech delivered by him before the Privy Council, on the celebrated case of the election of the Lord Mayor of Dublin; and is, in our opinion, more elaborate than any other of his speeches. In one or two, indeed, there may be a thought or two more impressive or more brilliant, but none more sustained throughout. It is admirably adapted to the constitution of the tribunal to which the orator is addressing himself.

“My Lords, I have the honour to appear before you as counsel for the Commons of the corporation of the metropolis of Ireland, and also for Mr. Alderman Howison, who hath petitioned for your approbation of him as a fit person to serve as Lord Mayor, in virtue of his election by the Commons to that high office; and in that capacity I rise to address you, on the most important subject that you have ever been called on to discuss. Highly interesting and momentous indeed, my Lords, must every question be, that even

remotely and eventually, may affect the well-being of societies, or the freedom or the repose of nations; but that question, the result of which by an immediate and direct necessity, must decide either fatally or fortunately, the life or death of that well-being, of that freedom or that repose, is surely the most important subject, in which human wisdom can be employed, if any subject on this side the grave can be entitled to that appellation. You cannot, therefore, my Lords, be surprised to see this place crowded by such numbers of our fellow citizens; heretofore they were attracted hither by a strong sense of the value of their rights, and of the injustice of the attack upon them; they felt all the magnitude of the contest, but they were not disturbed by any fear of the event; they relied securely on the justice of their cause, and the integrity of those who were to decide upon it; but the public mind is now filled with a fear of danger, the more painful and alarming, because hitherto unforeseen; they are now taught to fear that their cause may be of doubtful merit and disastrous issue; that rights which they considered as defined by the wisdom and confirmed by the authority of written law, may now turn out to be no more than ideal claims, without either precision or security; that acts of parliament themselves are no more than embryos of legislation, or at least but infants, whose first labours must be, not to teach but to learn; and which, even after thirty years of pupillage, may have thirty more to pass under that guardianship, which the wisdom of our policy has provided for the protection of minors. Sorry am I, my Lords, that I can offer no consolation to my clients on this head; and that I can only join them in bewailing, that the question, whose result must decide upon their freedom or servitude, is perplexed with difficulties of which we never dreamed before, and which we are now unable to comprehend. Yet surely, my Lords, that question must be<sup>e</sup> difficult, upon which the wisdom of the representative of our dread sovereign, aided by the learning of his chancellor and his judges, aided also by the talents of the most conspicuous of the nobles and the gentry of the nation, has been twice already employed and employed in vain. We know, my Lords, that guilt and oppression may stand irresolute for a moment ere they strike, appalled by the prospect of danger, or struck with a sentiment of remorse: but to you, my Lords, it were presumption to impute injustice; we must, therefore, suppose that you have delayed your determination, not because it was dangerous, but because it was difficult to decide. And indeed, my Lords, a firm belief of this difficulty, however undiscoverable by ordinary talents, is so necessary to the character which this august assembly ought to possess, and to merit from the country, that I feel myself bound to achieve it by an effort of my faith, if I should not be able to do so by any effort of my understanding. In a question, therefore, so confessedly obscure, as to baffle so much sagacity, I am not at liberty to suppose that certainty could be attained by a concise



examination. Bending, then, as I do, my Lords, to your high authority, I feel this difficulty as a call upon me to examine it at large; and I feel it also as an assurance that I shall be heard with patience."—*Page 92.*

If this fine and appropriate exordium was not committed to paper before delivery, we may rest assured that it was committed to memory. Many are of opinion that any composition must be extempore, which has not been previously written out and prepared. But no opinion can be more erroneous. What essential difference is there between the man whose memory is so powerful and felicitous as to retain indelibly impressed upon it, and prepared for the occasion when it comes, the train of thought as it arises, and the person who makes use of pen and paper to give it a more enduring existence? Is not the argument or the appeal as perfectly prepared and studied in the one instance as in the other? Are not the ideas, nay the words, as much and as perfectly weighed and matured in the mind of the one, as on the paper of the other? If the written words, indeed, be rigidly adhered to, and that the speaker is never able, even occasionally, to diverge from, or to elucidate more fully, or to exemplify more felicitously, or to avail himself with effect of such casual and unforeseen contingencies as may arise, and make them subservient to his purpose—if, like a child in leading-strings, his intellect or his self-reliance be so feeble as never to move from the track which he has prescribed for himself, then, we say, he never can attain eminence in the art of oratory. He may be faultless in his diction, and irreproachable in his style, but he never can hope for the higher glories of the profession. But if the orator employs his written notes as a mere preparatory process, as a means of fixing more firmly in his mind the thoughts that may spring up within him—if he knows when to follow, and when to diverge—if he is assisted, but not trammelled by them, and is capable of assimilating and embodying with the intellectual fabric, already in its leading parts constructed, each casual circumstance that may arise, then, indeed, may he expect to attain something more than mediocrity, and is capable of some of the noblest achievements of the art. And we would impress this particularly on the youthful aspirants for oratorical renown. Let them labour and study, and commit with

care their thoughts to writing. Let them study the best models they can procure ; let them attain correctness and precision of thought, and elegance and purity of expression. Let them acquire a power of expressing themselves with fluency, and a firm reliance upon themselves in the presence of a public assembly ; and then, if they feel the power within, trust to their own intellectual resources. Let them fling away then, if they choose, the helps they had till then made use of, and give forth, in their own strength, the stores of knowledge, and truth, and experience, which they had previously accumulated. But let them not indulge the fatal error by which so much of youthful promise and intellectual power has been destroyed—that words are thoughts, that talking is oratory, and that the fame of the Currans and the Grattans is rivalled or eclipsed, because a wondering audience is forced for hours to listen to sentences without a meaning, and phrases of thundering sound. It has sometimes happened, as we have just now stated, that a powerful mind and ready memory may dispense, in a great measure, with written notes, and preserve their thoughts and reasonings stored up in their recollections ready for use when called upon ; but the principle is almost the same in both cases, though different somewhat in the mode of its application. In the department of forensic oratory, there must, from the nature of the circumstances, be a dependence to a considerable extent upon the resources of the moment. No advocate can foresee all that he may find it necessary to allude to, and some of his best points must and will often be owing to the casual events that are passing before him, or to the evidence that, a few minutes previous to his address, may be delivered upon the table. If in this respect he suffers somewhat of a disadvantage, it is more than compensated by the appearance of readiness and animation which it communicates to the entire. Every word he utters will seem the spontaneous unpremeditated effusion of the instant, because some passages could not possibly have been foreseen, and therefore could not have been prepared ; but the highest triumph of even rhetorical art is to conceal itself under the appearance of nature.

The character of Curran's oratory was admirably fitted for the bar, and more especially for the bar of those times in which its highest triumphs were achieved. There



is about it, even in the sallies of its humour, a shade of plaintive sadness which harmonizes with the dread aspect of the political world, as it then presented itself. And if he demolishes the testimony of a witness, combats the prejudices of a jury, or censures the partiality or corruption of a judge, we are made to feel by some unseen and electric sympathy, that the poor criminal has already the rope around his neck, and that the scaffold is frowning in the distance. How different in this respect, as in many others, is the oratory of Burke! What luminous views of society and of men! what a comprehensive survey of human nature! what a philosophical analysis of the various social combinations! what far-seeing penetration into the probable workings and results of political systems, are found in all his works! yet what would he be, if, placed at the bar of a Dublin commission court, he had to address twelve corrupt Dublin orangemen, before a corrupt judge, on behalf of a member of the Society of United Irishmen, detected by Major Sirr with the act of enrolment in his pocket? What would his deep knowledge of the heart, his experience of society, his philosophy of political life, avail him or benefit his client? Verily these same orangemen would vote him a decided bore, and, before even hearing the judge's charge, would decide on the fate of the accused, as the only vengeance in their power for the infliction of the advocate. With all his happy powers of fanciful illustration, and strong poetical tendencies, for there is much deep poetry in his prose, Curran was gifted with strong powers of reasoning. Not, however, the searching philosophical reasoning, which with truth for its only object, is able to sift and examine a subject or a question in all its bearings, to turn it at every side, and contemplate it in every point of view, and utterly divesting itself of every prejudice and preconceived opinion, ascertain with exactness its real state, quality, and condition. This was not the character of Curran's argumentative powers. His professional habits as an advocate had accustomed him to look at the subject-matter of his reflections in one point of view alone, to see how far it was capable of answering his purpose or bearing his construction, to see not what it really was, but what he could make of it; and many of the circumstances that would have been most valuable to the philosopher or the judge, were sedulously kept out of view by the advocate.

This one-sided cast of his mind, whether originating in any peculiarity of mental construction, or induced by the habits of his profession, was probably the reason, why he who ably advocated the rights of others, gave so little satisfaction when he himself was afterwards called upon to decide.

The following is a good specimen of Curran's reasoning. It is found in the speech delivered by him on behalf of Henry Sheares. It was sworn upon the trial that Armstrong, the principal witness against Henry Sheares and his brother, was an admirer of Thomas Paine, and disbelieved in the existence of an after life.

"But, gentlemen, suppose I am mistaken in both points of my argument; suppose the prisoners, (if the evidence were true,) did compass the king's death and adhere to the king's enemies, what are you to found your verdict upon? Upon your oaths; what are they to be founded upon? Upon the oath of the witness; and what is that founded upon? Upon this, and this only, that he does believe that there is an eternal God, an intelligent supreme existence, capable of inflicting eternal punishment for offences, or conferring eternal compensation upon man after he has passed the boundaries of the grave. But when the witness believes he is possessed of a perishing soul, and that there is nothing upon which punishment or reward can be exerted, he proceeds regardless of the number of his offences, and undisturbed by the terrors of exhausted fancy, which might save you from the fear that your verdict is founded on perjury. I suppose he imagines that the body is actuated by some kind of animal machinery. I know not in what language to describe his notions. Suppose his opinion of the beautiful system framed by the Almighty hand to be, that it is all folly and blindness, compared to the manner in which he conceives himself to have been created, or his abominable heart conceives its ideas, or his tongue communicates his notions; Suppose him, I say, to think so, what is perjury to him? He needs no creed, if he thinks his miserable body can take eternal refuge in the grave, and the last puff of his nostrils can send his soul into annihilation. He laughs at the idea of eternal justice, and tells you that the grave into which he sinks as a log, forms an entrenchment against the throne of God, and the vengeance of exasperated justice. Do you not feel, my fellow countrymen, a sort of anticipated consolation in reflecting, that religion—which gave us comfort in our early days, enabled us to sustain the stroke of affliction, and endeared us to one another, when we see our friends sinking into the earth—fills us with the expectation that we rise again, that we but sleep for a while to wake for ever? But what kind of communion can you hold, what interchange expect, what confidence place in that abject slave, that



condemned, despaired of wretch, who acts under the idea that he is only the folly of a moment, that he cannot step beyond the threshold of the grave, that that which is an object of terror to the best, and of hope to the confiding, is to him contempt or despair. Bear with me, my countrymen. I feel my heart run away with me, the worst men only can be cool. What is the law of this country? If the witness does not believe in God or a future state, you cannot swear him. What swear him upon? Is it upon the book or the leaf? You might as well swear him upon a bramble or a coin. The ceremony of kissing is only the external symbol by which man seals himself to the precept and says, 'May God so help me as I swear the truth.' He is then attached to the divinity upon the condition of telling truth, and he expects mercy from heaven as he performs his undertaking. But the infidel; by what can you catch his soul, or by what can you hold it? You repulse him from giving evidence; for he has no conscience, no hope to cheer him, no punishment to dread."—*Page 409.*

Much injustice has been done to Curran's oratory, and many of its specimens lost in consequence of the meagre and imperfect reporting of the time. Some of the pieces in the volume before us, as we have already mentioned, are mere fragments, apparently taken down on tablets by the zeal of some delighted hearer. Those delivered upon the great criminal trials or judicial causes are the only ones that seem to have come down to us in their full integrity. But even in this mutilated condition he has been more fortunate than his great countryman and contemporary, Sheridan. The speeches of the latter that have been published, should rather be denominated abstracts, than reports; and while we are delighted with what has been preserved, we are at each page compelled to grieve over the irreparable loss to literature of the far greater portion that has perished, never to be restored. The collection of Sheridan's speeches is indeed more voluminous than that of Curran, but it is because he spoke more frequently, and therefore though much has perished, much also has survived. However different may have been their career, and the political and social spheres in which they moved, it is remarkable how similar has been the development of Irish genius in both. There is the same fund of inextinguishable humour, the same bursts of indignant feeling, and at times also the same soul-subduing pathos. We miss in the orator of the British senate many of those sublime passages that come upon us so powerfully in the

pages of the Irish advocate, and that alone would be a charter of immortality while the English remains a spoken tongue; but it is in some measure compensated by the mastery of language, and the faculty of its most felicitous adaptation which is the striking peculiarity of the oratory of Sheridan. The language of Curran is frequently grand, and powerful, and original, but sometimes also commonplace and irregular; that of Sheridan is ever flowing in an unbroken stream of the most finished elegance and the most abundant copiousness. It was no common power that could have merited the eulogy and commanded the admiration of such hearers as Burke, and Pitt, and Fox, as Sheridan is said to have done in his celebrated speech on the impeachment of Warren Hastings. With his other great contemporary Grattan, Curran bears little or no resemblance. In style, nothing can be more dissimilar than the two rival champions of Irish freedom. Grattan's style was peculiarly his own; formed on no living model, though one may indeed be found in the great Roman writer whose works are said to have been a favourite study of his youth. The great father of Irish independence never had recourse to those powers of ridicule and humour that seem to be the peculiar privilege of his countrymen, and of which the stern and majestic character of his mind was not perhaps susceptible. He did not condescend, as Curran often did, to confound his opponent by a joke, or cover him with ridicule, but demolished him in an instant by the weight and power of his argument. Nor were his thoughts expanded in the harmonious language and well-turned sentences, and copious expressiveness which the illustrious subject of our notice employed for the communication of his ideas; but with the brilliancy and rapidity and force of the lightning, the words flashed from his teeming brain, and fell like fire from heaven upon the heads of his opponents. Eloquence was with him no magic spell to win by soft persuasive strain the victims of error from their delusion, but a burning sword to smite them to the earth. Grattan was not an advocate to urge the claims of others to freedom, but one who urged his own, and spoke and felt as if the rights and liberties of millions were at issue in himself. He deports him not as a representative that was commissioned to argue, but as an apostle that was sent to dictate. Hence between him and Curran we can draw no parallel. In style, and position, and character,



we can discover no resemblance, save only in their sincere and enduring devotion, “their desperate fidelity” to the interests of that country, whose independence they watched over in its cradle and followed to its grave.

We wish to give some quotations, but really the most powerful and effective passages of Curran have become so well known, that were we to insert them, we fear some of our friends on meeting the well-known lines, may fancy they had opened by chance some pages of the “English Reader,” or “Practical Treatise on Elocution.” However, even at the risk of such a responsibility, we will present them with the peroration of Curran’s great speech for Hamilton Rowan. The noble exordium of this speech is so well known, and its resemblance with the oration of the Roman orator for Milo has been so often observed, that although it affords a most favourable example of his style, we can hardly venture to insert it.

The speech, which is one of great power, and in some parts of great sublimity, concludes with the following magnificent peroration. He had been alluding to those who had then recently been transported for sedition in Scotland.

“The severe law of that country it seems, and happy for them that it should, enables them to remove from their sight the victim of their infatuation. The more merciful spirit of our law deprives you of that consolation; his sufferings must remain for ever before your eyes, a continual call upon your shame and your remorse. But these sufferings will do more, they will not rest satisfied with your unavailing contrition; they will challenge the great and paramount inquest of society; the men will be weighed against the charge, the witness, and the sentence; and impartial justice will demand, why has an Irish jury done this deed? The moment he ceases to be regarded as a criminal, he becomes of necessity an accuser; and let me ask you, what can your most zealous defenders be prepared to answer to such a charge? when your sentence shall have sent him forth to that stage which guilt alone can render infamous; let me tell you, he will not be like a little statue upon a mighty pedestal diminishing by elevation, but he will stand a striking and imposing object upon a monument, which if it does not, (and it cannot,) record the atrocity of his crime, must record the atrocity of his conviction. Upon this subject, credit me when I say, that I am still more anxious for you, than I can possibly be for him. I cannot but feel the peculiarity of your situation. Not the jury of his own choice, which the law of England allows, but which ours refuses; collected in that box by a person certainly no

friend to Mr. Rowan—certainly, not very deeply interested in giving him a very impartial jury. Feeling this, as I am persuaded you do, you cannot be surprised, however you may be distressed, at the mournful presage with which an anxious public is led to fear the worst from your possible determination. But I will not, for the justice and honour of our common country, suffer my mind to be borne away by such melancholy anticipation. I will not relinquish the confidence that this day will be the period of his sufferings ; and however mercilessly he has been hitherto pursued, that your verdict will send him home to the arms of his family, and the wishes of his country. But if, which heaven forbid ! it hath still been unfortunately determined that, because he has not bent to power and authority, because he would not bow down before the golden calf, and worship it, he is to be bound and cast into the furnace—I do trust in God that there is a redeeming spirit in the constitution which will be seen to walk with the sufferer through the flames, and to preserve him unhurt by the conflagration.”—*Page 199.*

Our extracts hitherto exemplify the character of Curran's eloquence only in his quality of advocate. We shall confine ourselves to two others, each of which will present him to us in a different capacity. The first was spoken from the judicial bench in his celebrated decision of *Merry v. Power*, and has a peculiar interest for our readers, besides being but little known. It was an application to set aside a will, containing several Catholic legacies, on the ground of their being for superstitious purposes.

“It is said this will has been obtained by fraud practised by this ‘one John Power.’ I see no semblance of fact to sustain such a charge. Who does this ‘one John Power,’ a popish priest, turn out to be ? I find he is a Catholic clergyman, a doctor in divinity, and the titular archbishop in the diocese of Waterford. And yet I am now pressed to believe that this gentleman has obtained this will by fraud. Every fact now appearing repels the charge ; I cannot but say, that the personal character of the accused repels it still more strongly. Can I be brought, on grounds like those now before me, to believe that a man, having the education of a scholar, the habits of a religious life, and vested with so high a character in the ministry of the Gospel, could be capable of so detestable a profanation as is flung upon him ? Can I forget that he is a Christian bishop—clothed, not in the mere authority of a sect, but clothed in the indelible character of the episcopal order, suffering no diminution from his supposed heterodoxy, nor drawing any increase or confirmation from the merits of his conformity, should he think



proper to renounce what we think proper to call the errors of his faith? Can I bring my mind on slight, or rather on no grounds, to believe that he could so trample under his feet all the impressions of that education, of those habits, and of that high rank in the sacred ministry of the Gospel which he holds, as to sink to the odious iniquity imputed to him? Can I bring myself to believe such a man, at the dying-bed of his fellow-creature, would be capable with one hand of presenting the cross before his lifted eye, and with the other of basely thieving from him those miserable dregs of the world, of which his perfidious tongue was employed in teaching him a Christian estimate? I do not believe it. On the contrary, I am (as far as it belongs to me in this interlocutory way to judge of the fact) as perfectly convinced that the conduct of Dr. Power was what it ought to be, as I am that the testatrix is dead. But I am called on to interfere, it being a foolish bequest to superstitious and popish uses! I have looked into these bequests: I find the object of them is to provide shelter and comfortable support for poor helpless families, and clothes, and food, and instruction for poor orphan children. Would to God I could see more frequent instances of such bequests! Beautiful in the sight of God must it be, beautiful in the sight of man ought it to be, to see the dying Christian so employed—to see the last minutes of human life so spent in acts of gratuitous benevolence, or even of interested expiation. How can we behold such acts without regarding them as forming a claim to, as springing from a consciousness of immortality? In all ages, the hour of death has been considered as an interval of more than ordinary illumination; as if some rays from the light of the approaching world had found their way to the darkness of the parting spirit, and revealed to it an existence that could not terminate in the grave, but was to commence in death. But these uses are condemned as being not only superstitious, but popish uses. As to that, I must say that I feel no disposition to give any assistance even to the orthodox rapine of the living in defeating even the heterodox charity of the dead.”—*Page 585.*

The other quotation is from his last speech in the House of Commons, when the whigs had unfortunately for themselves, and disastrously for the country, resolved on absenting themselves from all future meetings of that body; and thus left the people completely at the mercy, if so it can be called, of a government that was determined to crush by military power, the last murmurs of popular freedom and remonstrance.

“The convention bill was passed to punish the meetings at Duggannon, and those of the Catholics; the government considered the Catholic concessions as defeats that called for vengeance, and cruelly have they avenged them. But did that act, or those which

followed them, put down those meetings? The contrary was the fact. It concealed them most foolishly. When popular discontents are abroad, a wise government should put them into a hive of glass. You hid them. The association at first was small; the earth seemed to drink it as a rivulet, but it only disappeared for a season. A thousand streams, through the secret windings of the earth, found their way to one course, and swelled its waters, until, at last, too mighty to be contained, it burst out into a great river, fertilizing by its exudations, or terrifying by its cataracts. This is the effect of our penal code; it swelled sedition into rebellion. What else could be hoped from a system of terrorism? Fear is the most transient of all the passions—it is the warning that nature gives for self-preservation. But when safety is unattainable, the warning must be useless; and nature does not, therefore, give it. The administration, therefore, mistook the quality of penal laws; they were sent out to abolish conventions, but they did not pass the threshold—they stood sentinels at the gates. You think that penal laws, like great dogs, will wag their tails at their masters, and bark only at their enemies. You are mistaken; they turn and devour those they are sent to protect, and are harmless where they are intended to destroy. I see gentlemen laugh—I see they are still very ignorant of the nature of fear; it cannot last, neither, while it does, can it be concealed. The feeble glimmering of a forced smile is a light that makes the cheek look paler. Trust me, the times are too humanized for such systems of government. Humanity will not execute them, but humanity will abhor them, and those who wish to rule by such means. This is not theory; the experiment has been tried and proved. You hoped much, and I doubt not, meant well by those laws; but they have miserably failed you. It is time to try milder methods, you have tried to force the people; the rage of your penal laws was a storm that only drove them in groups to shelter. Your convention law gave them that organization, which is justly an object of such alarm; and the very proclamation seems to have given them arms. Before it is too late, therefore, try the better force of reason, and conciliate them by justice and humanity.”—*Page 327.*

The style of Curran with all its merits has many faults. There is at times an inflated roundabout way of expressing the most common-place ideas, which contrasts strongly, and we grieve to say unfavourably, with the concise earnestness of his friend Grattan. Many of his words are scarcely English, and seem mere latinized versions of their more simple Saxon equivalents. There is at times also a rather ostentatious frequency of appeal to the Supreme Being, and an unnecessary introduction of his name, which to the more religious feeling of our days, ap-



pears to border on profaneness, and which no speaker of the present time would be at all warranted in using. Several of his images too, are of that horrible and disgusting character, that would be scarcely tolerated by our more chastened standard of taste and notions of propriety. The times in which they were employed, and the objects to which they were intended to refer, may be in some instances a more than sufficient justification. But the orator has in several instances, perhaps from habit, exceeded the necessary limits of his indulgence, and as we feel our flesh creep with horror and disgust at the picture he draws, we have often been compelled to ask incredulously what necessity there was for such an exertion of his power. Yet with all his faults, his imperfections, his occasional deviations from the standard of classic taste and propriety, no one who reads the volume before us, can avoid feeling the influence of his genius, or refuse to give his individual adhesion to that judgment which has placed him in the first rank among the orators of Ireland, and indeed of the world.

If any thing could increase our veneration for his character, or shed a nobler lustre round his name, it would be the sterling honesty and integrity of the man. His were disastrous times for public virtue, when men who loved their country not wisely but too well, had to expiate their patriotism in the dungeon, or atone for it on the scaffold, when the intellect that would have stimulated the national energy into activity, and the wisdom that would have guided its struggles, and the genius that would have conducted it to ultimate success in the great cause of freedom, were often extinguished in blood. Yet, in the darkest hour of his nation's history, the voice of Curran was often the only avenger of her wrongs, and when the faintest whisper of liberty was construed into disaffection, there was one at least who dared to speak and propound her claims. From the hour that he so fearlessly and heroically commenced his career by braving the frowns of power, and risking perhaps, the success of his profession in the advocacy of a poor Catholic priest against the petty tyranny of a titled aristocrat, he was ever the steady, consistent, unflinching enemy of oppression, and the devoted champion of the injured rights of humanity. There is not one of the speeches in the volume before us, and they extend over a public life of thirty years, that we would wish to have

recalled, or suppressed, or obliterated. They are as much proofs of the honesty and integrity of his heart, as they are monuments of the splendour of his genius. Was it that the dying benediction of the poor old priest whom he had so successfully and disinterestedly defended, was ever hovering round him, covering him as with a shield from the assaults of power and the offers of corruption, and sustaining him for many a long year in the same unflinching honesty of purpose; and when so many snares awaited, and so many perils surrounded, and so many flattering inducements were held out, preserving him to the last in the same generous devotion to justice and truth and virtue and freedom?

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- ART. II.—1. *Sulla Origine, Progresso, e Stato Attuale della Istituzione dei Sordo-Muti, Discorso Accademico, letto alla Tiberina di Roma.* Dall' Abate DOMINICO ZANELLI. Roma, 1843.
- 2.—*Prospectus of a "Catholic Institution for the Deaf and Dumb."* Dublin, 1846.
- 3.—*Twenty-ninth Report of the National Institution for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Children of the Poor in Ireland.* Dublin, 1845.
- 4.—*Twenty-first Annual Report of the Juvenile Association for promoting the Education of the Deaf and Dumb Poor of Ireland.* Dublin, 1845.
- 5.—*Special Report of the Juvenile Association for promoting the Education of the Deaf and Dumb Poor of Ireland.* Dublin, 1845.
- 6.—*Norman Lyndesay; or, the Orphan Mute.* Dublin, 1841.
- 7.—*The Children of Sorrow; a Tale, by a Member of the Juvenile Association for promoting the Education of the Deaf and Dumb.* Fourth Edition. Dublin, 1845.
- 8.—*The Lost Senses: Deafness.* By JOHN KITTO, D. D. (In Knight's "Weekly Volume.") London, 1845.



9.—*The Lost Senses: Blindness.* By JOHN KITTO, D. D.  
London, 1845.

FROM the long train of titles prefixed to this article, it must not be inferred that we propose to enter into the general questions connected with the education of the Deaf and Dumb. Our sole object in the following pages, is to bring under the notice of the Catholic body the unhappy and anomalous condition of the deaf and dumb poor of our own community.

To those who know the number and the comparative munificence of the Catholic charitable institutions of our metropolis, it has long been a matter of painful surprise that they do not comprise any provision, or any attempt towards a provision, for the wants of this most helpless of all classes of dependants upon the benevolence of their fellow-men. For almost every other form of destitution we have provided—for many of them amply and honourably; but our deaf-mute children have been left, year after year, to the precarious chances of casual charity, or, what is far worse, have been handed over without reserve to the care of an active and well-organized association, which ministers, it is true, to the physical wants of the Catholic applicants, but only at the price of those cherished principles of faith, which we are taught to prize beyond every earthly consideration.

Few, very few, we are sure, are aware of the extent to which this unhappy bereavement prevails in Ireland.\* In the absence, too, of minute statistical returns specifying the religion of each individual, it is impossible to speak with certainty or precision as to the number of Catholics thus afflicted: but, using the data which have been collected, and assuming, as may fairly be done, that this visitation falls upon members of the several communions in the actual proportion of their respective numbers, there is every reason to believe that the committee, who have been for some time engaged in preliminary enquiries with

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\* "There have been instances of three, four, and even five in a family; and two cases in which *nine were born successively, all so afflicted.* Some time ago in the parish of S—, County Donegal, there was a family in which three daughters were all so afflicted: this latter case came under the author's almost personal observation, and he could give their names, were it not from delicacy towards their relatives, who, *as well as, he believes, the unhappy creatures themselves,* are still living. They were the daughters of a late Presbyterian minister of the parish."—*The Children of Sorrow*, p. 6.

a view to the organization of a Catholic Deaf and Dumb Institution, do not overstate the number of Catholic deaf-mutes in Ireland, when they allege in their prospectus that "they amount to several thousands." It is a melancholy, and indeed a humiliating reflection for the Catholic body, that, whether it be from indifference or inadvertence, they have for years suffered so many of their fellow-catholics to remain in the all but physical impossibility of receiving instruction, even in the very first principles of religion and morality.

We are willing to believe that this strange and lamentable oversight has been the result of inadvertence rather than of indifference. It was known that there *did* exist an Association for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb of Ireland, and that Catholics were admissible, and were in point of fact admitted, as pupils of this Institution. The existence of this Institution, which was supposed to supply all that was required, and to meet at least the most pressing exigencies of the case, had the effect, we will presume, of diverting attention from the question. It was known that the establishment afforded a ready asylum to the Catholic pupil as well as to the Protestant. But it was *not* known, and cannot have been known, that the price exacted from the former in return for the pittance of support and of instruction which he received, was the surrender of every principle of the religion in which he was born; that his heart was industriously filled with hatred and contempt of the practices which his parents would have taught him to venerate and love; and that, while his mind was still plastic and susceptible, the opportunities afforded by the helplessly dependant condition of his intellect, were so sedulously improved in filling it with prejudice, as to render the task of removing them in after life utterly and hopelessly impracticable. Although these facts have long been known to all whom duty or inclination may have induced to examine into the management of the Claremont Institution; yet the apparent unconsciousness which has so long prevailed among the Catholic community—the absence of anything like an effort to counteract these evils by the formation of a rival institution on a liberal footing—and, above all, the vast number of names, clearly and unmistakeably Catholic, which appear upon the list of its pupils, seem to show that its real



character has never been fully known to the public at large.

If therefore, under present circumstances, we feel it a duty to undeceive the public as to the nature of the education which a Catholic deaf-mute pupil may be expected to receive under the auspices of the existing institutions, we trust we shall not be supposed to write in any hostile or acrimonious spirit. While we are willing to give the patrons and conductors of the National Association credit for upright and honourable motives, we are bound, in justice to ourselves, to show that their views of religion and of benevolence are of such a character that no Catholic can, without compromise of his principles, avail himself, or permit another over whom he has control, to avail himself, of the instruction which they offer. We shall confine ourselves to a bare statement of the facts which we think necessary to be known, without troubling ourselves to examine or to judge the motives in which they may have originated.

The National Institution for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Children has been in existence for thirty years. The number of pupils (who are not admissible except between the ages of eight and twelve,) on the establishment during the past year was one hundred and twenty-five; and although this number cannot be taken as an average for the earlier years, yet it will at least afford some means of estimating the total number who must have passed through the institution since its first foundation. It is supported entirely by voluntary contributions; the system of collection appears to be extremely well organized and conducted; and the energy and zeal which the association evinces, exhibit in humiliating contrast the apathy and lukewarmness which have hitherto marked the proceedings of the Catholic body. Branches of the parent association, under careful direction, have been formed in almost every district; in most places there are two—an Adult and a Juvenile Association. The duty of collecting subscriptions in each of these districts is still farther subdivided; and though the items are frequently of the very smallest, yet the total amounts in the end to a very considerable sum, by the judicious expenditure of which the managers are enabled to effect a great deal. The institution is professedly national; pupils are received indiscriminately from every part of Ireland, and from every creed;

neither in its name nor in its avowed objects is there any thing exclusive or sectarian; subscriptions and donations are solicited and received indiscriminately from Protestants and Catholics;\* there is no evidence either in the original constitution of the institute, or in its fundamental laws, or (as far as can be gathered from the published bye-laws, whether of the original Association,<sup>†</sup> or of the Juvenile Association,<sup>‡</sup>) that the profession of Protestantism is an indispensable condition for admission to the Asylum, or even that care will be taken to instil its principles into the pupils. In one word, as far as meets the public eye, there is nothing in the constitution of the National Institution for the education of the Deaf and Dumb Poor of Ireland to create an apprehension that the religious principles of a Catholic deaf-mute will be perilled by his being placed therein.

But what are the facts?

From the first moment the unhappy Catholic child enters the asylum, his fate, as far as the provisions of the institute can effect it, is irrevocably sealed. Not only is there no provision for his being instructed in the Catholic faith—not only is he debarred from the natural opportunities of procuring such instruction; but, on the contrary, no exertion is spared to secure the contrary end. All the pupils are required to attend prayers and public service in common: and this is the service of the Church of England. All are required to use the Bible, without note or comment, and, we believe, in the authorised version; all are exercised alike in the Church Catechism: in a word, the instruction provided is exclusively Protestant, and it is enforced upon the Catholic child, as well as upon those for whom it was primarily intended.

But this is not all. Judging from numberless cases which have come to our knowledge, and the particulars of which are withheld solely because they involve individuals, whose feelings, humble though they be, are entitled to respectful consideration, we have no hesitation in saying, that a *peculiar* instruction is provided for the unhappy Catholic pupil, and this not merely *uncatholic*, but *anti-*

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\* See both Reports, and the Subscription Lists generally. We have ourselves known many instances in which Catholics were applied to; and have heard the refusal to subscribe stigmatized as gross bigotry. At the same time it is right to add, that the funds are mainly contributed by Protestants.

† See Report, pp. 13, 14.

‡ Report, pp. 4, 5.



catholic in the highest degree. We have in our possession the names and residence of several children, who, within a few years past, have returned to their parents, not merely ignorant of the principles of the Catholic faith, but carefully armed with all the popular Protestant difficulties against its doctrines; not only uninstructed in the tenets which Catholics really profess, but filled with the grossest and most absurd misrepresentations of them, and taught to loathe and detest the doctrines which have been thus misrepresented to them. And we are assured by a member of the provisional committee of the proposed Catholic Deaf and Dumb Institution, that the answering of the many Catholic deaf-mutes trained at Claremont, who have been brought before them, was such as plainly to show that infinitely more pains had been taken to instil into their minds the objections of Protestants against the Catholic religion, than to impress upon them the great mysteries of Christianity, and to fill their hearts with gratitude to God and charity to their fellow-men.

Indeed, it is easy to collect even from the few meagre publications of the institution, that this picture is not exaggerated. The tenor of the letters of the children appended to the Reports, and of other little works issued by the society, is such as to show that they have been carefully taught to entertain on the great questions of faith and works, on the sufficiency of the Bible, &c. &c. all the peculiar doctrines of the Calvinistic school. The reader who is conversant with the language of this school, will easily discover its principles, even in such faint indications as those publications supply. The children are taught that "it is only by faith in Christ they can be saved, and exhorted to *throw away their own good works*, their repentance and their good resolutions, for that these could never take away sin,"\* that "the wicked shall be turned into hell, but *the believer* will have deliverance from the bondage of corruption unto the glorious liberty of the children of God."† They are taught to look to the Bible alone for the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ.‡ They are trained up in the vulgar prejudices as to the ignorance, and irreligion, and uncharitableness of the centuries which

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\* The Children of Sorrow, p. 30.

† Letter of Jeremiah Johnstone; Report, p. 39.

‡ Ibid, p. 41.

preceded the Reformation, and taught to look to that epoch for the revival of the charitable and benevolent spirit which had been lost in the formation of the ages which went before. They are taught "that the revival of Greek and Roman learning, on the ruins of monastic and legendary lore, which preceded a more stupendous reformation, paved the way for *returning reason long lost amid the subtleties which, in the dark ages were called learning and divinity*; that the mind of man rose like a giant from his sleep, disenthralled from the subjection and sway of ignorance, and with the zeal of a new and delightful sensation, sought eagerly and enthusiastically after that coveted knowledge so long hidden in funereal darkness. Each student thirsted after something new; until at length the wonders of earth and the mercies of heaven were revealed to the wondering gaze of man. It was at the period when these new sympathies were excited, these new faculties sharpened, these new hopes aroused, and these new charities invigorated, that man found the mute his fellow, and sought to raise his intellect to the high level to which he himself now aspired."\*

We shall add one other extract in evidence of the unhappy spirit which seems to animate the instruction supplied to the pupils of the Claremont Institution. It is the letter of a little girl who has been an inmate of the school since the year 1842. We have no means of judging whether she was born of Catholic parents, except from the name, *Honorina Dineen*, which seems to be unequivocally Irish, and would therefore supply *prima facie* evidence that she was a Catholic when placed in the institution. The letter, which is found in the Appendix of the Report for the present year,† is as follows:

"Clergymen pray to God in Church on Sabbath days; we pray to God morning and evening; *we do not pray to Idols*; I do not go to Church every week, but every other week; we must worship God; we pray for food, and clothes, and health, and grace. The Bible is God's word; Clergymen, ladies and poor people, must worship God. People do not work on Sundays; we kneel down in our bed-room and pray to God and His Son Jesus Christ in heaven; people should not dance on Sundays; we should learn good things;

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\* "Norman Lyndesay, or the Orphan Mute," p. 74.

† Ibid, pp. 61—2.



many girls like to go to Church on the Sabbath."—HONORIA DINEEN. *Report*, pp. 41, 42.

Now it is quite possible that we may be mistaken in our conjecture, and that the reports which we have received from various quarters, and the facts which have fallen under our own knowledge, may have rendered us oversensitive and unduly alive to the slightest indications of the spirit of which we complain. If this be really so, we shall heartily rejoice to find ourselves undeceived; but, with our present knowledge, we feel perfectly convinced that the words in the poor child's letter marked in italics, were suggested by an impression which had been created in her unsuspecting mind, *that papists did pray to idols*. The contrast which she attempts to convey must either regard papists or heathens; there is nothing in the letter to indicate the latter, on the contrary, the whole context seems to regard christian worship; and when we remember that this, above all others, is the favourite charge which is laid at the door of popery, we cannot resist the conviction that the papists, and papists alone, are the object of this poor, unsuspecting child's mistaken allusion.

It is unnecessary to go farther in order to show that a Catholic child placed in the care of the existing institution, is exposed not alone to the danger, but to the moral certainty of sacrificing his religious belief. If there be any one sceptical enough to doubt the result, we would refer him, almost at random, to any Catholic clergyman whom he may chance to meet. There are very few whose experience will not furnish some melancholy example of perversion through the instrumentality of this establishment. Above all, we would refer him to the members of the committee already alluded to, for details too melancholy, and too painful to individuals, to be brought forward here.

It may be supposed that the impressions thus created are of a passing kind, and that, when the pupil shall have returned to the care of his family, and to the charge of his own clergyman, a brief intercourse with Catholics and an easy course of instruction under the direction of his pastor, will be sufficient to undeceive him. Alas, those who would palliate their indifference to present danger by such hopes as these, know little of the difficulty of eradicating first impressions, and still less of the twofold difficulty which the condition of the deaf-mute places in the way.

It is hardly necessary to say that the difficulty of communicating with the deaf-mute which is inseparable from their unhappy condition, and which exists even when the subject is natural and can be apprehended by the senses, is tenfold increased when the subject of communication is of an abstruse, and especially of a spiritual character. Even with all the advantages afforded by an established and understood system of conventional language, the task is one requiring the greatest delicacy and the most inexhaustible patience on the part of the trained instructor. An ordinary teacher, uninitiated in the system, can hardly hope for success. Dr. Kitto mentions the case of an intelligent American lady, who had been much in the world, at a mature age, and who became a pupil in the American Asylum: she stated, after instruction, that her friends had taken great pains to give her *some idea of God*, but that all she had been able to apprehend was, that *this name belonged to a number of strong men living beyond the sky, who printed the bible and sent it to us*. The idea that the world must have had a creator, never occurred to her, nor to any other of several intelligent pupils of similar age and with equal advantages for acquiring ideas of religious truths.\* One of these pupils ascribed every change of the weather to her parents, and called upon them to make it agreeable to her wishes, and vented her passion upon them when disappointed. Another very interesting pupil had never had an idea of the existence of a Supreme Being. One of the first questions he proposed to his instructress was, whether she had made the sun and moon. Another individual who having been born deaf-mute, attained, in some unexplained way, to the use of speech, when he had reached his twenty-fourth year, was found in a state of utter ignorance of religion—his mind a perfect blank as regarded God, the human soul, and the moral distinction of good and evil. And yet he had frequented church and done what he saw others do there.

The Abate Zanelli, in explaining the imperfect and unsatisfactory notions on religious subjects entertained by uninstructed deaf-mutes, mentions several analagous examples. A very intelligent pupil of the Roman institution, observing, a considerable time after his entrance, a crucifix and several other representations of the passion

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\* "The Lost Senses: Deafness," p. 200.



of our Lord, asked, whether “He was not a robber, that he had been thus punished by the soldiery?” So a little girl, who had been piously instructed by her own family, and appeared to show every outward mark of devotion, was found to entertain very similar ideas; and a third admitted, after she had been educated in the institution, that although she had often been told of a future state of rewards and punishments, yet, “when in order to indicate hell, they pointed to a place under ground, and made horns, she imagined they meant, not hell, but the cellar where the wine was kept; and when, to represent heaven, they pointed upwards to the sky, she never once imagined that this meant paradise, for she could not conceive how any human being could go up thither.”\*

Still more remarkable is the case of the celebrated Massieu, the pupil of the Abbe Sicard. The notions which he had formed in the early years of his bereavement, are recorded in his after conversations. We shall transcribe a portion of these conversations, which Dr. Kitto has introduced into his most interesting volume. We should have done so, however, with much more satisfaction, had Dr. K. had the good taste, when writing upon such a subject, to spare the observation regarding Catholic countries, which he has thought proper to introduce.

“‘What were you thinking about while your father made you remain on your knees?’

“‘About the heavens.’

“‘With what view did you address to it a prayer?’

“‘To make it descend at night to the earth, in order that the plants which I had planted might grow, and that the sick might be restored to health.’

“‘Was it with ideas, words, or sentiments, that you composed your prayer?’

“‘It was the heart that made it. I did not yet know either words, or their meaning, or value.’

“‘What did you feel in your heart?’

“‘Joy, when I found that the plants and fruits grew. Grief, when I saw their injury by the hail, and that my parents still remained sick.’

“At these last words of his answer, Massieu made many signs, which expressed anger and menaces. The fact, as I have been informed (says the narrator,) was, that during his mother’s illness,

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\* Sulla Origine, Progresso, e Stato Attuale, &c. pp. 32—3.

he used to go out every evening to pray to a particular star, that he had selected for its beauty, for her restoration ; but finding that she got worse, he was enraged, and pelted stones at the star.

“ ‘Is it possible that you menaced the heavens?’ said we, with astonishment.

“ ‘Yes.’

“ ‘But from what motive?’

“ ‘Because I thought that I could not get at it, to beat it and kill it, for causing all these disasters, and not curing my parents.’

“ ‘Had you no fear of irritating it?’

“ ‘I was not then acquainted with my good master, Sicard, and I was ignorant what this heaven was. It was not until a year after my education was commenced, that I had any fear of being punished by it.’

“ ‘Did you give any figure or form to the heavens?’

“ ‘My father had made me look at a large statue, which was in the church of my country. It represented an old man with a long beard ; he held a globe in his hand. I thought he lived above the sun.’

“ ‘From this it would seem that the constant references of people upwards in worship and in connection with religious sentiments, had led him into some vague notions of a ruling or influencing power in the body of the heavens ; which eventually resolved itself into an anthropomorphous idea of God, derived from the statue, whether that were the statue of a saint, or one of those representations of the Divine Being, which are but too common in many Roman Catholic countries. The facts of his dim perceptions on these subjects, as stated, are curious from the manner in which they touch at some points in the old pagan idolatries.—The conversation proceeded :—

“ ‘Did you know who made the ox, the horse, etc.?’

“ ‘No : but I was curious to see them spring up. Often I went to hide myself in the dykes, to watch the heaven descending upon the earth, for the growth of beings. I wished much to see this.’

“ ‘What were your thoughts when M. Sicard made you trace, for the first time, words with letters?’

“ ‘I thought that the words were the images of the objects I saw around me. I learned them by memory with the utmost ardour. When I first learned the word of God, written with chalk on a board, I looked at it very often, for I believed that God caused death, and I feared him very much.’

“ ‘What idea had you then of death?’

“ ‘That it was the cessation of motion, of sensation, of chewing, of the softness of the skin, and of the flesh.’”—*pp.* 189—191.

From these and a thousand similar facts, which it would be easy to produce, it will be seen that even under the most favourable circumstances, the mind of a deaf-



mute who has not been regularly instructed is, as regards religious knowledge, an utter blank. The first impressions made upon such a mind will, of course, be extremely vivid; for the desire—the absolute yearning—after instruction, is, in many cases, almost beyond conception. Nothing could be more moving than the descriptions given in after years by some of these unhappy beings, of the unwilling ignorance to which they felt themselves condemned. One poor boy “used to watch the motion of the sun, moon, and stars, the growth of plants, and the various natural appearances which bespeak the hand of an over-ruling power, until his tears had flowed because he could not comprehend the cause of all.” Another thought that the stars were placed in the firmament “like grates of fire, and that the moon at night was like a great furnace of fire.” He did not know how they were made; but his anxious speculations led him to believe that people like himself above the firmament kindled the moon and the stars. But he thought the world was little and round like a table, and felt great curiosity to go to the end of it. Now it is natural to suppose, that the views, whether for right or for wrong, for evil or for good, impressed upon a mind, at once so blank and so ready to receive them, must adhere with a proportionate tenacity. And unhappily there are but too many instances, among the Catholic pupils of the Claremont Institution, which more than justify the worst anticipations. We have learned by enquiry in various quarters, that it is all but impossible to eradicate the in-ground protestantism which they carry home even after a brief residence, and we have in our possession many painful and melancholy details of the misery and remorse which weak or ill-advised parents have brought upon themselves, and of the hopeless wretchedness which they introduced into their homes, by exposing their unsuspecting and unprotected children to a peril under which even the strongest might have fallen.

Hitherto, however, we have been considering the subject in the lowest possible point of view. But we should be far from discharging our duty to this afflicted portion of our fellow-countrymen, were we to content ourselves with guarding against the peril which is described in the foregoing pages. We should manifest but an imperfect sense of the blessings which we enjoy in the knowledge and observance of our holy religion, unless we felt it a duty to

secure for the deaf-mute of our own communion, over and above the exemption from a positive contamination of their religious principles, a full participation in all its practical consolations and advantages. It would not be enough, for example, to secure for a pupil in the Claremont Institution, or any institution similarly conducted, the most perfect freedom from molestation on the score of religion, and the most complete security against any interference with the integrity of his faith; leaving the rest to be effected in after years by the exertions of his own natural guardians, or by the supervision of his own clergyman. In the case of other children a system such as this may be found free from practical objection; but the condition of the deaf-mute renders it absolutely essential, that in order to be instructed efficiently, he shall be instructed by a teacher regularly trained for the purpose. It is absolutely essential, therefore, that the institution shall be under purely Catholic management; that the children shall be habituated from their first entrance, to the peculiar practices and observances of their religion; that they shall be taught to know and feel their excellence, by those who themselves can feel and appreciate it; and above all that, if this be possible, their instructors shall be impelled and animated by motives higher and more ennobling than the "suitable salary," and the "board, lodging, and accommodation," which, at least in ordinary cases, constitute the alpha and omega of the machinery by which the work of instruction is carried on in these countries. In one word, we must provide for the religious education of our Catholic deaf-mute children, an institution and a system similar to those which are in operation in France, in Austria, and in Italy, in which religious knowledge is made the basis, and every other instruction is directed to the furtherance of this one all-important end.

Those who are unacquainted with the extent and activity of the spirit of charity in the Catholic states of the continent, may be surprised to learn that in Italy there are as many as fourteen independent establishments for the deaf and dumb, and in France no less than thirty-two. Not only do we find institutions in the larger capitals, as Rome, Naples, Genoa, Milan, and Turin,\* but also in the comparatively inconsiderable cities, as Parma, Pisa, Verona,

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\* Turin has two distinct establishments.



Modena, Cremona, Siena. Of the system pursued in these establishments, especially as regards the religious education of the pupils, it is impossible to speak too highly.

No person who has visited the Deaf and Dumb schools of Rome, of Geneva, and of Naples, can fail to remember the tender and anxious solicitude for the religious interests of the pupils which they exhibit. Notwithstanding Dr. Kitto's insinuation as to the effect of the use of images in producing gross and material, and anthropomorphous, ideas of God in the minds of the young deaf-mute, we can ourselves testify to the extent and accuracy of the information on religious subjects displayed by these interesting children. Their exercises of piety and devotion, although (of course) conducted in a manner accommodated to them, are in substance the same as those of any other collegiate institution. They have morning and night prayer in common; they are trained to meditate on the great mysteries of religion, and the leading duties of Christian morality; they assist daily at the adorable sacrifice of the mass; they approach the sacraments at frequent and stated intervals, confessions being received by one of the clergymen of the institution, who is regularly practised in the conventional manual language, which they are taught to employ; and (what is still more remarkable,) it has been found not only practicable, but useful, to accustom them to the occasional observance of Spiritual Retreat after the plan of the Exercises of St. Ignatius, though of a short duration and very simple in its form, as well as in the subjects proposed for meditation.\*

The religious instruction of the children in these establishments is either actually conducted, or at least superintended, by pious associations instituted for this or similar works of mercy, and the fruits of their unbought and disinterested zeal are discernible in the tenderness and almost parental kindness with which they minister to all the wants of these little dependants upon their charity.

On a plan very similar to the institutions which exist in Italy, are the Catholic deaf-mute establishments of France, which are extremely numerous and most liberally pro-

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\* The writer of these pages was once present at the exercises of a Spiritual Retreat for the Deaf and Dumb, in an Italian community. The fervour and recollection of the little pupils were in the highest degree edifying and consoling.

vided. The character of all will be known from a single example—that of Caen in Normandy. This admirable institution forms but one among the many works of charity to which the great religious community of the *Bon Sauveteur* in that city is devoted. The members of this community are about two hundred in number, and combine the duties of Sisters of Charity and Mercy, and the education of young females, with the care of the deaf and dumb. The house has grown to its present flourishing condition mainly through the exertions of a venerable clergyman, who died about two years since, but whose name will long be cherished in France—the pious and learned Abbé Jannet. His career of usefulness was prolonged far beyond the average duration of human life, and his recollections extended back far into the last century. He was a witness of all the horrors of the Revolution, and even in its most perilous period he never deserted the post which he had selected for himself, having laboured for above fifty years in his charitable vocation. The exertions of this inestimable priest were zealously seconded, during the latter years of his life, by one of those rare men whom Providence raises up from time to time for the fulfilment of its own wise ends—the generous and benevolent M. Gruel, formerly a magistrate, and a man of great wealth and influence. Many years since M. Gruel resigned his employments in order to devote himself and his property, without restriction and without reserve, to the work of educating the deaf and dumb. With this view he was named honorary professor of the institution, and has visited almost every similar institution in the world, for the purpose of borrowing from each every detail of improvement which might tend to perfect the system adopted in the establishment at Caen. His labours are said to have been eminently successful, and we have heard the present system of the house under his management described as all but perfect.

We have been thus particular in alluding to the establishment at Caen, because we learn from the prospectus of the new institution, that it is proposed to connect it with the parent house at Caen, as a preparatory place of training. Members of a religious community in Ireland have already been sent to the house at Caen, in order to be trained in the method of instructing the deaf and dumb; and it is hoped that within a few months arrangements



may be made for opening the female department of the school, after which it is proposed to follow a similar course for the establishment of a male deaf and dumb school under the care of a religious community of men, similarly trained and instructed.

It is unnecessary for us, we trust, to say a word more in recommendation of the claims of this undertaking upon the support of every right-minded Catholic. We feel convinced that it is only necessary to make it known, in order to ensure abundant support and sympathy; and we are happy to find from the outline of the plan supplied by the prospectus, that the arrangements contemplated are so practical and so reasonable, as to leave little doubt that the organization will be complete and effective.

Without dwelling further, therefore, upon this subject, important though it be, we shall employ the rest of the space which remains at our disposal, in a brief notice of a little work, the title of which will be found at the head of this article, and which contains a vast store of most interesting information on the subject which we have been considering. We refer to Dr. Kitto's *Lost Senses*. These unpretending essays form part of Mr. *Knight's Weekly Volume*, and are the production of an author, whom we cannot but regard as, in many respects, among the most remarkable men of our day—Dr. Kitto, editor of "The Pictorial Bible," "The Pictorial Palestine," "Biblical Antiquities," and several other scriptural publications. Although we are far from sympathizing with his religious opinions, yet it is impossible to deny to him the praise of great learning and industry, and of an accomplished and well cultivated mind. In a student who had enjoyed the ordinary opportunities of self-culture, these attainments would not be worthy of any special admiration. But Dr. Kitto's case is extremely remarkable, inasmuch as though his organs of speech are unimpaired, he has since his twelfth year been reduced, (at least practically,) by deafness, almost to the condition of the deaf-mute from infancy. The accident which led to this calamity is described by him in the volume on Deafness, to which we have more than once alluded. We shall give the account in his own words, only premising that he was, at the time of this occurrence, acting in the capacity of assistant to his father, who was engaged as "a jobbing mason."

“The circumstances of that day—the last of twelve years of hearing, and the first of twenty-eight years of deafness—have left a more distinct impression upon my mind than those of any previous, or almost any subsequent, day of my life. It was a day to be remembered. The last day on which any customary labour ceases,—the last day on which any customary privilege is enjoyed,—the last day on which we do the things we have done daily, are always marked days in the calendar of life; how much, therefore, must the mind not linger in the memories of a day which was the last of many blessed things, and in which one stroke of action and suffering,—one moment of time, wrought a greater change of condition, than any sudden loss of wealth or honours ever made in the state of man. Wealth may be recovered, and new honours won, or happiness may be secured without them; but there is no recovery, no adequate compensation, for such a loss as was on that day sustained. The wealth of sweet and pleasurable sounds with which the Almighty has filled the world,—of sounds modulated by affection, sympathy, and earnestness,—can be appreciated only by one who has so long been thus poor indeed in the want of them, and who for so many weary years has sat in utter silence amid the busy hum of populous cities, the music of the woods and mountains, and, more than all, of the voices sweeter than music, which are in the winter season heard around the domestic hearth.

“On the day in question, my father and another man, attended by myself, were engaged in new slating the roof of a house, the ladder ascending to which was fixed in a small court paved with flag stones. The access to this court from the street was by a paved passage, through which ran a gutter, whereby waste water was conducted from the yard into the street.

“Three things occupied my mind that day. One was that the town-crier, who occupied part of the house in which we lived, had been the previous evening prevailed upon to entrust me with a book, for which I had long been worrying him, and with the contents of which I was most eager to become acquainted. I think it was ‘Kirby’s Wonderful Magazine;’ and I now dwell the rather upon this circumstance, as, with other facts of the same kind, it helps to satisfy me that I was already a most voracious reader, and that the calamity which befel me did not create in me the literary appetite, but only threw me more entirely upon the resources which it offered.

“The other circumstance was that my grandmother had finished, all but the buttons, a new smock-frock, which I had hoped to have assumed that very day, but which was faithfully promised for the morrow. As this was the first time that I should have worn that article of attire, the event was contemplated with something of that interest and solicitude with which the assumption of the *togo virilis* may be supposed to have been contemplated by the Roman youth.



“The last circumstance, and the one perhaps which had some effect upon what ensued, was this. In one of the apartments of the house in which we were at work, a young sailor, of whom I had some knowledge, had died after a lingering illness, which had been attended with circumstances which the doctors could not well understand. It was, therefore, concluded that the body should be opened to ascertain the cause of death. I knew this was to be done, but not the time appointed for the operation. But on passing from the street into the yard, with a load of slates which I was to take to the house-top, my attention was drawn to a stream of blood, or rather, I suppose, bloody water, flowing through the gutter by which the passage was traversed. The idea that this was the blood of the dead youth, whom I had so lately seen alive, and that the doctors were then at work cutting him up and groping at his inside, made me shudder, and gave what I should now call a shock to my nerves, although I was very innocent of all knowledge about nerves at that time. I cannot but think it was owing to this that I lost much of the presence of mind and collectedness so important to me at that moment; for when I had ascended to the top of the ladder, and was in the critical act of stepping from it on to the roof, I lost my footing, and fell backward, from a height of about thirty-five feet, into the paved court below.

“Of what followed I know nothing: and as this is the record of my own sensations, I can here record nothing but that which I myself know. For one moment, indeed, I awoke from that death-like state, and then found that my father, attended by a crowd of people, was bearing me homeward in his arms: but I had then no recollection of what had happened, and at once relapsed into a state of unconsciousness.

“In this state I remained for a fortnight, as I afterwards learned. These days were a blank in my life, I could never bring any recollections to bear upon them; and when I awoke one morning to consciousness, it was as from a night of sleep. I saw that it was at least two hours later than my usual time of rising, and marvelled that I had been suffered to sleep so late. I attempted to spring up in bed, and was astonished to find that I could not even move. The utter prostration of my strength subdued all curiosity within me. I experienced no pain, but I felt that I was weak; I saw that I was treated as an invalid, and acquiesced in my condition, though some time passed—more time than the reader would imagine, before I could piece together my broken recollections so as to comprehend it.

“I was very slow in learning that my hearing was entirely gone. The unusual stillness of all things was grateful to me in my utter exhaustion; and if in this half-awakened state, a thought of the matter entered my mind, I ascribed it to the unusual care and success of my friends in preserving silence around me. I saw them talking indeed to one another, and thought that, out of regard to

my feeble condition, they spoke in whispers, because I heard them not. The truth was revealed to me in consequence of my solicitude about the book which had so much interested me in the day of my fall. It had, it seems, been reclaimed by the good old man who had sent it to me, and who doubtless concluded, that I should have no more need of books in this life. He was wrong; for there has been nothing in this life which I have needed more. I asked for this book with much earnestness, and was answered by signs which I could not comprehend.

“‘Why do you not speak?’ I cried; ‘Pray let me have the book.’

“This seemed to create some confusion; and at length some one, more clever than the rest, hit upon the happy expedient of writing upon a slate, that the book had been reclaimed by the owner, and that I could not in my weak state be allowed to read.

“‘But,’ I said in great astonishment, ‘why do you write to me, why not speak? Speak, speak.’

“Those who stood around the bed exchanged significant looks of concern, and the writer soon displayed upon his slate the awful words—‘YOU ARE DEAF.’”—*pp.* 7—12.

This injury of the organ, notwithstanding the efforts made to relieve the sufferer, proved complete and permanent. The sense of hearing was as entirely extinguished as it would be in a born deaf-mute, and the sensations which accompanied this bereavement may be supposed to be precisely the same as those experienced by one who had been deaf from infancy. Dr. Kitto's account of his condition, therefore, has a double interest. The cases of individuals who, having been born deaf and dumb, acquired in after-life the use of the faculty of speech, are extremely rare; and none of these appears to have left any regular record of his sensations. Of the son of Cræsus mentioned by Herodotus,\* (even supposing that the story is not apocryphal,) we know nothing but that he suddenly obtained and retained permanently the use of his speech in circumstances of great excitement. There is also a case mentioned in the *Memoirs of the Academie des Sciences* for 1703, of a youth who was dumb till he reached his twenty-fourth year; and Dr. Kitto mentions another boy named David Fraser, who, in his seventeenth year, on recovering from an attack of fever, found that his hearing had returned during his illness, and in a few weeks afterwards began to speak. Besides these and a few similar cases, in which the acquisition of

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\* *Clio*, cap. lxxxv.



speech appears to have arisen from natural or accidental circumstances, the Abate Zanelli enumerates other more remarkable instances, where the pupil was literally *taught* to speak. As if to show that the art of training the deaf-mute was destined to attain its full perfection even in its very infancy, we are told this of some of the pupils of the celebrated Spanish Benedictine, Pedro Ponce, the first who actually reduced deaf-mute education to a regular and systematic scheme. "I have had pupils," writes this father of the art, "deaf and dumb from their birth, whom I taught to speak, to read, to write, keep accounts, pray, serve at mass, answer in the catechism, and make their confession in words and *viva voce*; some I have instructed in Latin, others in Greek and in Italian: nay, I even had one who received priesthood, was promoted to an ecclesiastical office and benefice, and was able to recite the canonical hours; and this pupil, as well as some others, went so far as to learn even natural philosophy and astronomy."\*

He subjoins several more recent and equally extraordinary instances. "On occasion of Pius VII.'s visit to Paris, he inspected the Deaf and Dumb Institution of the Abbé Sicard; he was addressed, *viva voce*, by a female deaf-mute, who had been trained to speak. The Abate Assarotti of Genoa, after three years of arduous and almost incredible application, invited the citizens to a public exhibition, at which one of his deaf-mute pupils read aloud a most affecting address upon the question, 'What were we three years since?' The progress made in Italy at the present day may be collected from the fact, that in the excellent school of Verona the late Signor Prevolo introduced the use of singing, to the admiration of all; and in Rome, two years since, a young deaf-mute, who was presented to his present holiness Gregory XVI., read aloud from a book which he held in his hand an address of thanks, on the part of his school-fellows, for the honour which the pope had done them in assisting at their public exhibition."†

But of none of these, nor of any similar cases, do we possess any formal record; while the accounts (some of them very minute and detailed,) given by actual deaf-

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\* Zanelli Sulla Origine, &c. pp. 11, 12.

†, Page 14.

muters of their own condition are all liable to the same objection, that they can only describe their sensations absolutely, and not by comparison with the sensations of hearing, which they have never enjoyed. The observations of an acute and accomplished writer like Dr. Kitto, therefore, possess an additional interest from the novelty, and, if we may so speak, originality of the position in which the writer is placed, and which combines the actual sensations of a deafness as unmitigated as that of the born deaf-mute, with the vivid and perfect memory of the sensation of hearing, and a consequent capacity of employing such language and such illustrations as will convey the precise feeling which he himself experiences. We shall not offer any apology, therefore, for dwelling at some length upon this novel and interesting case as described by the sufferer himself.

Dr. Kitto's observations of his own case have led him to a conviction that there is more connexion between the organs of speech and those of hearing than is ordinarily supposed: and that, though it is commonly believed that the deaf and dumb are naturally *only deaf*, and are dumb only from want of opportunity of learning to speak, still there really is in the condition of the deaf-mute a sort of physical inability to speak, entirely and originally independent of deafness. Unquestionably, there are a great many circumstances in his case which seem to show that, at least with him, this inability or indisposition to speak did exist; but without venturing to discuss the general question, we may observe that, *in his particular case*, no amount of evidence would be sufficient to settle the question: for, as his deafness was the result of a severe and sudden injury of the head, it will always remain uncertain whether the same cause which destroyed the organ of hearing did not also at the same time inflict a *corresponding but independent* injury upon the organs of speech. If this be so, all his experience goes for naught, as evidence of the connexion of the organs.

However, we shall allow him to explain his own condition:

“Before my fall, my enunciation was remarkably clear and distinct; but after that event it was found that I had not only become deaf, but spoke with pain and difficulty, and in a voice so greatly altered as to be not easily understood. I have no present recollection of having ever experienced positive pain in the act of speaking; but I am informed by one who was present, and deeply



interested in all which took place at that time, that I complained of pain in speaking; and I am further told, that my voice had become *very similar to that of one born deaf and dumb, but who has been taught to speak*. This appears, under all the circumstances, to be a very strong corroboration, if not an absolute proof, of the position I have ventured to suggest. And it is a fact, that under all the modifications and improvements which my vocal organs have since sustained, this resemblance to the voice of the born deaf and dumb has been preserved. It is evident that this cannot be accounted for by any of the reasons which have been supposed to explain the imperfect development of the vocal organs in those born deaf and dumb; seeing that my vocal powers were once in a perfect condition, and speech acquired before I became deaf. I see not how this fact is to be accounted for in any other way than that which has been suggested.

“Although I have no recollection of physical pain in the act of speaking, I felt the strongest possible indisposition to use my vocal organs. I seemed to labour under a moral disability which cannot be described by comparison with any disinclination which the reader can be supposed to have experienced. The disinclination which ‘one feels to leave his warm bed on a frosty morning, is nothing to that which I experienced against any exercise of the organs of speech. The force of this tendency to dumbness was so great, that for many years I habitually expressed myself to others in writing, even when not more than a few words were necessary; and where this mode of intercourse could not be used, I avoided occasion of speech, or heaved up a few monosyllables, or expressed my wish by a slight motion or gesture;—*signs*, as a means of intercourse, I always abominated; and no one could annoy me more than by adopting this mode of communication. In fact, I came to be generally considered as both deaf and dumb, excepting by the few who were acquainted with my real condition; and hence many tolerated my mode of expression by writing, who would have urged upon me the exercise of my vocal organs. I rejoiced in the protection which that impression afforded; for nothing distressed me more than to be asked to speak: and from disuse having been superadded to the pre-existing causes, there seemed a strong probability of my eventually justifying the impression concerning my dumbness which was generally entertained.”—*pp.* 19, 20.

The repugnance to speak here described has, to some extent, continued up to the present time, though it has been gradually overcome by necessity as well as by choice. But even still, though he speaks with considerable ease and freedom, there are some peculiarities which apparently indicate a habitual chariness of all unnecessary exercise of the organ. He has always had a singular reluctance to use any but the substantial words of the language; he

avoids all expletives and adjuncts, all complimentary phrases, and even ordinary terms of endearment. He never could

“By the utmost stretch of violence upon his acquired disposition, bring himself to express much solicitude about the health of those whom he saw to be perfectly well; or to exchange or make remarks upon the weather, and say—‘It is very warm’—‘It is a foggy morning’—‘It is very cold’—‘It threatens to rain’—to those who must be as fully aware of the facts as himself. In like manner he has abstained from the common salutations of casual intercourse. ‘Good bye,’ ‘Good morning,’ &c., he never could get out. A silent shake of the head, a nod, a bow, or a movement of the lips, intended to represent all these things, is all he has been able to manage. Such phrases of civility as ‘Thank you,’ ‘If you please,’ &c., have also been absent from his vocabulary; not from any disinclination, but because he supposed that having said all that was really essential, all these expressions of civility would be *understood*; and that, from his manner, it would be taken for granted that he felt all they were designed to express.”—*pp.* 25, 26.

The sensation produced upon himself by the sound of his own voice, is that of a *loud whisper*; but in reality it is extremely loud, and can be heard to a great distance, though its distinctness is lost unless under cover, or, if in the open air, unless the hearer be quite close to him; and it often happens that when walking with a friend, and utterly unconscious of unusual loudness of tones, (especially in a covered passage, such as Burlington Arcade,) he is surprised to see “all the people before him, even from one end to the other, turning round as by one impulse, while at the same time his arm has been gently pressed, it might be supposed to draw his attention to some passing object, but in reality as a hint to suppress his voice and so prevent a continuance of that rude gaze which he takes to be a characteristic of the English people, as he never noticed the like of it in any country through which he travelled.”

It is very remarkable that though utterly unable to hear the voices of those by whom he is surrounded, much less to distinguish their words or tones, he has acquired a power somewhat similar to that attributed to some deaf-mutes, who are said to have been able to “read off” the words addressed to them by observing the motions of the speaker’s lips. Dr. Kitto has not reached this perfection



in the art, but the power which he has attained is somewhat analogous.

"It will surprise many readers to know that few persons speak in my presence concerning whose voice I do not receive a very distinct impression. That is, I form an idea of the sound of that person's voice, by which it becomes to my mind as distinct from the voices of others, as, I suppose, one voice is distinct from another to those who can hear. The impression thus conveyed is produced from a cursory, but probably very accurate, observation of the person's general physical constitution, compared with the action of his mouth and the play of his muscles in the act of speaking. I form a similar idea concerning the laugh of one person as distinguished from that of another; and when I have seen a person laugh, the idea concerning his voice becomes in my mind a completed and unalterable fact. The impression thus realized would seem to be generally correct. I have sometimes tested it, by describing to another the voices of persons with whom we were both acquainted, and I have not known an instance in which the impression described by me has not been declared to be remarkably accurate. This faculty must be based upon experiences acquired during the days of my hearing, and cannot be realized by the born deaf, seeing that it is impossible for them to have any idea of *sounds* produced by the action of the vocal organs, and still less of the peculiarities by which one voice is distinguished from another."—*pp.* 28, 29.

The chapter upon "Percussions," is extremely interesting, and contains many curious facts illustrative of the mode in which sensations are imparted. For example, the loudest thunder, ordinarily speaking, produces not upon him the slightest impression, because it does not create the vibration through which alone he can be said to hear; but in one instance in which the house was shaken by the peal, the impression made upon him was as if a table had been moved in the adjoining room. The loudest bells are utterly soundless in his ear, unless he place his head in contact with the tower in which they are suspended. The whispering gallery at St. Paul's makes not the slightest sound for him. On the contrary, the slightest percussions upon the same floor distress him very considerably. The moving of a table, the shutting of a door, even the feet of children at play, the falling of a very small article, "a thimble, a pencil, a penknife, or even a more minute object," occasion to him infinitely more distinct, and even painful sensations than they could to those in perfect possession of the faculty of hearing.

There are some peculiarities in the mode of his experiencing sensations from percussions, too, which are worth noticing.

“The greater the number of my points of contact with the floor, the stronger are the impressions I receive, hence they are more vivid and distinct when I sit than when I stand; because, in the former case, not only my own two legs but the four legs of the chair are concerned in conveying the percussion to my sensorium. And when the chair itself on which I am seated has been subject to the percussion, the sensation is such as baffles description. For instance; a few days since, when I was seated with the back of my chair facing a chiffonnier, the door of this receptacle was opened by some one, and swung back so as to touch my chair. The touch could not but have been slight, but to me the concussion was dreadful, and almost made me scream with the surprise and pain—the sensation being very similar to that which a heavy person feels on touching the ground, when he has jumped from a higher place than he ought. Even this concussion, to me so violent and distressing, had not been noticed by any one in the room but myself.

“Again, I am subject to a painful infliction from the same causes, during the hour in which my little ones are admitted to the run of my study. It often happens that the smallest of them, in making their way behind my chair, strike their heads against it; and the concussion is, to my sensation, so severe, that I invariably wheel hastily round in great trepidation, expecting to see the little creature seriously injured by the blow; and am as often relieved and delighted to see it moving merrily on, as if nothing in the world had happened.

“If these perceptions are so acute in carpeted rooms, it will be easily understood how much more intense they become upon a naked wooden floor. The sensation then amounts to torture—as every movement or concussion, in any part of the room, then comes with an intensity of effect, far more than proportioned to the difference in the impression which would, under the same circumstances, be produced upon the auditory sense.

“In those parts of the East where, from scarcity of wood, the floors are made of a kind of compost of mud and chopped straw, I have enjoyed entire immunity from all this annoyance; and in the mud-floored cottages which have often furnished a resting-place in my travels, nothing of the kind was ever experienced. On a floor paved with stone or with tiles, nearly an equal degree of exemption is enjoyed.

“The reader will be easily able to apply these developments to the conditions which the streets afford to one in my predicament. Of the foot passengers I have nothing to say: on any kind of foot-way—gravel, mould, stone, asphaltum—the percussions of an army



of feet would be *nil* to my sensations. The question is, however, different with regard to carriages and carts, the powerful vibration and awful din occasioned by which in the leading streets of the metropolis, must be known by experience or report to every reader. Of all the streets in the world Fleet Street is the one best suited to experiments of this kind; and it so happens that I lodged in this very street for a short time, soon after my return from abroad. This street was then, like all the other principal streets of London, paved with granite blocks. When in the street itself, the vibration caused by strong friction with the pavement, or, as I may call it, the *felt sound*, was perceptible only from such vehicles as passed on my side of the way, and when they came directly opposite to the spot on which I stood. The rapid succession of the carriages in such a street would keep up an almost continuous vibration; but I know, from the comparison of observations made in less frequented streets, that the vibration of only the carriage passing immediately in front of the flag-stone on which I stood, could be distinguished at one time. Hence the sea of sound, produced in that great street, from the grinding of a thousand wheels against the hard granite, made far less impression upon my organs than the rap of a finger-nail upon the back of my chair would produce. In the house itself I was not *in any way affected* by the din of the street; excepting, that in the early morning I was sensible of the passage of the heavily laden market carts, for they shook the very bed on which I lay.

“The passage of carriages over macadamised roads, and over pavements of wood and asphaltum, makes not even this limited impression upon me. If the reader is surprised at the inclusion of wood pavements in this category, after what I have stated of wooden floors, he has only to remember that such pavements are composed, not of boards, but by the junction of separate blocks of wood. The same causes, therefore, which prevent me from distinguishing the knock at a door, equally preclude me from being sensible of the vibrations upon a pavement thus composed. But I remember that in travelling through those parts of Russia where the roads are (or were) paved with the entire trunks of trees, the passage of even a light carriage was always felt very sensibly, and even painfully, by me.

“After what has been stated, the reader will not expect that I should be capable of deriving any satisfaction from music. There are, however, some experiences even on that subject to relate. The organ in the church of the parish to which I belonged, is one of the most powerful in the West of England, but in the body of the church I was quite insensible to its tones. When in the gallery, however, I became sensible of a strong vibration, but without any metallic sound, and more like to the sound of the distant singing of a congregation—so distant that one can only catch the higher

notes—than to anything else with which it can be compared.”—*pp.* 40—44.

From the above extract it will be seen that, (as our readers, who are acquainted with the other works of Dr. Kitto, are doubtless aware,) he has been an active and enterprising traveller, notwithstanding the disadvantages to which his bereavement must have subjected him. We cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the following passage, an amusing example of the perils to which similar travellers may unconsciously expose themselves.

“I was staying at the village of Orta Khoi on the Bosphorus, about six miles above Constantinople, of which it is one of the suburbs, and was in the frequent habit of going down to the city and returning by water. One morning on which I had determined to go, it threatened to rain; but I took my umbrella and departed. On arriving at the beach, it appeared that all the boats were gone, and there was no alternative but to abandon my intention, or to proceed on foot along a road which manifestly led in the right direction, at the back of the buildings and yards which line the Bosphorus. I had not proceeded far before it began to rain, and I put up my umbrella, and trudged on, followed, at some distance behind, by an old Turk in the same predicament with myself: for it should be observed, that, at and about Constantinople, the people are so much in the habit of relying upon water conveyance, that there is less use of horses than in any Eastern town with which I am acquainted. Nothing occurred till I arrived at the back of the handsome country palace of Dolma Baktehe, the front of which had often engaged my attention in passing up and down by water. Here the sentinel at the gate motioned to me in a very peculiar manner, which I could not comprehend. He had probably called previously, and in vain. Finding that I heeded him not, he was hastening towards me in a very violent manner, with his fixed bayonet pointed direct at my body, when the good-natured Turk behind me, who had by this time come up, assailed me very unceremoniously from behind, by pulling down my umbrella. After some words to the sentinel, I was suffered to pass on under his protection, till we had passed the precincts of the imperial residence, where he put up his own umbrella, and motioned me to do the same. By this act, and by the signs which he had used in explanation of this strange affair, I clearly understood that it was all on account of the umbrella. This article, so useful and common in rainy climates, is an ensign of royalty in the East; and although the use of it for common purposes has crept in at Constantinople, the sovereign is supposed to be ignorant of the fact, and it may not on any account be displayed in his presence, or in passing any of the royal residences.

“That day I was detained in Pera longer than I expected; and



darkness had set in by the time the wherry in which I returned reached Orta Khoi. After I had paid the fare, and was walking up the beach, the boatmen followed and endeavoured to impress something upon me, with much emphasis of manner, but without disrespect. My impression was that they wanted to exact more than their fare; and as I knew that I had given the right sum, I, with John Bullish hatred at imposition, buckled up my mind against giving one para more. Presently the contest between us brought over some Nizam soldiers from the guard-house, who took the same side with the boatmen; for when I attempted to make my way on, they refused to allow me to proceed. Here I was in a regular dilemma, and was beginning to suspect that there was something more than the fare in question; when a Turk, of apparently high authority, came up, and after a few words had been exchanged between him and the soldiers, I was suffered to proceed.

"As I went on, up the principal street of the village, I was greatly startled to perceive a heavy earthen vessel, which had fallen with great force from above, dashed in pieces on the pavement at my feet. Presently, such vessels descended, thick as hail, as I passed along, and were broken to sherds on every side of me. It is a marvel how I escaped having my brains dashed out; but I got off with only a smart blow between the shoulders. A rain of cats and dogs is a thing of which we have some knowledge; but a rain of potter's vessels was very much beyond the limits of European experience. On reaching the hospitable roof which was then my shelter, I learned that this was the night which the Armenians, by whom the place was chiefly inhabited, devoted to the expurgation of their houses from evil spirits, which act they accompanied or testified by throwing earthen vessels out of their windows, with certain cries which served as warnings to the passengers: but that the streets were notwithstanding still so dangerous that scarcely any one ventured out while the operation was in progress. From not hearing these cries, my danger was of course two-fold, and my escape seemed something more than remarkable: and I must confess that I was of the same opinion when the next morning disclosed the vast quantities of broken pottery with which the streets were strewed.

"It seems probable that the adventure on the beach had originated in the kind wish of the boatmen and soldiers to prevent me from exposing myself to this danger. But there was also a regulation preventing any one from being in the streets at night without a lantern: and the intention may possibly have been to enforce this observance, especially as a lantern would this night have been a safeguard to me, by apprising the pot-breakers of my presence in the street."—*pp.* 119—122.

The chapter on "Society," is full of melancholy interest, and will, we doubt not, create a strong sympathy

for those whose privations it so feelingly describes. But the most instructive portion of the work, in a moral point of view, is the section on "Disqualifications." It is mainly personal, and details the struggle by which this extraordinary man has overcome the difficulties of his unhappy condition. The consideration of his struggles and of his success, may stimulate the industry and put to shame the indifference of many a more gifted, but less energetic mind.

We should very much desire, if our space permitted, to add a few extracts from this most interesting chapter. But as the work is easily within the reach of every reader, we must content ourselves with a general and most hearty commendation. Of its companion volume—"Blindness,"—it is impossible to speak too highly; and indeed we doubt whether the latter be not, upon the whole, the more likely to prove generally interesting. With those, however, who recollect the personal character of the essay on Deafness, from which we have extracted so largely, it cannot fail to secure great and lasting popularity.

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ART. III.—1. *Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen Age.* Par M. —  
 Directeur au Seminaire de St. Sulpice. Nouvelle Edition,  
 considérablement augmentée. Librairie Classique de Perisse  
 Frères, 8, Rue du Pot-de-Fer-Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

2.—*Power of the Pope in the Middle Ages.* By M. —  
 Director in the Seminary of Saint Sulpice. New Edition.

THE object of the work before us is to trace the rise and progress, the nature and grounds of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See in Italy, and to account for the power of the Pope in deposing secular princes during the middle ages, by the maxims of public jurisprudence which prevailed at that time. It is also preceded by an introduction, which contains a detail of the temporal prerogatives bestowed on the ministers of religion by the people of antiquity, particularly under the first Christian



emperors. In our review of the work, we shall confine ourselves to giving a sketch of the views of the ingenious and learned author, and to condensing, as much as possible, the facts and arguments by which they are supported. The subject, we doubt not, will recommend itself sufficiently to the reader; and we are not without hope that the considerations to which it has given occasion, may be of use to refute the charge of ambition and usurpation, so often brought against the Holy See, on account of its influence in temporal affairs during the course of the middle ages.

It is not our design to dwell long on the temporal honours bestowed upon the ministers of religion in ancient times. By all the great nations of antiquity, the religion of the country was regarded as an object of vital importance. Their first legislators and most eminent philosophers called it the basis of society, the ground-work of every government, the guardian of the laws, the chief source of order and subordination; and hence arose the honours, the wealth and distinctions conferred upon those who discharged its sacred functions. The priests of Egypt possessed one-third of the landed property; a great part of the civil administration was entrusted to them; and it was from their body that the monarch himself was regularly chosen. In Greece and Rome, the priests were held in the same esteem, and enjoyed valuable distinctions. Some idea of their wealth and authority may be gathered from the fact, that Cato promised the priesthood of Paphos to Ptolemy, as a compensation for the kingdom of Cyprus, of which the Romans were unjustly depriving that unhappy prince. The Roman emperors themselves took the title of chief pontiff, and claimed the privileges of that office, when they wished to concentrate the whole authority of the state in their own hands.

The honours granted to the ministers of the pagan worship would naturally be transferred to those of the christian religion, when that became the prevailing creed. Or rather, the superior excellence of their character, the certainty of their divine institution, the exalted powers which they had received from their Founder, would secure to them still greater respect. The virtues of the primitive bishops and other clergy, their disinterestedness and generosity, their talents and capacity for business, their tender affection for the people committed to their care, the pious uses to which they devoted the liberal contributions of the

faithful, tended more to promote their credit. They rendered the most essential services to society by the virtues which they practised, and the morality which they taught. Their examples and instructions counteracted the degeneracy of pagan morals, infused a new spirit and energy into society, and by that means delayed for a time the fall of the Roman empire. Nor were their services confined to this secret influence on society in general. They not unfrequently took a more active part in affairs. They undertook difficult and delicate negotiations, they acted as mediators between the emperors and the barbarian invaders, whose impetuosity nothing could withstand; they aided the imperial officers in the defence of fortified towns, and animated their inhabitants to a vigorous resistance. St. James, by his sanctity and prudence, twice saved Nisibis, his episcopal city, from the attacks of the Persians; and the great pope St. Leo, rescued Rome as often from the plunder and destruction threatened by Genseric and Attila.

While the bishops and clergy presented themselves with so many titles to public regard, it is not surprising if honours and wealth began at an early period to flow in upon them. Even before peace had been granted to the Church, the treasures of some particular churches had become an object of temptation to the avarice of the persecutors. The conversion of the emperors to christianity, opened new and more abundant sources of wealth. Magnificent churches were every where built, and richly endowed, by the pious munificence of Constantine. According to the account of Anastasius in his life of St. Silvester, the value of the precious ornaments, bestowed by Constantine on the Constantinian Basilica in Rome, amounted to the amazing sum of £.68,000; and the same church received a yearly income of £9,346. The most considerable men of the state were often chosen bishops, and generally bequeathed their property to their sees. The See of Rome in particular was continually receiving new accessions of wealth. Before the close of the seventh century, it possessed the whole country stretching along the coast from Genoa to the Alps; and the patrimony of that church in Calabria and Sicily, brought an annual income of £16,000.

The same causes which tended to enrich the clergy, introduced them to a share in civil authority. They were



not merely exempted from the jurisdiction of secular courts, and from other public burthens, though it does not appear that they were free from the obligation of paying taxes upon property long after the time of Constantine. The bishops were empowered by different emperors to act as arbitrators between contending parties, to watch over the observance of several municipal regulations, to superintend the proceedings of merchants, inspect weights and measures, look after the public works, protect the weak and defenceless, choose the defenders of cities, and administer their revenues along with three other principal men. In the time of St. Cyril, the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria was so great, that it began to give umbrage to the governor of that city. The same patriarch was authorized by the emperor Justinian, to keep heretics out of civil and military employments in the province of Egypt. From the end of the fifth century, the patriarch of Constantinople was frequently summoned to political assemblies, particularly those held for the election of a new emperor, over which he had considerable influence. During the four first centuries, the civil authority of the bishops of Rome kept pace at least with that of the patriarchs of the other great cities of the empire. Under the reign of Honorius and Theodosius the younger, we find them empowered to hinder the meetings of heretics, close their churches, deprive them of their goods, and send their chief leaders into banishment. Afterwards a number of circumstances concurred which gave the Roman Pontiff still greater weight, and at last rendered his power sovereign and independent.

The repeated inroads of the northern barbarians, the successive domination of the Heruli and the Ostrogoths had nearly extinguished the empire in the West. Its ancient glory seemed indeed revived for a time by the arms of Narses and Belisarius; but the triumph was transitory, and lasted only as long as the victories of these celebrated generals. The establishment of the Lombards in Italy in 572, gave the power of the emperor a new shock, from which it was destined never to recover; and in proportion as his power was diminished, that of the Roman Pontiff was enlarged and extended.

From the settlement of the Lombards in Italy, Rome and the adjoining States began to look up to the Roman Pontiff as their only resource amid the calamities which

oppressed them. His protection was no less necessary to the exarch or imperial governor, whom he assisted in levying taxes, quelling seditions, appeasing riotous disturbances, and above all in negotiating with the Lombards, who trusted the word of the Pontiff, and respected his authority, much more than that of the governor. By the time of St. Gregory the Great, whose pontificate corresponds with the commencement of the Lombard monarchy in Italy, so great a share in the management of affairs had devolved on the pope, that St. Gregory complains of the temporal cares which engaged his attention. In punishment of his sins, he said, he had been made a bishop of the Lombards rather than of the Romans, and he might be thought to act the part of a governor, much more than that of a pastor of souls. In fact, we find him discharging all the functions of a chief magistrate or viceroy, sending governors to fortified towns, commanders to the heads of armies, giving his instruction to the bishops and officers for the defence of cities threatened with a siege, now treating with the Lombards, now negotiating with the emperors of Constantinople, perplexed and harassed alike by the perfidy of the barbarians, and by the vexatious conduct of the emperor's officers.

The emperor should have been grateful for the exertions of the pontiff in support of his declining authority. On the contrary, he made it his policy to thwart his measures and defeat his plans. Instead of seeking to conciliate the affections of the Italians, warmly attached to the Catholic faith, he alienated and irritated them, by appointing over them heretical governors. These, not content with secretly opposing the designs of the pope, sometimes threatened his life and liberty with danger. The Italian militia had several times shown a disposition to take up arms in defence of their spiritual ruler, whom they were already accustomed to look upon as the only person capable of managing their temporal interests. This manifestation was made in a more special manner under the pontificate of Gregory II. and we may assign the important revolution that took place in his time, about the year 726, as the true origin of the temporal sovereignty of the pope in Italy.

The Lombards, increasing in boldness and extending their conquests, had taken Ravenna, and made themselves masters of the imperial fleet. Paul, the exarch, irritated



by the loss, was instigated to wreak his impotent vengeance on the pope by forming designs against his life, which were only defeated by the fidelity of the Romans and the generosity of the Lombards. The emperor Leo, the Isaurian, a violent partisan of the Iconoclasts, was venting his fury with no less rage in the East by destroying the sacred images, and had even issued general orders for their demolition in Rome and in Italy. The pope resisted, as he ought, his heretical mandate. The Italians, surprised alike at his neglect and violence, concerned for the life of their pontiff and the danger of their faith, left at the mercy of the Lombards, and obtaining no succour from Constantinople, could not any longer remain quiet. A general insurrection was formed throughout Italy; separate leaders were chosen to take the command of the several states; and serious proposals were made of having Leo deposed, and another emperor elected in his stead. At this crisis, the pope interfered with all the weight of his authority. In hopes of converting Leo, he would not allow the Italians to disclaim their allegiance to that emperor, who was neither able to enforce, nor careful to secure it himself.

It is true that, in the account of these events, there is a difference between the Italian and Greek historians. The Greek authors following Theophanes, a writer of the 8th century, ascribe the conduct of the Italians to the instigation of Gregory, eager, as they say, to separate Rome from the East; they also accuse him of inciting the Italians to withhold the payment of the taxes. But Theophanes is a weak writer, deserving of little credit on the affairs of Italy, because he wrote at a distance from the scene of events, easily listened to popular rumours, and, besides, is blamed for frequent anachronisms and other mistakes. He was also likely to be swayed by the prejudices which the Greeks of Constantinople had already begun to conceive against the people of Rome and Italy. Paul, deacon of Aquileia, who wrote a history of the Lombards in the 8th century, and Anastasius, the librarian, who composed his life of Gregory II. in the following age, are in every respect more deserving of belief, both on account of their better opportunities of information, and their known reputation for exactness and fidelity. These authors represent the conduct of Gregory in a very different light. Anastasius, indeed, speaks of a refusal to pay the taxes, but

merely as the pretext, which Paul the exarch alleged, to justify his designs against the life of the pope; at least, this is a construction which, with great probability, can be put on the expression employed by the Latin historian. Both this writer and Paul the deacon equally agree in praising the moderation of Gregory, his efforts to prevent a new election, and his exhortations to secure the submission of the Italians to the emperor Leo. This, too, is the only conduct consistent with the character and habitual principles of Gregory, whose forbearance in trying circumstances has been commended by authors of every party—who, when he could have employed means of terror, only had recourse to arguments of persuasion to soothe the emperor, and who afterwards assisted the exarch in putting down Petasius, when that pretender to the empire was raising a dangerous insurrection in Italy. Gregory thus showed no symptoms of a desire to supplant the emperor; but, on the contrary, exerted himself to maintain his authority. Yet, at the same time, such was the influence of his position and character, so great was the confidence which the Romans reposed in him, and so small was the hold which the emperors of Constantinople now retained of Italy, that the power of the pope was more real than that of the emperor, that the sovereign pontiff was already selected by the wish of the people to be their temporal ruler, and that Gregory, in all probability, might have assumed the title, as he possessed the power, had he chosen to accede to the desire and expectation of the Roman people and other Italian states.

Gregory II., however, and his immediate successor, free from all ambition for worldly power, resolved to wait till events should take a still more decided turn in their favour. It was not long before the continual encroachments of the Lombards, and the hostile conduct of the eastern emperor, obliged Gregory III. to apply for protection to Charles Martel, mayor of the palace under Thierry IV. In the year 741, a solemn embassy was sent to Charles; the title of consul was offered to him, in the name of the pope, of the nobles, and people of Rome. The pope's letter to him was written in virtue of a decree adopted by the chief men of the city; that letter declares that the Romans had renounced their allegiance to the emperor, and that they placed themselves under the protection and invincible clemency of Charles. This step is perfectly justifiable,



upon the principles admitted even by the great Protestant jurists, Grotius and Puffendorf; who aver that the subjects of a sovereign can transfer their obedience to another master, when their own is unable to defend them, and to save them from impending ruin. Such was the danger of the Italian States, and such was the impotence of the eastern emperors in the pontificate of Gregory III. The application was rendered ineffectual by the death of the pontiff and Charles; but, in the year 753, a similar appeal was made to Pepin D'Heristal, and carried into effect by Stephen II.

Astolphus, king of the Lombards, and the formidable enemy of Rome, was at the gates of the city, which was under a close blockade; messengers had been sent to Constantinople, but no succour obtained; the negotiations attempted with Astolphus had failed in like manner. In that extremity, the pope had no other choice than to apply to France, and implore the protection of Pepin. That prince was as ready to grant his assistance as Stephen was to sue for it. In a general assembly of the nobles, held at Quierzy-sur-Oise, he took a solemn engagement to restore to the Holy See the Exarchate of Ravenna, the other territories and towns seized by the Lombards, and he himself, together with the princes his sons, signed a grant to that effect. He twice crossed the Alps—once in the year 754, and the second time in 755, gained repeated victories over the Lombard monarch, finally compelled him to sue for peace, and to restore, by a solemn and authentic deed, in 755, the territories and cities in question to the Roman pontiff. The country thus ceded was bounded on the north and east by the Po and the Tanaro, on the south by the Apennines, and on the east by the Adriatic Sea, containing in all twenty-two towns, including Narni in Umbria, which was also comprised in the grant. It deserves particular remark that, in the various acts and negotiations relative to this affair, the cession is styled a restitution, and ought justly to be considered as such, since the provinces ceded had been forsaken by the emperor, since they had placed themselves under the protection of the pope, and since they only returned to the sovereign of their own choice when they went back to him. Pepin, therefore, was fully justified in rejecting the pretensions of the eastern emperor over these provinces. That emperor had long ago resigned them, and forfeited his title by his

weakness; and the victorious arms of Pepin had conquered them for another. The Roman pontiffs had also acquired a full and perfect right to call the Roman people and republic their people and subjects—the subjects of the pope and of the see of Rome. Such was the language employed from this time by the popes themselves, by the senate of Rome, and by the French monarchs, Pepin and Charlemagne, which last prince was destined to confirm and fully consolidate the grant already made by Pepin.

Invited to the assistance of Adrian, as Pepin had been to that of Stephen II., Charlemagne crossed the Alps with the same rapidity, defeated Didier with still greater ease, besieged him in Pavia, his capital city, took him prisoner, and sent him to end his days in a monastery in France. He renewed the grant of Pepin, and added still more extensive territories. In return for these and other important services, he was saluted emperor by the Roman people in 800, anointed and crowned by the pope, who likely thought that the title of emperor was due to him, who, by the right of conquest, by the extent of his dominions, and by the necessity of the times, possessed its effective power. In consequence of these different acts, the claim of the emperors of Constantinople over the west was completely annihilated; and the temporal sovereignty of the Roman pontiffs over the Exarchate of Ravenna and the dukedom of Rome was finally and permanently established.

From this simple statement of facts, it is now possible to deduce the grounds upon which the temporal sovereignty of the popes is founded, and to ascertain the time at which that sovereignty commenced. It plainly results from what has been said, that the power of the popes in Italy is not founded on any pretended grant of Constantine, which was probably fabricated in the 9th century, nor on any assumption of divine right, which was not put forward by the popes of those ages, nor on the ambition and intrigues of the popes themselves, who, on the contrary, were remarkable for their moderation and forbearance at the time that this temporal sovereignty was acquired. The true causes, therefore, to which we are to attribute it, were the imperious control of circumstances, and the legitimate wish of the people of Rome and adjoining states—who, harassed by the Lombards, and deserted by the emperors of the east, thought themselves entitled and compelled to



entrust their temporal interests to the vigilance of the pope. The right, thus originally grounded on the desire of the people, was still further confirmed by the grant of Pepin, who lent the sovereign pontiff the aid of his victorious arms, who conquered back for him what would otherwise have been seized and appropriated by the Lombards, and thus superadded the right of conquest—with respect to the exarchate at least—to the other titles which the Holy See already possessed.

Such being the foundations of the temporal sovereignty of the popes in Italy, the date of its first rise and origin is clearly to be placed under the pontificate of Gregory II. Until that time the Roman pontiffs had made no pretensions to independent power; and it was precisely in the pontificate of Gregory II. that the Italian States were so much oppressed by the Lombards, so completely forsaken by the emperors of the east, that they were under a necessity of looking around for a new master, and leaving the whole management of affairs in the hands of Gregory. It was plainly the desire of the people that he should be their sovereign; it is no less certain that, in the circumstances which then existed, they had a right to choose a sovereign for themselves; and it is equally clear that the position of Gregory, and the confidence which all parties placed in him, pointed him out as the only person worthy of their choice. He might therefore, had he thought proper himself, have immediately acceded to the wish of the people, and declared himself independent of Constantinople. Gregory, however, and his successor, entirely free from that ambitious and domineering spirit, with which the see of Rome has been so generally charged, demurred for some time. They continued to give the eastern emperors the titles and honours of supreme power, while they themselves enjoyed the reality. At length, the conquest of Pepin determined them to consult more effectually the good of their people, to withdraw themselves from all communion with an ancient master, whose unsubstantial and superannuated title was now become an incumbrance to the country, and to place themselves at the head of a people, whom they alone could save from anarchy, or the oppression of a foreign yoke.

The conquest and grant of Pepin is, then, the epoch from which we may date the first establishment of the pontifical power over the exarchate of Ravenna. Nor is

there any reason for assigning a different date to the origin of the pope's sovereignty over the dukedom of Rome. For, though that province had not been conquered from the Lombards, it was the interest of the country and the call of the people that the pope should take upon himself the same jurisdiction there as in the exarchate; and no cause could now deter the pontiff from assuming, at the time assigned, the right which was thus put into his hands. At the same time, it must be owned that the right of the popes to the dukedom was as full and complete as that which they possessed over the other province. Their sovereign authority was not shared with the Roman senate, which long ago had fallen from its ancient influence, and never seems to have recovered anything more than a municipal jurisdiction within the city. It was not divided with the king of France, who, indeed, had received the title of patrician of Rome; but this was merely an honorary title, which constituted him the protector, the guardian, and defender of the Holy See; but by no means the independent sovereign of Rome, a title ever after claimed and exercised exclusively by the popes.

The supreme power with which the Roman pontiffs had been thus invested from the grant of Pepin, they retained undiminished under the Carlovingian and German emperors. Charlemagne, in the testament where he professes to divide his whole dominions between his sons, entirely omits the states subject to the pope, which certainly he would not have done had he considered them as part of his empire. In 817, Louis le Debonnaire, in a diploma of which the authenticity seems well proved, declares that he claims no power over the pontifical states, except when the pope may think proper to apply for his protection. Similar expressions are also employed by the emperors Otho I. and Henry II. The Romans, in their oath of allegiance to the emperor—from the time of Sergius II., at least, in 844—swore fidelity to him under the good pleasure of the pope, and saving the obedience they owed to him. If some lingering marks of respect were yet given to the emperors of the east, they were called forth solely by the remembrance of the power which they had formerly possessed in Italy. When Charlemagne was proclaimed emperor by the pontiff and people of Rome, they did not mean to confer upon him the sovereignty of their



city, but merely a more dignified title and august character, suited to the extent of his dominions in the other parts of the west, and intended to make him a more zealous protector of the Holy See. In that capacity, Charlemagne and some of his successors received testimonies of respect, and were allowed to exercise acts of jurisdiction, which might seem more properly to belong to an independent sovereign. By these marks of respect and condescension the popes honoured them for their services and the aid of their arms, often necessary against powerful enemies and intestine disturbances. But they never once made any proposal, nor were called upon, to resign to them the supreme power, with which they themselves had been invested over the states that had submitted to their temporal sway.

Whatever opinion may be entertained regarding the origin and grounds of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See, its establishment in itself cannot fail to be considered as an admirable disposition of Divine Providence. As long as the great majority of Catholics belonged to one and the same empire, the head of the church might without inconvenience be a subject of that empire. But when Europe was split into a variety of states, subject to different sovereigns, endless causes of partiality, jealousy, and disunion would have arisen, had the pope been under greater obligations to one prince than to another. If he had remained a simple individual or private subject, he could not have enjoyed the liberty necessary for the discharge of his duties as head of the universal church. The circumstances, therefore, which raised him to the rank of a temporal sovereign, are to be attributed to the dispensations of a wise Providence, Who regulates events for the good of religion, Who saw how necessary it was that the sovereign pontiff should have temporal power enough to be independent, but not too much to divert him from the discharge of his spiritual functions, and gave him exactly that moderate degree of power.

The influence of the pope, however, was so strongly felt in the middle ages, that it could not be long confined within the narrow boundaries of his own particular States; it soon extended itself, in the most extraordinary manner, to the other nations of Europe. From the tenth century, these nations formed a kind of republic, of which the pope was recognized as the head and dictator. In matters of

great and general concern, his authority was appealed to, and his decision received with submission. He could even cite kings and emperors before his tribunal, pronounce sentence against the refractory, excommunicate and depose them, and release their subjects from their oath of allegiance. It has been often questioned upon what grounds the sovereign pontiff could assume the extraordinary power of deposing secular princes; the examination of this point is the subject of the remaining part of the work, which we have undertaken to review.

The deposing power itself was long and undisputably exercised, before men thought of inventing systems to account for its existence; and, as different principles and circumstances, well-known at the time but now forgotten, may have concurred in establishing it, it may be perfectly justifiable in its origin, though it may be now difficult to explain it by any one system free from all objection. We shall, however, notice one or two opinions that have been proposed on the subject, and then proceed to explain that of the author.

The first is that which derives the temporal power of the pope directly and immediately from divine institution. This opinion, which seems to have been first regularly proposed by John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres, in the twelfth century, excited little attention in his time, but afterwards occasioned great discussions, when princes began to circumscribe the temporal power of the Holy See. According to this system, the Church and the Pope have received immediately from God a full and complete power to govern the world, both as to spiritual and temporal matters. The spiritual authority they must exercise themselves; the temporal jurisdiction is to be entrusted to secular princes, as their ministers and delegates. As the secular prince has but a subordinate and delegated authority, his acts are subject to the revisal and judgment of the pontiff, who can rescind them, and revoke his jurisdiction when he sees reason for so doing.

This opinion, which entirely subjects the temporal to the spiritual power, was greatly modified, and gradually supplanted by that of Bellarmin. Instead of a direct authority, Bellarmin attributes to the popes only an indirect jurisdiction over temporal affairs. Their spiritual power alone they hold directly and immediately from



God ; but as a consequence of their spiritual power, they can interfere in temporal matters ; they can call sovereigns to account, and even depose them, when the greater good of religion requires that they should exercise such authority.

Independently of a divine right, which is the basis of the two former opinions, attempts were made in the sixteenth century, to explain the temporal power of the pope over princes by the positive laws and public jurisprudence of the middle ages. This explanation was employed by the Catholic writers who denied the right of Elizabeth to the throne of England, and that of Henry IV. to the crown of France ; afterwards it was formed into a regular system by Fenelon. According to Fenelon, the pope has no divine right, direct or indirect, to depose princes, and absolve their subjects from their oath of allegiance ; he accounts for the deposing power on wholly different grounds. He maintains that, in the middle ages, it became a universal persuasion, that sovereign authority could be entrusted to none but an orthodox prince ; the people agreed to obey his orders faithfully, provided he himself remained submissive to the Catholic religion ; that was an essential condition, on which they committed the supreme power to him, and took their oath of allegiance. With regard to the Roman Pontiff, he has certainly a divine right to explain the obligations of oaths, and therefore, in virtue of the same right, could decide when the subject was released from his oath of fidelity, which he took to his prince. By divine right also, and in virtue of the spiritual power entrusted to him, the pope can excommunicate heretical and notoriously scandalous princes ; by the jurisprudence of the middle ages, deposition was inseparably annexed to excommunication. And as the pope had from God power to pronounce sentence of excommunication, and to explain the obligation of oaths, so he was chosen by the people to pronounce sentence of deposition against the monarch, whom he found guilty of violating his solemn covenant with his subjects. The deposing power then, in the system of Fenelon, is founded directly and immediately on human and positive right, on the maxims of public jurisprudence adopted and recognized by the Catholic states of the middle ages. But, at the same time, and in consequence of this same recognition, it was closely and intimately connected with the

divine right of excommunicating; it was bound closely to it, as much as a human institution can be to one that is divine, so that, by an easy transition, and a slight inaccuracy of language, it might be said to rest on the same basis and proceed by the same rules. Thus Fenelon explains his system; and, in this sense, the author of the work under review has undertaken to develop it at greater length, and establish it by the authentic monuments of history.

He begins by pointing out several important circumstances which gradually paved the way for the great influence which the popes acquired over secular princes, and which gradually gave birth to that jurisprudence, on which their subsequent power appears to him to have been founded.

The first of these circumstances was the nature of most governments in Europe, during a great part of the middle ages. It is confidently affirmed by those who have studied, with the greatest care, the history of the monarchies established on the ruins of the Roman empire, by Lingard, Hallam, and Guizot, that these governments were as much elective as they were hereditary. The successor of the deceased monarch was generally chosen from among the princes of the royal blood; but he might be the nearest heir, or removed at a greater distance; proximity of kindred never gave an undisputed title to the succession. This was the case in particular with the government of the Visigoths in Spain, with that of the Anglo-Saxons, and that of the Franks under the second and probably under the first race of their monarchs.

The authority of the half-hereditary, half-elective monarch, was greatly circumscribed by the control of the general assembly of the nation. What were the limits of the jurisdiction claimed by that assembly have never been exactly ascertained, nor were they perhaps precisely defined at the time. But it is certain that, as the choice of the sovereign belonged to the members who composed it, they would annex to his possession of the throne, such conditions as they might judge best calculated to prevent the abuse of sovereign authority; and further, the determination of these conditions would depend greatly on the wish of the clergy. They formed by far the most influential body in the national assemblies; their concurrence was deemed necessary for the appointment of the



new monarch; and consequently their conditions and feelings would give the tone and bias to the terms, upon which it should be agreed that the monarch would receive the crown.

The influence of the clergy in the national assemblies, and on every public occasion, was owing to the decided superiority of their virtues, their talents, their information, and their capacity for business. Prejudice itself has borne an illustrious testimony to the pre-eminence of the clergy, particularly those of the monastic orders, in all these respects. Voltaire, Hallam, and Guizot, have been obliged to own that it was the Catholic clergy of the middle ages, that saved learning from a general wreck, prevented Europe from relapsing into barbarism, and formed the connecting chain between the civilization of ancient times, and the revival of arts and learning among the moderns. The influence of the clergy was attended with effects more salutary, and more immediately beneficial to their country. They laboured with success to repress the rage for war, to check the licentiousness of arms, to moderate the violence of those brutal passions, which in the middle ages formed a striking contrast with the sense of religion, that was still generally retained. They sought to infuse a more regular spirit into the judicial proceedings and legislation of the half-barbarous nations of Europe. The people were taught by them, and the monarchs aided by their counsels. Almost all the men of merit that appeared in what are called the dark ages, were found either in the palaces of bishops, or the cloisters of monasteries. The services which the clergy thus rendered to society, were paid back to them by the gratitude and deference of all classes. They were allowed to occupy the first ranks in wealth, honours, and civil preferments. By the eminence of his station in the church, the Roman pontiff would enjoy in proportion a superior influence in government. In times of tumult and disorder, when the rights of individuals were but little recognized, and when the dead letter of the law was seldom consulted, the voice of the pope was the only rule that could command respect, or enforce obedience. His person was considered sacred; the spiritual weapons which he wielded were universally dreaded. The most powerful monarchs courted his protection, and dreaded his enmity; some of them, to secure themselves more effectually against the rebellion of their

subjects, and the encroachments of their enemies, acknowledged themselves vassals of the Holy See.

This practice became frequent, and the jurisdiction of the popes grew more extensive during the crusades. In that vast and wide undertaking, it was necessary that some one person of undoubted authority should take the lead, and give the impulse to the otherwise discordant mass. This task devolved on the popes, who regulated the taxes to be levied, prescribed the march of the armies; and one pope, Pius II., at a very advanced age, was on the point of placing himself at the head of one of the crusading armies. Princes and other temporal lords, during their absence in the Holy Land, placed their dominions under the protection of the Roman Pontiff, who thus acquired a right to interfere in the general affairs of Europe, which he would be likely to retain, after the cause which gave birth to it had ceased.

Another cause of the influence of the clergy and sovereign pontiff, was the civil effects attached to public penance and excommunication. From the fourth to the eighth century at least, those who were under a course of public penance, were disqualified for any civil office dangerous to salvation. When public penance had fallen into disuse, the civil disabilities which excommunication entailed, by the concurrence of the temporal sovereigns, were still more considerable. Before the time of Gregory VII., the person who was excommunicated, and who refused, during the space of a year, to give satisfaction to the Church, was deprived of all his civil rights, and even debarred from the common offices of social intercourse, though this last part of the punishment was afterwards modified and mitigated. When the sovereign imitated the crimes and obstinacy of the subject, it was a natural consequence that a similar punishment should be transferred to him. Thus the censures of the Church would render him liable to lose his prerogative and crown; and, as these censures are an inalienable branch of the spiritual jurisdiction, the sovereign pontiff would, in consequence, acquire a kind of control over the very right by which monarchs held the crown, and by which they were entitled to the obedience of their subjects.

That the pope was universally believed to possess the power of deposing secular princes, and absolving their subjects from their oath of allegiance, (upon what grounds



is another question which we shall examine afterwards,) is invariably proved by their repeated and confident assumption of this power, with regard to the most powerful princes and emperors. In 1076, the Emperor Henry IV., was deposed by Gregory VII.; in 1160, Frederic I. was deposed by Alexander III.; in 1211, Otho IV., Emperor of Germany, and John I., King of England, were in like manner deposed by Innocent III.; and in 1245, Frederic II. by Innocent IV. Philip I. of France, was excommunicated and deposed by Urban II., in a very numerous council held at Clermont in 1095. On one occasion, Henry II. of England was intimidated by the simple threat of excommunication and deposition, uttered by the legates of the pope. When Richard the Lion-hearted was detained captive by the Emperor of Germany, his mother, Eleanor, entreated the pope to employ the power, which he had received from God over all kings, in procuring the release of her son. Now, could the pope have arrogated to himself such an extraordinary jurisdiction, could he have dared once to exercise it, and would the weakest prince in Europe have submitted to his pretensions, unless there had been a universal conviction that the pope really possessed that power, which at this day is thought so exorbitant? It was in presence, too, of the princes themselves, or their ambassadors, in assemblies which may be considered as the states-general of Europe, that the sovereign pontiff ventured on the exercise of his power over them. In the third and fourth councils of Lateran, held in the year 1179, and in the year 1215, excommunication, the loss of their civil rights, and the alienation of their lands, were denounced against temporal lords, who should favour heretics, or refuse to execute the orders of these councils against them; and Frederic I. was excommunicated in the general council of Lyons, held in the year 1245. Now these councils may be considered as universal assemblies, as general diets of the nations of Europe. Princes as well as bishops were convoked to them, and represented in them by their ambassadors. And it was in the face of these illustrious meetings, in presence of the representatives of the crowned heads of Europe, that the popes carried their authority over temporal sovereigns to its widest stretch; nor did any one think of questioning their right, or resisting their pretension. The persuasion, that justified them in the assumption of

the deposing power, was so universal, that even those who are least favourable to the temporal rights of the Holy See, do not deny its existence. Bossuet bears witness to it; Fleury owns that kings themselves had the same persuasion; and Leibnitz concurs with Catholic writers in attesting the prevalence of a belief, that the pope had received some authority over kings themselves.

While it was thus universally believed that the pope had a general jurisdiction over the different sovereigns of Europe, it was well known at the same time, that he had a more special right over some states in particular, which had owned him as their liege lord, and whose princes had submitted to him as his vassals. This was the case with regard to England in the time of king John; the same thing had also taken place with regard to the kingdom of Arragon in Spain, with regard to Sicily, the Venetian Republic, and the German empire in a particular manner, which was accounted a fief of the Holy See, on account of the great influence of the pope in the nomination and deposition of the emperor. The Roman pontiff gave the imperial crown to Charlemagne, the first of the Carlovingian emperors, and to Otho, the first of the German emperors. His influence in the choice of the emperors of Germany was always great; and it was from him that they received the title; nor could they assume the ensigns of their imperial dignity before they had been anointed and crowned by him, and before they had sworn fidelity to him.

It would be easy to multiply proofs in favour of the persuasion, that attributed to the Roman pontiff a general control over secular princes, and a power to depose them; but enough has been said to convince us of its existence. We are now to pass to the grounds upon which the pope enjoyed that great control, and possessed that deposing power. We may confidently assert, that it must have rested on some solid basis—that it must have been derived from some real right, from some imperious cause, operating in favour of the See of Rome. Otherwise a persuasion so universal could never have prevailed; nor could the popes have exercised the power with so much confidence. Even though it had been without foundation, the popes were fully justified in the assumption and exercise of it, by reason of that universal belief which attributed it to them. But we are far from owning that no satisfactory grounds



can be assigned for the origin of that deposing power. According to the system of Fenelon, and the opinion of our author, it rests on the maxims of public jurisprudence, adopted and recognized by the Catholic nations of the middle ages.

Either that foundation is to be assigned, or the opinion which grounds the deposing power on divine right. But this opinion seems to have been first proposed by John of Salisbury in the 12th century; and the deposing power was exercised long before that time, besides that the popes in all preceding ages had taught the distinction and mutual independence of the spiritual and temporal powers: the deposing power must, therefore, have had some other foundation. At least, the opinion of divine right does not preclude us from seeking any other reasonable and well-founded explanation of the power of Rome over secular princes, as that opinion was never authoritatively taught or recognized by the Catholic Church. It is not clearly established by the bulls of any of the sovereign pontiffs, nor was it professedly acted upon in any of their proceedings.

In the bulls in which sentence of excommunication and deposition is pronounced, the pontiffs begin, it is true, by appealing to the power of the keys; and declare that, in virtue of the prerogative of binding and loosing, they excommunicate princes, depose them, and release their subjects from their oath of allegiance. At first view, it might be thought that these pontiffs rest their sentence of deposition, as well as that of excommunication, on the spiritual power, of which they are the depositaries. But let two things be borne in mind, and these expressions can be explained without recurring to any divine jurisdiction, either direct or indirect, over temporal matters. The pope has a divine right to excommunicate; he is also appointed by divine authority to explain the sacred obligations of oaths; in consequence of the jurisprudence of the middle ages, deposition was inseparably joined to excommunication, and the oath of allegiance consequently ceased to be binding. The pope, therefore, could truly say that, in virtue of the keys, he gave sentence of excommunication; he could say also, though in a sense somewhat less strict, that he released the subject from his oath of allegiance, since he declared with authority that the obligation of that oath had ceased to exist. As he went along, it was natural

to join in the bull what was invariably connected in the jurisprudence of the times; and in the same tenour of sentence, and, as it were, with the same breath, depose him who had already lost his crown the moment he was excommunicated. If this explanation be objected to, it is certain, at least, that the popes set out with the sentence of excommunication: this sentence was immediately connected with the appeal to the keys, and it is enough that it was founded on the divine institution, whatever might be the case with regard to deposition, in order to justify the expressions of the popes. Some of them, in later times particularly, may, in their private opinions, have inclined to the system of divine right. But as they never gave any decision in favour of that opinion, we are to believe that they used the expressions of their predecessors in the same sense that they did; that they were satisfied of the reality of their power, without seeking to determine the precise grounds of it; and that they did not wish to give any decision on a disputed point, thus left to the free discussion of the schools. This decision was not given even by Boniface himself, in his famous bull "*Unam Sanctam*." After speaking in bold terms and strong language of the superior excellence of the spiritual power, and of the inferiority of the temporal, he concludes merely by declaring, that all human creatures are subject to the pope, carefully avoiding to add, in temporal matters. The bold expressions used in his bull are still further explained by a declaration which he made in the council where its publication was resolved upon, that he did not mean to usurp the jurisdiction of kings.

No stronger argument in favour of the opinion of divine right can be drawn from the proceedings and acts of the popes, than from their bulls and the sentences of excommunication and deposition which they pronounced. The acts, by which they are said to have made over whole kingdoms, islands, and a great part of the continents of Asia and America, to the kings of Spain and Portugal, were nothing more than the decisions of an umpire, freely chosen by two parties, to settle the boundaries of their discoveries, and fix the limits within which each was to extend his conquests over countries immersed in barbarism, and open for civilization and the publication of the gospel. For in these famous donations, the sovereign pontiff had the diffusion of Christianity in view, more than any design to



extend their temporal jurisdiction. They exercised their power over temporal sovereigns without ever assigning the divine institution as the certain right upon which it was either directly or indirectly founded: consequently, we are at liberty to adopt any other system, in order to explain the power which they exercised.

The system, which it remains now to propose, is that which derives the deposing power from the public jurisprudence of the middle ages—from that established maxim and point of law, adopted and recognized in the Catholic monarchies which succeeded the Roman empire, particularly from the 10th century, by which the monarch, who incurred sentence of excommunication, was deprived of his crown if he refused to give satisfaction to the Church within the term of one year. We have seen how universally the persuasion prevailed, that the one was the inseparable consequence of the other—that no heretical or excommunicated monarch could reign over a Catholic people. Now, what could be the cause and foundation of a conviction so widely spread? It was not the pretended donation of Constantine, which at most could be the foundation of the temporal sovereignty of the popes in Italy. It was not the opinion of divine right, introduced after the conviction in question had been freely established. Nor could a persuasion so widely diffused, on a point so interesting to all the sovereigns of Europe, have been founded on a universal error, on a daring and bare-faced usurpation of the spiritual over the temporal power. It must, therefore, have originated from the jurisprudence of the times, from the maxims of established law—not indeed drawn up by professed law-givers, nor set down in legislative codes, but engraved on the minds of all classes of society, agreed upon and ascertained in their mutual intercourse, expressed by their united wish and unanimous desire—that deposition should be the invariable consequence of excommunication; that the pope should be authorised to deprive that prince of his crown, who himself should throw off his allegiance to the Church.

This jurisprudence was even consigned to writing, and contained in codes of law, with regard to the German empire at least. For in the Saxon and Swabian codes, written in the 13th century, which had great authority in Germany from that time to the 16th century, it is declared that sentence of deposition, pronounced by the pope, de-

prived the emperor not only of his title, but also of all his employments and honours, and allowed the electors to choose a new emperor. The condition here prescribed was long kept up in the German empire. Charles V. was chosen emperor on the express understanding that he would defend the Christian republic and the sovereign pontiff, of whom he bound himself to be the protector.

In other states the same jurisprudence was supposed or acted upon, even in pretty recent times. It was appealed to by the Catholic writers of England, who denied the right of Elizabeth to ascend the throne of England. Philip II. of Spain was guided by it, when, in 1598, he made over Belgium to his daughter Isabella, and her future husband, Albert of Austria, on condition that they and their descendants would continue to profess the Catholic religion. So late as 1808, the Catholic religion was declared in Spain to be the religion of the king and country. The king of Sicily loses his crown if he professes another than the Catholic worship. It was only on the promise of renouncing Lutheranism, that Frederic Augustus I. was allowed to ascend the throne of Poland in 1697. The partisans of the League in France assigned, as the chief motive of their associating, the ancient custom and fundamental law of the country, which obliged the monarch to profess the Catholic religion; and Henry IV. was not acknowledged king until he had bound himself by oath, in 1589, to maintain that religion in his dominions. Relics of the same jurisprudence have been retained in some Protestant states, in England, Sweden, and Norway, which require the sovereign to be a Protestant, though they proceed rather upon a motive of hatred to the Catholic creed, and a desire of excluding Catholics from the throne, than upon any motives of attachment to their own worship.

It would seem therefore that it was a recognized maxim in Catholic states, that no heretical prince could reign over them; that excommunication, in like manner, deprived the monarch of his crown; and that, upon this maxim, the power of deposing was entrusted to the sovereign pontiff, as he had the power to excommunicate. This system, as explained by the author of the work we have been analysing, was favourably received at its first appearance by several periodical publications, and learned men in France and Italy. The principal objection to it,



which is taken from the expressions of the popes in their bulls of excommunication and deposition has already been removed. The assertion, that such a degree of temporal power, as that which was exercised by the popes in the middle ages, is incompatible with the character of spiritual authority, does not require a very long answer. It will be difficult to prove that the ministers of religion are incapable of enjoying any civil rights and privileges; and if they be once allowed capable of civil authority, what other rule shall be assigned to fix the limits of their qualifications, than the general good of religion and the benefit of society?

The system which we have been explaining was known, before it was proposed and proved at length by the author. It had already been adopted by Fenelon; Bossuet had some notions of it; and Leibnitz seems not to have been unfavourable to it. It was generally followed by the doctors of Louvain, before the dispersion of that University in 1787. In a general sense, it may be said to have been followed by a variety of authors, both Catholic and Protestant, who concur in justifying the power exercised by the Roman Pontiff over sovereigns, by the necessity of the times, and the needs of society, which had no alternative between yielding a dictatorial sway to the pope, or becoming the prey of the brutal passions of the kings, emperors, and military lords of the middle ages. What other cause gave rise to the jurisprudence, of which we have been endeavouring to establish the existence, but an intimate conviction that it was imperiously called for by the circumstances of the times? And what also but similar circumstances would authorize the pope to interfere, even in the system of a divine and indirect jurisdiction attributed to him? If his interference were without effect, he had better stand aloof, and abstain from all acts of authority. But if he saw that his interposition was useful, that it was even necessary, that it was called for by the wish of the people and the good of religion, there is no doubt but all laws, divine and human, made it not only a lawful act, but even a duty: as in private society, the individual who would have influence enough to oppose a rising quarrel, and prevent a grievous dissension, would certainly be expected to exert his interposition, and take upon himself the useful office. There is no fear that Rome will abuse the power, which the opinion of a jurisdiction

indirectly founded on divine right, attributes to the popes. They exercised the power with effect, while circumstances rendered it useful and necessary. As circumstances changed, they let it fall into disuse; they allow the systems, which were formerly agitated and discussed so loudly in defence of it, to sleep in silence. And if we may form a judgment from recent manifestations of Pius VI. and Gregory XVI., they have no disposition to revive pretensions, which would only rekindle the jealousy of princes, and excite the flames of dissension, without producing any beneficial consequence.

To justify the power of the pope in the middle ages, independently of all systems, we must go back to the times which called for the exercise of it. Speculatists and ingenious men may differ in the opinions by which they seek to account for its origin and existence. The incalculable advantages to society which it produced, and which immeasurably outweigh the occasional inconveniences with which it may sometimes have been attended, are its best and amplest justification. The temporal power of the Roman pontiff over secular princes in the middle ages, was a salutary and necessary check on their lawless passions. It must be remembered that these princes were as yet but half-civilized barbarians, not accustomed to restrain their appetites, and surrounded by every opportunity of indulgence. It must also be borne in mind, that the modern checks on the royal prerogative, the direction of ministers, the votes of parliament, the dreaded voice of the peers, did not and could not exist in the state of society peculiar to the middle ages. In those times it was the established opinion that the monarch was the visible representative of God, from Whom he derived his authority, and by Whom he was invested with a character and power, to which all ranks owed unmingled reverence and deferential submission. The subject dared not call his conduct to account; he could not question the lawfulness of his orders, nor utter an objection to the widest stretch of his royal prerogative. Unawed by their subjects, feebly restrained by their advisers and counsellors, violent and turbulent sovereigns enjoyed every opportunity of indulging passions the most dangerous to society, had they not been amenable to some higher tribunal, had they not owed an account to a superior, whose person was still more sacred than their own, whose authority was more



venerable, and whose influence was great enough to deter them from the gratification of their violent appetites, by the only punishment that those monarchs dreaded, the loss of power and the degradation from royalty. The chair of St. Peter was the only tribunal that possessed these advantages; and it had also that of being occupied by persons, who generally joined experience with age, and who, free from the ties of marriage, were strangers to those temptations which contribute most to betray the understanding, and to blind the judgment.

In the use of the power entrusted to them, the Roman pontiffs proceeded on the whole with uncommon moderation. By a forbearance unexampled in history, they never employed their influence in the rest of Europe, to increase their own particular states. They sought to make no new additions to their justly acquired sovereignty. They struggled indeed with firmness and spirit that it should suffer no diminution; but that is a duty, which every independent sovereign owes to himself and his subjects. Generally contenting themselves with admonitions and threats, they never proceeded to the exercise of their dreaded power, but against the most profligate and scandalous monarchs, whose outrageous excesses, and insults to public decency, could not have been passed unnoticed, without adding the royal authority to vices that degrade human nature and undermine society. The pope defended the rights of the clergy against simoniacal sovereigns, who would have made religion a gain, and the clerical dignities a sacrilegious traffic; he was the guardian of the liberties of the people; he watched over the purity of the marriage-bed; it was his occupation to compose feuds, heal dissensions, and repress that rage for deeds of violence, which frequently made every kingdom of Europe one scene of warfare and bloodshed. The popes themselves have indeed been accused of being the causes of those desolating wars, which wasted Italy and the German empire during some centuries. But the ravages of those wars, and their continuance, have been greatly exaggerated; and the real source from which they originated, were the vices, the ambition, and unbounded pretensions of the German emperors. The popes contented themselves with acting on the defensive. They undertook war to protect their own dominions, and to enforce their lawful decisions; and it must also be borne in mind, that on the

part of the Roman pontiff, these wars were entered upon in defence of a sacred principle, and in support of rights, which could not have been renounced without endangering society itself. The stand which the popes made in those times of anarchy and confusion, maintained a regard for public order, which was in danger of perishing, and which, kept alive by them, was afterwards destined to renovate society and restore civilization. While the popes were called to employ a power over sovereigns, they exercised it with a firm, a steady, and a temperate hand. As circumstances changed, with slow and mature prudence they altered their practice; they gradually withheld the thunders of the Church, they sheathed the sword with which they had so long overawed kings and emperors, and confined themselves more exclusively to the exercise of their spiritual supremacy, which no circumstances can diminish, nor time circumscribe.

In conclusion, he who looks back to the state of society, which gave the sovereign pontiff so great an influence over secular princes, who calls to mind the universal persuasion of all Catholic nations that thought him entitled to it, the various principles which may be adduced as the solid basis on which it was grounded, the moderation and wisdom with which it was generally exercised, and the beneficial consequences with which the exercise of it was attended, must either pronounce that power a wise, a just, and necessary institution, or he may despair of being able to justify any established authority that was ever held by the most legitimate and undisputed titles.

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ART. IV.—*The Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White, written by himself, with portions of his Correspondence.* Edited by JOHN HAMILTON THOM. 3 vols. Chapman, London: 1845.

CERTAINLY, if Catholics had been anxious for a party triumph, this work would not have remained so long unnoticed in the Dublin Review. Who can forget



the prominent place filled by Mr. Blanco White during the controversy on the Catholic disabilities? The great value of his exposure of the "Popish" system, and of his adherence to the English—the high qualities of mind displayed in his rejection of the "corrupt tenets" in which he had been educated, and his passing over (through atheism) to the light of "pure Christianity"—the unexceptionable orthodoxy of his present opinions—such were the general topics of eulogy among the great body of those, who alone at that time bore the name of "high churchmen" in the English Establishment.\*

The object of their admiration lived to express such sentiments as the following: "What is called the Protestant religion is nothing but a mutilated system of popery; groundless, incongruous, and full of contradictions. The Protestant divines are the most effective missionaries of Rome. Surely, if we are to bow down to some Church, people will find more attractions and much more consistency in that of the pope, than in that of the archbishop of Canterbury." (July 14th, 1835.) Again, "Never, oh God! did the world behold a more insolent usurpation of power, wealth, and dignity, in Thy name, than that of the English Church. The English Church preserves all the pride and boldness of the darkest period of popery in the midst of light and knowledge.....What she does, and what she aims at, requires and shows a *more arrogant spirit* than that which actuated the *boldest of the pretended* vicars of Christ." (vol. iii. p. 291—2.) What re-

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\* For instance, Mr. Southey (the poet-laureat) says of Mr. White's work against Catholicism, "You have rendered....a most essential service to these kingdoms and to the Christian cause....I have never been more affected than by parts of this volume—never more satisfied than by the whole of it." He adds: "Wordsworth (the poet) is impressed just as I have been." (vol. i. p. 415.) Mr. Coleridge says: "It is indeed delightful to me, on so many points, to find myself head, heart, and spirit, in sympathy with such an intellect and such a spirit as yours." (vol. i. p. 419.) And afterwards: "My nephew, the Rev. E. Coleridge of Eton, a most sincere lover and admirer of yours, is, with his brother Henry, to spend the day with us. They both *anxiously wish* for a personal introduction to you. (p. 423.) Presently we find him "correcting Spanish Tracts for the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*." (p. 424.) Even so late as 1835, Dr. Philpotts of Exeter "is glad of an opportunity of sending to him his *warmest regards*; and telling him how glad he should be to hear from him." Dr. Philpotts "neglected during a course of time writing to you, (i. e. Mr. White,) for particular reasons, now at an end, and would be delighted to have you tell him as much about yourself as you can and will." (vol. iii. p. 180.) To go to a different religious school. In 1830, the present titular archbishop of Dublin (then head of a hall at Oxford,) dedicates a volume to Mr. White, and subscribes himself with *deep-felt esteem and veneration*, his faithful and affectionate friend, Richard Whately. (Errors of Romanism, 1st ed.)

flected light these sentiments may throw back on the worth of his previous denunciations of Catholicism, it may have perhaps, by this time, occurred to his former admirers to consider.

And this retribution has been most justly merited. A party which could admire a work of such profane ribaldry as the "Popular Evidences against Catholicism" of 1826, and which could listen to its author, and call on the world to listen to him, in his attacks on a religious creed, have no right to be scandalized or taken by surprise, no, nor to turn their backs on their chosen champion, into whatever depths of unbelief and irreligion he might fall. And far more solemn and profitable thoughts will be awakened by this kind of comparison than by the former; by dwelling on the stages of the evil progress of unbelief, than on the discomfiture of a party. The unhappy man who, in 1826, had learnt from the English religious world that to scoff at Saints and saintly practices was in no way inconsistent with vital and evangelical Christianity, in 1835 publicly and for ever renounced belief in the Lord who redeemed him; in 1836, in the inspiration of Scripture, (see e. g. vol. ii. p. 200); in 1837, in "an extra-mundane Deity," (see vol. ii. p. 361); in 1838, in any personal existence of man after death, (vol. iii. p. 38.)

It is not our intention to enter at any considerable length upon an examination of the present work. It has no longer the interest of novelty; and as far back as last June, had already been made a subject of two very carefully and ably written articles, in the "Quarterly Review," and in the "Christian Remembrancer." To the latter we would especially refer our readers, as containing a most interesting analysis of Mr. White's character and history, illustrated in many places by very profound and apposite remarks, and mixed with very little against which any Catholic is bound to protest. It is, indeed, a relief unspeakable to have such a duty taken off our hands; for the deep unhappiness, the almost ceaseless suffering, of Mr. White's life, makes it a heart-rending task to speak of his character and principles with that stern severity which is their due. Most blessed is the dispensation, which hides from human eyes the real position of any individual in God's sight; which keeps from us any certain information, and which makes it our duty to refrain from thinking on the awful question, how far God's general



denunciations are fulfilled in any particular case; and which saves us, therefore, from the positive knowledge, that this unhappy man's misery here was but the prelude and foretaste of an infinitely deeper and more unmingled misery hereafter.

Still, it seems hardly well that so remarkable a work, concerning so closely the Catholic body, should come before the English public, without some record, at least, in the one quarterly periodical which the Catholics of these kingdoms possess;—a work, too, which carries with it so much the more importance, as containing a history of what is in part the external exhibition, in part the anticipatory rehearsal, of a process of thought which is at present passing through many minds, some of them highly gifted. To Catholics it must ever be an object of deep, however painful, interest, to watch in these days the final issue of Reformation principles: and of these principles Mr. White is an especial embodiment; both from having begun himself in his own person as a Catholic, and also, partly perhaps, for that reason, from having followed out his infidel principles to their conclusions with greater rapidity than has been often witnessed. Nay, we may say that the very absence in his later history of the grosser vices, and his great affectionateness and refinement of feeling, make him still more an appropriate pattern and specimen of the heretical principle, as exhibiting it free of admixture with the more open and acknowledged forms of sin.

The writers above referred to have naturally given most of their attention to Mr. White's second declension into infidelity from his Anglican religionism: for a parallel reason, *our* interest is naturally fixed on his first. But in fact, apart from this consideration, the essential principle of his scepticism must be discovered by observing his behaviour towards the religion of his childhood. Nothing can be more clear to any one attentively reading these volumes, than that his second religious fervour was no real, vital, soul-felt warmth, but a merely apparent and superficial glow, reflected, as on a corpse, from the surrounding influences. Truly, it was not to be expected, that a mind which had thrown off the whole deep and solemn cycle of Catholic devotion, should have found much to edify or arrest it in such religious exercises as "reading the diatesaron" every day for half-an-hour, "and praying over that

part which he read ;” (vol. i. p. 319.) or, again, “uniting in a hymn while tea and cakes were handed about.” (p. 498.) We shall make no scruple, then, in giving two or three quotations of some length from the earlier part of the first volume : which will serve two purposes—the illustration, first, of the then state of the Spanish Church ; and, secondly, of the then character of Mr. White’s mind. On the latter head we shall, for the present, suspend our observations, and leave our readers to form their own judgment. But, in regard to the former, it will be as well to observe, that we are going to place before them the picture, drawn by an adversary, of what is usually considered by opponents to be, as nearly as possible, the most revolting exhibition of Catholicism which ever existed. The Spanish Church, before the French Revolution, is a very by-word among Protestants for everything that is hollow, tyrannical, and corrupt : a gloomy and narrow-minded bigotry, or else concealed atheism, on the part of the priests and educated classes ; a mere formal observance of the external duties of religion, divorced both from spirituality and from social morality, on the part of the people ; such is the view held commonly among us, and fostered not least by Mr. White’s own reports, as to the real condition of that Church. We are not choosing, then, some exceptional and specially favourable case, which may throw a specious colouring over error ; but, on the contrary, an exhibition of religion, in which pretty well all Catholics of the present day would confess that there is more or less which they cannot simply admire : nor are we citing any partial testimony, but that of one who never could speak of Catholics with ordinary sobriety and patience. The only qualification to be made, (and which, for the sake of Mr. White’s character, ought to be made,) is, that the author has throughout taken great pains in avoiding intentional exaggerations ; a trait of character which really deserves most especial mention, when one considers the feelings of violent hostility entertained by him towards the system he is describing.

If there be one thing more than another which those who strive to live in God’s fear and love bitterly and unceasingly lament, it is the poison they may have sucked in during their early years from the perusal of evil works. Is there a Protestant Body in existence which takes pains—we will not say, commensurate with its importance, but



any real methodical pains whatever—to protect youth from this fearful danger? And how infinitely small a matter, when compared with the *neglect* of such protection, is any narrow-mindedness or bigotry which may happen to accompany the affording it! Let the reader observe how the Spanish Church performed this part of her duty; and the degree of gratitude evinced by this her child in return.

“My ignorance, in other respects, *though not greater than usual in those of my age and circumstances*, was complete. I had never read any book but the Lives of the Saints, contained in the *Année Chretien*, a devotional book, translated into Spanish.\* A music-master, who attended me at this latter period of divided attention between the mercantile office and the Latin Grammar, lent me a copy of *Don Quixote*, which I read by stealth. I do not recollect any enjoyment equal to that I received when concealing the history of *Don Quixote* from all the family, I devoured it in a small room which was allotted to me that I might study my lessons undisturbed. Even *Don Quixote* was considered a dangerous book by my father.

“The only object which that truly excellent man had in view was to make me religious, in his own sense of the word, and in perfect deference to the opinions of the priest who directed his conscience.

“My mother acted in strict conformity with these views: yet, being a person of great natural talents, she could not but, now and then, wish for something less gloomy and contracted than the system imposed upon her by the divines of her Church.

“Of the excellence of my parents’ hearts, of their benevolence, their sincere piety, it is impossible to speak too highly. I have drawn their characters to the best of my power in *Doblado’s Letters*. Their misfortune and my own, as far as my happiness depended on their influence, was their implicit obedience to the system of religion in which they lived and died. In accordance with what that system established as Christian perfection, they endeavoured to bring me up consistently with the models proposed by the Church of Rome. By keeping me from the society of other children, they imagined they could preserve my mind and heart from every contamination.”—Page 9, 10.

In the place of “*Don Quixote*,” or other such works, the following will explain the food with which the Church

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\* Mr. White was at this time fourteen years old. He learned writing and ciphering, and a certain portion of mercantile arithmetic, at eight years old, when he was destined for a merchant; he also learnt Latin of a master. On changing his views, he went to school to learn Latin more thoroughly; and mentions by name Cicero and Virgil as authors which were placed in his hands. This of course qualifies, and was intended to qualify, the statement in the text.

desired to satisfy his heart and his imagination, while she disciplined his will.

"The practical part [of my education] consisted in a perpetual round of devotional practices, of which I still preserve *the most painful recollection*. I absolutely dreaded the approach of Sunday. Early in the morning of that formidable day, when I was only eight years old, I was made to go with my father to the Dominican Convent of San Pablo, where his confessor resided. Twice in the month was I obliged to submit to the practice of confession, which my father went through every Sunday. In the Church I had to wait for nearly two hours before breakfast. A short time was then allowed for that meal: after which we went to the cathedral, where I had either to stand or kneel (as there are no seats) a couple of hours more.

"Many times did I faint through exhaustion; but nothing could save me from a similar infliction on the succeeding Sunday. At twelve we returned home; dined at one; and set out at three for another church, where we spent about two hours.

"After prayers, if the season allowed it, we took a walk, which generally ended in visiting the wards of a crowded and pestilential hospital, where my father, for many years, spent two or three hours of the evening in rendering to the sick every kind of service, not excluding the most menial and disgusting. He was twice at death's door, in consequence of infection. But nothing could damp his philanthropy."—Page 10, 11.

So far as the *details* of his religious life were influenced by his father, that compulsion ceased when he was fourteen years old.

Take a later period of his life.

"As soon as I left the Dominican schools for those of the university, I chose a confessor, (every young person piously brought up is expected to have a regular director of his conscience,) at the Church of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. The character of that society is of a peculiar kind; the members are secular clergymen—i. e. are not bound by religious vows; they live, nevertheless, in a building somewhat resembling an English college, with a public chapel attached to it. Their constant attendance in the confessional, the number of masses which are daily celebrated in the chapel, and the splendid services which they perform on certain festivals, attract a great number of religious people. These fathers of the Oratory were supposed to preserve by uninterrupted tradition the true method of directing consciences, for which the Jesuits had been in high repute. As a natural consequence of this notion, the large religious party who had been friendly to that order, had transferred their spiritual allegiance to the small society of priests who were considered the successors of Loyola's sons. I had imbibed



from my mother a great respect for the Jesuits ; and as many of the better sort of students at the university frequented the Oratory, my first independent choice of a confessor fell upon one of the members of that establishment.

“ The Church of the Oratory had, moreover, another very great attraction for me. Music was so constantly performed in it, that St. Philip Neri might be called the Spiritual Opera House of Seville. The good fathers of the Oratory had, however, *contrived that their music should cost them nothing*. They courted the acquaintance of the best professional musicians, and had their services in return for spiritual advice and temporal countenance. As there were a considerable number of amateurs in the town, whose gratuitous assistance might add strength to the orchestra, the fathers had a gallery in the Church, concealed by lattice-work, where the gentlemen performers, on different instruments, might mix with the professional musicians, unseen by the congregation. Far from people of rank looking on this kind of performance as derogatory, they considered it as an act of devotion. As I was no mean performer on the violin, my musical services were highly acceptable to the fathers. To me, the frequent opportunity of joining in a large orchestra was a source of great enjoyment. I could indeed reckon on an hour's practice every Sunday in the afternoon ; and during the three or four great festivals, as the music was nearly incessant from early in the morning till sunset, I used to play till my fingers were ready to bleed. But I will describe my regular occupations on Sundays during this period of my life.

“ Very early in the morning—i. e., about seven in winter, and six in summer—I repaired to the Oratory, of course without breakfast, as having to receive the communion. The church was, indeed, full at the dawn of day; and though each individual quitted it when his private devotions were over, (which would take an hour and a half on an average,) the constant succession of new comers kept it in a crowded state till about ten. I believe there were ten confessional boxes in the church, and nearly as many altars. Every one of the confessionals was surrounded with a crowd of expectant penitents ; the men kneeling in front, the women squatting at the sides, where the confessional is furnished with the tin or brass plates, pierced with numerous small holes, through which the females speak to the priest. It would probably take half an hour before my turn to confess arrived, and as kneeling was always a very painful posture to me, I considered that the hardest duty of the day. After confession, I received the communion without delay; for a priest in his surplice and stole was in waiting, in the early part of the morning, to give the consecrated wafer to as many persons as were ready to receive it. A fresh administration of the sacrament took place every five minutes. After this, I attended one of the private masses—i. e., was looking on, while the priest

went through it—which is all that the Church of Rome requires, on pain of mortal sin, on Sundays and festivals.\*

“After mass I went home to breakfast. The rest of the morning was passed with some of my fellow students ; and (after the establishment of the academy,) in the literary exercises which I have described. Dinner was at one o’clock, and did not employ more than half an hour. At three, I walked again to the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, to join in the music, for the sake of which I endured a sermon of an hour or an hour and a half. A walk with some of my friends who attended the same church concluded the day.

“From the age of fourteen, however, I had a daily task of devotion to perform, which was *exceedingly irksome*: I mean, reading, in an audible voice, the whole service for the day out of the Breviary. Though I read it very rapidly, it was impossible to repeat the whole in less than an hour and a quarter.

“This duty (as I was made to believe) could not be omitted without incurring the guilt of mortal sin. Nothing could be more injudicious than to lay this burden on a boy of my age and temper. But my mother wished to see me attached as early as possible to the clergy, by the ceremony called First Tonsure, which is publicly performed by the bishop. A title, called a chapelry, scarcely worth four pounds a year, was soon after obtained for me, and I received what in the Church of Rome are called the Four Minor Orders. These circumstances placed me under the law which enjoins the daily reading of the breviary. I might still quit the clerical profession ; but as long as I continued a member of the clergy, to omit that reading would have been as heinous a sin as any in the long list of actions, which (in the language of the Romanist divines) exclude from a state of grace.† From my fourteenth to my seven-and-twentieth-year—the age at which, for a time, I became an unbeliever in Christianity—I never omitted this most burdensome practice, except under serious illness. I had, besides, to submit to another devotional task, *scarcely less burdensome*.

“Among the Roman Catholic pietists (I use the name of a German party, because I fear I should give offence by applying a more English denomination,) the most approved remedy for all spiritual evils, the most certain method of rising to perfection, is what they call Oracion Mental. Were I to render that name by the words Mental Prayer, I should not give an accurate notion of its meaning. To call it mental prayer would give the idea of petitions conceived by the heart, but unexpressed by words ; but that is only a part of the lowest stage of the practice. The name Meditation, by which also it is known, embraces more fully the true notion of this spiritual panacea. The person who is about to go through this

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\* It is not worth while here setting right this misconception.

† It can hardly be worth while to point out, that things indifferent in themselves become duties when ordered by competent authority.



exercise, shuts himself up in a room, or retires to some dark corner of a church, and having read a kind of skeleton sermon, of which a great variety is found in the Spanish books of devotion, kneels down, closes his eyes, and tries to spin out the three or four points proposed for meditation into sundry mental ponderings, interspersed with appropriate internal ejaculations. To be able to move oneself to tears, is considered a most satisfactory sign of Christian progress. This is not a mere popular fancy. The Church of Rome looks upon a constant propensity to shedding tears as a peculiar gift from heaven, the existence of which is one of the proofs of sanctity admitted in the trial for canonization. It is called technically *donum lachrymarum*. But to proceed with the *oracion mental*: during that process not a word is spoken, except when a whole congregation engage in it, with a priest at their head, who now and then breaks out into devout exclamations, intended to move the hearts of the meditants. I myself, soon after I was ordained a priest (what, indeed, have I not done to be good, according to the various systems of spiritual quackery?)—I myself was several times the leader of this mystical farce. But, during a great part of my boyhood and youth, my confessor required that every day I should employ a whole hour—half of it in pious reading, and the other half on my knees in meditation. *It is impossible to describe the annoyance which this practice gave me.* With the watch before me, and alternately leaning on either knee, in order to relieve myself from pain, (observe, that nobody uses a hassock,) I tried to think on the proposed subject; yet all I could do was to reckon how many minutes still remained. Nevertheless, being sincerely desirous of doing my duty, I continued this practice many years. It is, indeed, a matter of surprise to me at this moment, how I could, for so long a period, submit to such a series of fatiguing practices, and yet find time and mental strength for my studies. To feel indignant, at this distance of time, may be absurd; but it is with difficulty that I can check myself, when I remember what I have suffered in the name of religion. Alas! my sufferings from that source are still more bitter in my old age. No wonder that I utterly dislike that vague name, and prefer to use that of true Christianity. Religion may mean every mischievous absurdity which still degrades and afflicts mankind; true Christianity alone is its antidote.”—Page 23—29.

Again,—

“The system of these spiritual exercises is a master-piece of church machinery. I do not mean that the engineers, in whose hands I have seen it work, were acting in the full consciousness of deception. On the contrary, most of them partook of the delusion which they worked upon others. Yet they could not but be aware of the advantages which they derived from the system, and of the influence it gained to their party.

“On an appointed day, late in the evening, forty or fifty men of different ages and professions, most of them from the higher and middle ranks, and sometimes a few of humble condition, who were either desirous of improving the effect of a former discipline, or were induced to try a regular course of that spiritual medicine for the first time, met at St. Philip Neri, and presented themselves to Father Vega, the head of the establishment, whose permission to attend the exercises they had obtained some time before. This remarkable person *had built an additional wing to the conventual house of St. Philip Neri, for the exclusive purpose of the exercises*, which were repeated at least six times a year. He was unquestionably a man of talent; but his extraordinary influence arose chiefly from a deep knowledge of mankind, great self-confidence, and a rough yet impassioned eloquence, united, as it appeared, with the most ardent feelings of devotion. That he was sincere, I have no doubt; but that he loved power, and sought it with the most consummate and successful policy, is equally clear to me. No eastern potentate could exceed him in that air of habitual command, which appals the most resolute minds when drawn within its sphere. During the period of six or seven years, when I frequented the establishment of St. Philip Neri, I have seen hundreds of persons presenting themselves to Father Vega. But even those who came against their will, and determined to remain unmoved, (as was the case with many whom the archbishop of Seville sent to prepare for orders,) could not but feel awed in his presence. There was, however, a surprising variety of tone, of phrase, and of manner in his address; which so perfectly suited the character and condition of the person to whom he spoke, that one might have guessed who and what they were from Father Vega’s part of the dialogue. His countenance, besides, was very striking.....

“As the persons previously admitted, arrived, in the evening, when the exercises were to begin, they humbly kissed Father Vega’s hand, and after the exchange of a few words, each was sent to the room which he was to inhabit. These rooms were generally double-bedded. Into them the whole company were distributed, generally in couples. But, according to the rules of the house, all conversation, except on indispensable subjects (which was allowed in whispers,) was forbidden between the inhabitants of the same room, technically called companions. Soon after this domestic arrangement was over, a large bell announced the first meeting in the chapel. That place was kept nearly dark. A lantern, closed on all sides but one, threw its light on a statue of Christ expiring on the cross. As the object of the sculptor was to strike the senses, without any regard to taste, the statue was as large as life, with glass eyes, and the body so coloured as to represent flesh, sprinkled here and there with blood. After the congregation had taken their seats, in profound silence, one of Father Vega’s assistant priests read the subject of meditation for that evening. This



reading generally lasted half an hour. At the end of it, all knelt. For about a quarter of an hour nothing was heard but the pendulum of the clock which was to measure a full hour for meditation. Aware, however, that most of his spiritual penitents would lose themselves in reverie, if left entirely to their own thoughts, Father Vega assisted them with what, in the language of ascetism, are called ejaculations. It seemed as if his thoughts, growing too big and vehement to be contained in his breast, broke out in spite of himself. At first the ejaculations were short, and came at long intervals; but they gradually grew more frequent and longer: till, near the end of the hour, and just before the congregation were allowed to rise from their knees, the monotonous chant of the ejaculations was changed into agonising screams, accompanied with a loud smiting of the breast, in which the congregation joined as they were moved; most of them repeating the words of the director, and loudly calling for mercy.

“But the effects of Father Vega’s art were not seen in full force at the first meeting. He knew the human mind too well to attempt the application of a sudden impulse which might produce recoiling. As the same congregation were to remain under the operation of his spells till the tenth day after his entrance, he could operate at leisure. During that time the exercitants were not allowed to go out of the house, nor to see their nearest relations, except for a few minutes, once or twice during the whole time. The time of rising was five o’clock in the morning. The employments of the day consisted of three hours of meditation, at different times: one hour of reading the life of a saint, to which all attended in chapel; and lastly, just before supper and retiring to sleep, an extempore sermon by Father Vega, which lasted about an hour and a half.

“Nor was this strict and uninterrupted discipline the only means employed to agitate and subdue the mind. There was a graduated scale of spiritual terrors, which, when raised to a certain pitch made way to a gleam of affecting joy. The third day of the exercises was known to be the most terrific. The subject appointed for, that day was the eternity of punishment. I cannot give an idea of the ingenuity employed in striking the imagination by means of this awful subject. Whatever can be contrived to torture the body, and agonize the soul—all was described in the most vivid colours. In the morning, the reading and meditation turned upon the consignment of a wicked soul to hell. The howlings of the evil spirits, as they celebrate their triumph; the first plunging of the wretched being into the flames; its cries of despair, its blasphemies against heaven; the applause with which the most horrible expressions were received by the devil and his angels—all were given with shocking minuteness. The ejaculations of the director added touches of lurid light to the picture; and yet he would not conclude with imploring mercy. That word could not pass his lips. His voice gradually sunk, while sighs and sobs grew louder

around him. Perceiving the moment when terror was at the highest, he suddenly assumed a composed and almost familiar tone, assuring his hearers that under the present impressions of his mind, oppressed and sinking as it was under the idea of sin and its appropriate punishment, it was impossible for him to speak of hope, of mercy, of forgiveness. He must, therefore, dismiss his hearers abruptly, and leave them to their own thoughts.

“He then clapped his hands, (the usual signal for departure,) and retired into the vestry. As the congregation crossed the small quadrangle before the chapel, on their way to their rooms, you might think you saw forty or fifty prisoners who had received sentence of death a few moments before. Some held their hand before their eyes and scarcely could keep themselves from crying aloud. Others looked down on the ground in the attitude of utter despair. All seemed absorbed in grief.

“The scene was, however, very different in the evening. The reading, preparatory to Meditation, was of hope and mercy. The ejaculations opened in a tone of voice which soothed the heart, so lately harrowed with terror. A fresh flood of tears was now seen to flow from the eyes of the congregation; but they were tears of gratitude, of tenderness, of love. A mere reaction of feeling might easily account for this change; but this reaction was not left to chance. The very aspect of the chapel secured it. It was not a gloomy vault as before. There were wax candles upon the altar, amongst which a smiling picture of the Virgin Mary seemed to greet the distressed penitents as they came in. The Virgin was, indeed, the principal, the all-engrossing object of that evening. It was through her that forgiveness was to be obtained: she was the Mother of Mercy; she was all that language can express of love, compassion, and sympathy. The Director’s addresses to her as the hour of Meditation was waning, were those of an enthusiastic lover wooing his sovereign princess. In the midst of these raptures, the sound of music was heard from a gallery at the farthest end of the chapel. Several voices accompanied by instruments of various kinds, sang the praises of the Virgin, the Refuge of Sinners. (*Refugium Peccatorum*.) At the same time, Father Vega rose from his kneeling posture, and taking up the picture, presented it for a holy kiss to every one present. I fear I shall be suspected of an attempt to exaggerate; but I have neither leisure nor inclination to write for effect. I state a mere fact, when I assure you that the music was generally drowned in the convulsive cries of the congregation.

“This was the appointed time to begin the General Confessions. That name is likely to lead Protestants into a mistake; for it means, not a general acknowledgment of sinfulness, but a detailed account of the previous life of the person who is to make the general confession. Every thought, word, and deed, nay, every doubt, every uncertainty of conscience that can be called to remembrance,



must be stated to the Priest, at whose feet the self-accuser kneels during the long narrative.”—*Pages 35 to 43.*

On a less prejudiced observer it will not be lost, that sufficient care is taken to prevent the earnestness of the penitents from evaporating fruitlessly in mere excitement. The luxury of emotion would hardly carry a person through a detailed confession of the sins of his whole life. And if, from the latter part of this extract, some are tempted to think that while our Blessed Lord is placed before them as their *Judge*, it is His Mother who is mainly held forth as the dispenser of *mercy*, let the conclusion of the whole be observed.

“The scene which the chapel presented on the last day of the Exercises, cannot easily be described. The consecrated wafer was exposed to view, encircled with gold and diamonds in a frame of uncommon splendour and richness. The altar on which it stood, was one mass of light, so numerous were the wax candles that burnt upon it. The sound of music was interrupted only to give way to the almost frantic strains of impassioned tenderness in which Father Vega addressed the Deity, in whose immediate bodily presence he conceived himself to be. I will not repeat any of the remarkable, (it would be more correct to say objectionable,) expressions used by the spiritual leader, most of them borrowed from the mystic writers and some of the Fathers; but whatever be their source, I consider them not only as irreverent, but as bordering on indelicacy. To conclude this already too long episode of my narrative—before the dawn of the following day a High Mass was celebrated by the Director, at which all the congregation received the Communion. They then embraced (such is the Spanish custom) Padre Vega, and set out for their different homes.”—*Pages 47, 48.*

There is another scene which we wish we had room to quote; describing the self-flagellation of penitents in the “cave of Father Santa Maria.” Mr. White considers the practise in question to be “shocking and disgusting.”—*Page 92.*

On the whole we have quoted enough from Mr. White’s Memoirs, to show with what consistent and unwearied care, and with how wondrously powerful machinery, the Spanish Church laboured at her great duty of training souls for heaven, guarding them from all spot of contamination, giving scope for their penitential and devotional feelings, bringing heavenly truths in appropriate awfulness and power before their minds—a machinery,

in comparison with which any that exists in the Anglican system is ludicrously impotent. Nor was his Church less faithful, as Mr. White will be the first to assure us, to her other especial duty, that of guarding the faith. The only comment necessary on this subject, refers to an anecdote quoted by the author, (vol. i. pp. 129, 130,) with an apparent view of insinuating that it was *common* among the great body of Spanish Catholics to pay higher reverence to our Lady than to her Son.\* Of course there will be at all times local corruptions here and there; and in the present instance, the Bishop exerted all his authority to *put down* the superstitious devotion to St. Mary. But that his anecdote is very far from a fair specimen of the general feeling, curiously enough we have *his own* authority for affirming. His anecdote goes to show that an image of St. Mary was a prior object of devotion to the Host Itself. Now it so happens, that many years afterwards, when explaining to a friend the cause why Catholic churches are so much more revered than Protestant, he makes not the most distant allusion to the images of the Blessed Virgin which are there to be found. The one reason for this reverence which he mentions is, "the supposed bodily presence of Christ in the consecrated wafers which are constantly kept in most Catholic churches. Any one may easily conceive," he adds, "the power of this attraction for a weak and credulous mind. Add to this, the sanctity and inviolability which it gives to churches in the eyes even of the otherwise most profligate believers. Hence it is that a very slight superintendence preserves the utmost quiet in the Roman Catholic temples." (Vol ii. pp. 310, 311.) It will be difficult to make the world believe but that reverence for our Lord must be very singularly deep and genuine, where the belief in His immediate presence has so powerful and so general an effect.

But there are two accusations against the Spanish clergy, which, through Mr. White's instrumentality, have been so widely spread amongst us, that it will be necessary to consider them with some little particularity. These accusations are the prevalence among them of infidelity

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\* Mr. White's own comment on the anecdote is: "It is ordained by the Church that when the Host is exposed to view, it must have a decided precedence in every point of worship. *Yet the Virgin Mary will always be the great favourite of the people.*"



and of immorality. Let us take them in the order we have used.

As to the first, the author had made his general charges in his former works: for the particulars which substantiate these charges we must look to the present. But the mere inspection of his original statements will throw great discredit upon them. Thus:

“Upon the strength of my knowledge of facts, I declare again and again, that *very few among my own class*, (I comprehend clergy and laity,) think otherwise than I did before my removal to England,” i. e., atheistically.

“I do attest, from the most certain knowledge, that the history of my own mind is, with little variation, that of a great portion of the Spanish clergy. The fact is certain.”—*Evidence against Catholicism*, p. 8.

On the other hand—

“I know but very few Spanish priests, *whose talents or acquirements were above contempt*, who had not secretly renounced their religion.”—p. 60.

Again—

“Among my numerous acquaintance in the Spanish clergy, I have never met with any one *possessed of bold talents*, who had not, sooner or later, changed from the most sincere piety to a state of unbelief.”\*—*Doblado's Letters*, p. 126.

The mere juxta-position of these passages will show how very much at random he thought on the subject. “*Very few among my own class*,” becomes “*very few men of talents*,” “*none possessed of bold talents*.” Why, the far greater proportion of the clergy he represents to be narrow-minded and bigoted; and in any country those “*possessed of bold talents*,” are a small minority. How contradictory then are the two classes of statements which we have opposed to each other! But further, persons endowed with the very highest intellectual gifts ever vouchsafed to man, would not be considered by a thinker like Mr. White as possessed of “*talents and acquirements*,”

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\* The quotation from Doblado's letters is made on the authority of the Quarterly Review. The passages from the “*Evidences against Catholicism*,” were suggested by the same article; but the present writer is acquainted with that work, and has verified them. He should add, that he is acquainted with *almost all* Mr. White's English works; though “*Doblado's Letters*” have not happened to fall in his way.

unless they took the turn of literature and criticism, and were, moreover, sufficiently free from all devotional bias. A priest given to constant prayer and meditation would be, in Mr. White's vocabulary, ipso facto a feeble-minded bigot; it is not so wonderful, then, if those whom *he* would regard as intellectually powerful, were sceptical in their opinions. St. Thomas Aquinas himself cannot escape his biting contempt, (vol. iii. p. 204,\*) and St. Boniface, Apostle of the Germans, for no particular offence except humble submission to Rome, scrupulousness about kinds of meats, and zeal against marriage with a wife's sister-in-law,† receives the name of a "blockhead," and a "holy fool." (Vol. iii. pp. 92, 93.)

But in truth, the general impression entertained by any one of strong opinions, as to the prevailing character of the body to which he belongs, is worth extremely little or rather nothing. Take either of the English Universities, and ask successively the members of opposite parties in it for their view on the general state of feeling prevalent in the academical body,—you will receive answers, confidently given, yet so contradictory to each other that you can hardly fancy it is the same place which impresses on different minds such opposite ideas of itself. This is a very common remark. However honest the reporter may be, when you come from his *certain knowledge* to his *general impressions*, you leave a sure ground for a most precarious one: the ideas of his own set, the facts of which his own way of life or manner of thinking have made him cognisant, are represented as generally prevalent; and far more is this so, if he is possessed by some theory, which leads him to expect *à priori* that such and such will be the case. But if this be true in ordinary cases, how very far more so in such an observer as the present author! A deep sense of the bitter misery inflicted on his early years by the institutions of Catholicism, had caused a sort of monomania on the whole class of kindred subjects,

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\* The part of St. Thomas, to which Mr. White refers in this passage, is, 2, 2, Quæst. ii, Art. 6. It may be worth some person's while to refer to it, and see how carelessly Mr. White looked at the text.

† Gieseler himself, from whom Mr. White quotes, says: "Worthy of all honour, on the other hand, are the true Christian piety of Boniface, and his unyielding morality, which could overcome even his reverence for Rome." (English trans. vol. ii. p. 12, 13.) But of this we hear not a word. Again, it is not marriage with a wife's sister-in-law, but with a deceased brother's widow, which aroused St. Boniface's indignation.



which called forth remonstrance from more than one of his friends, and which displays itself in the most frenzied violence of language. The testimony of such a writer to any matter connected with Catholicism, which was not literally subject of his own personal experience, weighs not so much as a feather's weight.

Accordingly, on referring to the present work, readers will in general, we think, be a good deal surprised at the scanty amount of definite facts on which he bases such very sweeping conclusions. Not only indeed are the facts very few, but his own statements are quite at variance with his conclusions. For example, (vol. i. p. 121,) "I knew" a certain atheistical young merchant "before but slightly. As soon, however, as my unbelief became settled, we discovered each others' principles by a kind of instinct which cannot be well conceived by persons who have not lived in countries oppressed by religious tyranny." Is this the language of a person who lives where many are like-minded with himself? or is it not rather an indication of the extreme smallness of the minority in which he was placed? And since Mr. White left Spain, facts have been allowed to disclose themselves; every anti-infidel restraint has been taken off, nay, every external inducement held out to apostasy. Has the Spanish Church, in her adversity, given proof of that hollowness and debasement which Mr. White imputes? Let the article be carefully perused which appeared in this Review in the June of last year, and the great multitude of facts, there mentioned on the best authority, be duly weighed. It is plain that Mr. White must have been perfectly besotted by the violence of his anti-christian fanaticism. On this particular subject of infidelity, we find Don Jaime Balmes, editor of the weekly newspaper called the "*Pensamiento de la Nacion*," saying in the face of day, when he must have been immediately open to contradiction had he spoken erroneously, "Infidelity has no scientific existence in Spain." At the same time, though in fairness we are bound to say so much, God forbid that we should seek to conceal how deeply deplorable some of the facts are, which are mentioned in these volumes; or so to gloss them over, as to prevent the consideration of them from bearing its appropriate fruit.

We cannot, however, form any judgment on the question how far these facts are referable to any peculiarities

in the cotemporary Spanish Church, till we have in the first instance weighed the degree in which any definite dogmatic system, by inevitable necessity, fosters a conscious and vehement infidelity. Members of the Anglican Church cannot, without an effort, be fair judges of this; for the simple reason that they may remain blameless members, nay, may consider themselves especially attached members, of that Church, without really accepting any of those mysteries which are so staggering to the pride of human reason. Mr. White's opinions, while united with the Anglican Church, afford here an instance exactly in point; and it is only a specimen of innumerable others. Persons may consciously deny such doctrines as Original Sin,\* Baptismal Regeneration, perhaps eternal punishment; they may believe only in the most vague and imperfect manner the Atonement, or the Trinity; and yet, for all the clear witness that the Anglican Church formularies bear to these doctrines, there is nothing whatever to disturb their satisfaction in their existing position. And this being the case, they are able to give vent to that innate bias of our nature which leads all to give homage to the invisible world, by a regular attendance at divine worship, and an exhibition of general respect for the ordinances of religion; while these observances react in their turn, and serve for a protection and support of this vague religious sentiment. In truth, there is no temptation to explicit and conscious infidelity in the Anglican Church, except in the case of those, necessarily few in number, deeper and more philosophical minds, who press principles to their consequences and feel acutely the hollowness and unreality of the Anglican position.

On the other hand, how true is the orthodox doctrine in regard to the natural repugnance of man against religious mystery, as such, when it claims a humble and obedient reception, is very manifest from the demeanour of such professed believers as we have been describing, when more definite dogmas are proposed for their acceptance. According to their own principles, they should only enquire carefully into the evidence for these dogmas; whereas experience shows the very reverse: it shows, that the more plausibly these doctrines seem recommended, the

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\* We mean the definite doctrine that we are, one by one, under God's displeasure at our birth; not the mere doctrine of the corruption of human nature.



more quickly they seem growing into a practical and influential reception, so much the more violently are adverse prejudices excited, so much the more unmistakeably does a fanatical violence of protest take the place of philosophical indifference. It is most plain that in proportion as the one religion, proposed for the acceptance of such persons, should be a definite and dogmatic religion, a fearful temptation would be brought across their path: a temptation which some indeed might overcome to their inestimable and eternal benefit; but which to the rest, would be the cause of bringing the latent elements of pride and unbelief into clear day, and fostering them into a mature growth, that must overgrow and smother much of general religious feeling, and perhaps many attractive and amiable dispositions. They must become much better or much worse. And so far is this from being any presumption against the *apostolicity* of a definite and dogmatic religion, that it is a strong presumption in its favour; seeing it is St. Paul who says, "We are the good odour of Christ unto God, in them that are saved, and in them that perish; to the one indeed *the odour of death unto death*, but to the others the odour of life unto life."

However, it is plain enough that the Spanish Church of that period preserved unsuspectingly some maxims and rules of conduct, which she had inherited from ages of greater simplicity and faith, and which, by the time of Mr. White's education, might often be considered inexpedient. One instance is supplied at once, in the account which the author gives, in one of the extracts above quoted, of the compulsion under which he went through his hour-a-day mental prayer. We believe it will be found that at present, quite universally, Catholic directors would very much dissuade any self-imposed discipline of the sort, unless in cases where they had ascertained that the character was sufficiently deep and religious to bear it; and that, for fear of the very evil which befel Mr. White—for fear of producing a certain revolt of the mind against religious discipline altogether. And if it be replied that the unhappy man was at this time preparing for the priesthood, this only throws back the blame another step. Surely, surely, those "grave divines" were sadly deceived, who gave it as their opinion that he had a "true call." (vol. i. p. 8.) And in this comment we have the less misgiving, because in the article on "Spain," which we have

already mentioned, it was given as the testimony of "persons most favourably inclined to the religious orders," that at a later period, "they were injured by the too easy admission of new novices." If we may venture to throw out a theory, it is possible that, as civilization with its attendant influences makes progress, a kind of character may possibly be elicited, very difficult of comprehension to those trained on the ancient maxims. The literary man of modern times, (which was evidently Mr. White's character from the first,) superior on the whole to the grosser vices, and possessed of much amiability and refinement, yet with a heart cold and insensible as a very stone towards God and the things of God, must have been a strange spectacle to men, who became narrow-minded in their judgment of character, from the very unquestioning simplicity of their own faith, and from the fervour of their own piety. Such persons, we may suppose, from the experience of their own temptations, and from the knowledge of those around them, might readily understand rampant and rebellious wickedness; or, again, the state of mind which has light above its strength—which is ever aspiring to sanctity, and ever falling back into sin: with the struggles of a weak yet piously-disposed mind they might fully sympathise, and save it from adventuring into a position beyond its present power; the audacious daring of presumptuous sin, seeking to enter within the sacred precincts, they might boldly confront and authoritatively rebuke: but how were they to understand, in any of its stages, till experience should have actually forced it upon their notice, the character with which every Church of the *present* day alas! has full acquaintance—of him who professes to follow the loftiest part of his nature, and claims a high place of respectability amongst his fellow-men, and yet sees not so much as the obligation lying upon him to give God the first place in his heart and affections. And it must not be supposed, moreover, because we have ventured so far to inculcate the system, that we have forgotten the fearful guilt incurred by Mr. White himself, in remaining a candidate for the priesthood, after he had fully recognized his own hatred of devotional practices. But on this subject more hereafter.

And again—though we have no intention of entering upon the general question of persecution, we must be allowed to express our belief of its great inexpediency at



the time, and in the degree, wherein these memoirs represent it. Though here, too, it is more important to begin by dwelling on what may be said on the other side; seeing that few in the present day will differ from our general conclusion.

In the first place, then, be it observed, as is noticed in the *Christian Remembrancer*, "that the Inquisition was instituted in an age when all the world persecuted; and that it only did what all other institutions do, it went on till it was stopped." In the next place, free discussion and impartial examination of evidence are very necessary in order to the formation of *opinion*; and the duty, therefore, of allowing the freest scope to such examination, holds (or, in consistency, ought to hold) a very prominent place in all Protestant communities; but it is rather hard that the Catholic Church should be judged on Protestant principles. *We* believe that those who submit their minds to the doctrines, and their hearts to the precepts, of the Church, derive therefrom the surest conviction of that Church's divine commission; and that, moreover, a special grace is given to the baptized, whereby such conviction is more deeply and steadfastly rooted. The perusal of Protestant and infidel works, thank God, is no necessary preliminary to Christian faith. Nor could the exclusion of infidel writings have any such effect as that attributed by the *Christian Remembrancer*, of "throwing intellectual minds into a hopeless self-consuming morbidness," except intellectual minds of an inferior order. People seem to forget the rare and splendid intellectual power which has been devoted to the service of the Church; and to which even our adversaries in the present day are beginning to do some justice. If we may trust to the united voice of those who have given themselves to such studies, a depth, consistency, reality, and deep inward harmony is to be found in the Catholic treatment of dogmatic subjects, which tends in a most especial manner both to satisfy the intellect and confirm the faith of those who are able to make the experiment. To go no farther than those writers whose very names proclaim them Spanish, where are higher gifts of the intellect to be witnessed than in the writings of Suarez, De Lugo, and Vasquez? Though, indeed, we suppose it is true that even the ablest minds, if indisposed to devotional practice, are far from being able to appreciate fully the merely *intellectual* power of such authors.

And much more would such a person as Mr. White, whose philosophy itself was so much of the dilettante kind, be insensible to their merit. Nay, he seems to have been insensible not to their merit only, but to their existence. That such a person as St. Thomas himself ever lived, much less that St. Thomas's treatises had fallen in his way, and been the subject of his study, we should have never imagined from the whole account he gives of his life in Spain. The circumstance drops from him accidentally in a passage we have already quoted, at a later period.\*

Farther, the Christian Remembrancer is mistaken in supposing that the Inquisition "prohibited the whole body of continental literature." There is nothing in Mr. White's work which so much as hints at anything of the kind.† The prohibition of Don Quixote in his childhood‡ was a matter of domestic not political regulation. And though, some pages back, we fully gave the Church the credit of the prohibition, it was through the direct exercise of her spiritual power and influence: his father acted (p. 9.) "in perfect deference to the opinion of the priest who directed his conscience." But afterwards he speaks of the works by Batteux and Rollin on the "*Belles Lettres*" and of Barthelemy's "*Voyage d'Anacharsis*," without the least suggestion of any difficulty in procuring them; nay, a professorship of *Belles Lettres* was established in the University during his residence there. (p. 23.)

Lastly, we consider that the Christian Remembrancer speaks not only without foundation, but very hastily, and (in effect) very slanderously, when it represents the "ruling powers of the Church in Spain" as "simply bent on maintaining an establishment ascendancy." The obvious

\* "I wish I was on the banks of the Ohio: it is worse to live in this country than in the forests of North America, even among the savages. Had I been born there, *I should have had no means of cultivating my mind*..... But here, look here, (at the book-shelves)—can there be a more exquisite, or a more refined torture than that of being surrounded by these books in your closet, and hearing what is going about in our house"—viz. his sister going to be a nun. (vol. iii. p. 344.) A believer of cultivated mind he seems as though he had never heard of.

† From vol. i. p. 116, indeed, it is plain that only particular heretical or infidel works were prohibited.

‡ We are not, of course, including Don Quixote among "continental literature;" only if a work like Don Quixote had been forbidden by law, much more would a multitude of other books have been forbidden.



meaning of such language is, that the object which animated those rulers was not so much the welfare of the people, as a selfish and conservative fear of innovation, and a desire of keeping themselves in the position of ascendancy. Is it then so very strange that they should have dreaded, beyond words, the corruption of that simple faith which so widely prevailed among the people, by an open exhibition of infidelity within, and an allowed influx of Anti-christian literature from without? Are we to suppose that great authorities in the Anglican Church consider such an evil a light one? Or, in real truth, can there be a misery in the whole circle of spiritual afflictions, which would more keenly and bitterly afflict those who "watch as being to render an account of souls," than if so much as one humble and devout believer were impeded in his heavenward course, by the paralysing suggestion of a doubt on the truth of those principles and doctrines which are at once his only guide and his only support? An opportunity will occur, before we close this article, of explaining and defending what all earnest Christians feel on this subject: here we need only observe, how easily an anti-christian *difficulty* may be understood, by those who have literally no power of understanding its solution; and what advantage Satan is quite sure to make of one such doubt, in diverting the soul from fully corresponding to God's grace, by bringing it before the mind with especial importunity, and clothed in its most plausible and deceptive dress, at the very time when that grace is most abundantly poured forth. Oh, who can say that a trembling sensitiveness to so fearful a danger as this, is a token of a cowardly or worldly spirit? or who can read Mr. White's own pages, if endued with ordinary candour, and not acknowledge that if ever there were an institution which made the real and highest welfare of those committed to its charge its active and unceasing study, the Spanish Church, against which Mr. White rebelled, was that institution.

And yet, as we have already said, we could have wished that that Church had confined herself to the use of her spiritual powers, as her resource against these dangers:—that she had guarded against the evil example of open infidels, by holding them up to the abhorrence of the faithful; and against the influence of evil writings, by prohibiting their perusal, under pain of mortal sin, except to those whom she judged able rightly to use them. And we

could have wished this, if for no other reason, at all events for this; viz.—that the course of thought in Spain had plainly come to the point, where an exhibition of the critical and historical evidences of Christianity was necessary; and because such an exhibition is evidently impossible, except where there is the free power of reading and of publishing. We are not, of course, implying that the mass of the people are capable of such a study: such a supposition is what we should have conceived it impossible for rational beings to entertain, were it not for the high Protestant authority on which it rests;\* and it may even now be fairly left to sink by its own absurdity without wasting words upon it. But in modern times it certainly is difficult for thinkers to devote themselves to any branch of real philosophy, without more or less impinging on questions of literature, of criticism, of history; while many men, and not necessarily irreligious men, have an especial turn and, as it were, vocation for them. Now these studies have their very life in the free and searching examination into documents and records of every kind, and into the value of conflicting arguments founded upon them. And further, Christianity, so far as it is based upon historical facts, is fully amenable to such investigations. The attempt then to suppress data of the kind above specified, is ipso facto the attempt to remove Christianity from the province of these inquiries; and what effect can this have upon those who intelligently pursue them, however devout and orthodox they may be, except to bring their intellectual nature into most painful opposition to their moral, and, (although we might fully trust that God's grace would save such men from making shipwreck concerning the faith,) to plunge them into life-long distress and perplexity? But far more fatal is the effect of such a policy, on enquirers who are not guarded by these right and religious principles. To those whose taste lies in this direction, nothing ordinarily, except regular and fervent devotional habits, will give that keen accessibility to supernatural impressions, that lively belief in God's presence and interference, that acute sense of the heinousness of sin, which would seem to be the appointed safeguard of faith, and which exists in many minds, and faith with it, apart from consistent habits of virtue. Many men, we say, may

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\* E. g. Dr. Whately.



preserve faith without consistent habits of good ; but men of critical and enquiring temper can hardly be in the number. On the other hand, we all know the singular edge and point, far, very far, greater than their own weight is sufficient to cause, with which objections strike upon the mind, that tend to throw discredit on what we have hitherto supposed to be universally and undoubtingly received. What support against this blow have such enquirers as have no solid religious convictions to fall back upon? Thanks to the state of the law, they had previously no idea that infidels existed in a Christian country,\* and therefore the blow comes upon them with all this adventitious and exaggerated force ; they know not, nor have means of knowing, how widely the same difficulty is felt ; they have no access to any recognized solution of it, seeing that the orthodox are ignorant of its existence ; they have no means of fully examining the matter for themselves, for they suspect the existence of an indefinite number of documents and arguments illustrating the subject, which lie in the store-rooms of the Inquisition, the food of worms. Whereas had every thing been open and above-board, the native force and cogency of the historical evidences of Christianity is such, that some might even have been convinced ; and many might have been so far startled and arrested in their course, as to prevent them from fully committing themselves to the stream of infidel thought, and to keep awake within them a chord which, in the hour of affliction or some other softening hour, might have moved responsively to the workings of the Holy Spirit, and their souls have been saved. In sober earnest, when we consider all that has been suggested—the prevalence throughout Europe at that time of the critical spirit in its shallowest form ; the powerful agency of any dogmatic system in bringing forth conscious unbelief, where the materials are wanting for devout faith ; and the peculiarly irritating effect of persecution on minds of that particular cast ;—so far from feeling any surprise that a certain amount of infidelity existed among Mr. White's contemporaries, we think that the very limited extent within which that infidelity must have been confined, affords a very singular and eminent testimony to the

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\* It was not till Mr. White himself became sceptical, that he was at all aware of the existence of other sceptics in Spain. See vol. i. p. 115.

extraordinary zeal and faithfulness with which the Spanish Church fulfilled her main functions. And we feel bound moreover to add, that the picture of Mr. White himself, presented in these volumes, is not such as to encourage the idea that under any circumstances he could have been materially other than he was.

Nor is there any thing to take us by surprise, in the supposition that the then rulers of the Spanish Church may have committed an error of policy; nor is the phenomenon a new one, which exists perhaps at present on various matters of thought and in various parts of the Church, that the true method of meeting newly adopted tactics of aggression has not been discerned at one glance by the spiritual authorities. We are told by the learned, that on the occasion of a former influx of infidelity into the Church, in the thirteenth century, the Church herself seemed pausing before she adopted a final course. "Her policy in the twelfth century had varied; and though no definite judgment was pronounced as to what was the legitimate use of philosophy in religious studies, yet the tendency of the Church was undoubtedly to discourage it. It seemed as if the world was too strong for the Church.\*" And yet the ultimate result was no renunciation of philosophy, but her acceptance of the philosophy of St. Thomas; a system which has made itself felt in every detail and in every corner of theology, down to the very catechisms for poor children. And in like manner, we doubt not at all, though the mode of the accomplishment must of course lie hid before the event, that the present uneasy and unhealthy workings of the philosophical mind of Europe, are only preparing for the Church some fresh intellectual triumph, and some fresh and glorious invasion of the provinces of the world.

We have been led, by the importance and complexity of the subject, to some length on this first head of Mr. White's charges against his native church: the second head, above specified, may perhaps be more briefly despatched. And here, too, as before, let us first examine how far his facts bear out his accusations. The latter, certainly, are sufficiently general. In speaking of one priest, whose immorality he discovered, he says, "I learnt

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\* "Lives of the English Saints," vol. xiv. p. 26, 7.



that Father —— was not an *exception* in regard to the fatal consequences of forced celibacy," implying by his very words that immorality was the general rule; and in several other passages he makes the same insinuation.

Now, for the reasons we gave above, the general *impression* of such a person as to the prevalent character of the clergy, we regard as absolutely worthless, even were there no contradictory evidence: while, as we also stated above, there *is* contradictory evidence of the most cogent character; sufficient to impress on the most careless minds the utter untrustworthiness of such general statements as those made by the author. And when we come to the *particular* facts cited in these volumes, which tend to corroborate his general view, we find them scanty in the extreme; nay, we find many bearing quite in the opposite direction. Among the latter we may class the very high character he attributes to Father Vega; the great reverence felt for the priesthood by persons whom Mr. White himself regards as most exemplary; the acknowledgment that, on the discovery of a certain priest's immorality, he became offensive to his parishioners, insomuch that without friends, without means of decent subsistence, he continued in wretchedness for about a year, at the end of which he died of fever. (vol. i. p. 106.) Who, unless possessed with the author's abject credulity in regard to Catholic corruptions, will believe it possible that persons holding so conspicuous a position as the priests hold in a Catholic country, can as a body be generally profligate, and yet keep that circumstance so successfully concealed from the great body of the people, as these facts indicate?

We have another instance of the great carelessness he displays in general assertions of this kind, in some observations he makes on nuns. In the present work, having made mention of *a few nuns* whose consciences he directed when a priest, *some* of whom were women of superior good sense, &c., he adds: "My love of truth, however, demands a brief yet explicit declaration of my acquaintance with minds of quite an opposite stamp, among the inhabitants of the nunneries. I have, in the course of my life, come in contact with characters of all descriptions.....but souls more polluted than those of some of the" nuns, "never fell within my observation." And so he leaves the matter. Who would not suppose from this that he meant to describe it as a general rule?

Who could have thought it possible that the same author had said in a former work—"The greater part of the nuns whom I have known, were beings of a much higher description,—females whose purity owed nothing to the strong gates and high walls of the cloister."\*

So, again, the Quarterly Reviewer tells us that, "while his evidence in Doblado's Letters bears hard on the morals of the friars in Spain," (the value of which general evidence the reader may now tolerably understand,) "he declares unequivocally in favour of the Jesuits, both as to their purity of character and the practical effects of their influence." A most remarkable admission, indeed, from so prejudiced an observer; but how is it to be reconciled with his wild declamation upon the inevitable results of vows of celibacy?

There is literally one only passage throughout Mr. White's work, that we have been able to discover, where any evidence comes forth which even *professes* to show the *prevalence* of clerical immorality: and that passage is so characteristic of the author's idiosyncrasy, that we shall proceed to quote it.

"I will give one proof of the state of feeling prevalent among the purest and most irreproachable persons in my unfortunate country: that proof is contained in the fact that jokes upon the celibacy of the clergy are considered unobjectionable, provided they do not go beyond general insinuations against the supposition that the ecclesiastical law is or can be strictly observed, provided these insinuations are expressed without alarming delicacy. My mother (must I repeat that I never knew a higher model of female conduct?)—my own mother used to repeat the well-known saying of an old bishop to those that came to him for orders. Those who had received what are called 'Minor Orders,' which do not bind to celibacy, the good-humoured prelate dismissed with this advice: 'Beware of *them*. (You must recollect that the Spanish pronoun admits a feminine termination. The bishop's words, in Spanish, were: 'Guárdate de ellas.') When candidates had been ordained subdeacons, he altered the words of the advice into, 'Que ellas se guarden de ti.' 'Let *them* beware of you.'"—(Vol. i. p. 54.)

Really there seems no limit to the credulity, on these subjects, of persons who are governed by a strong *à priori* idea. The author knows very well that clerical immorality is considered by sincere Catholics as a mortal sin

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\* Evidences against Catholicism, p. 135.



among the very gravest in kind, including sacrilege. And yet he gravely tells the world, nay gravely tells himself, that the sincerest Catholics consider the commission of such sins as necessary on the part of the whole of the clergy, and treat such necessity as a matter of joking. To say that all Spanish Catholics looked upon their religion as a farce, would be at least intelligible and consistent: but no; of those whom he saw most closely of all, in the most intimate familiarity of intercourse, his father, his mother, both his sisters, he bears testimony that they heartily believed and devoutly practised the doctrines and precepts of their Church. They believed then, according to his account, that the great body of the clergy were kept by the Church in a state where their eternal condemnation was inevitable; and they treated this fact as a good joke. One would think he must have lost his senses before he could so have written.

Is it worth while to say a word to clear up the strange misunderstanding of the good Bishop's meaning, contained in the cited passage? Before celibacy was compulsory, the candidates for ordination were to take care not to imbibe unawares some human attachment, which might lead to marriage, and so divert them from their vocation. Afterwards, when they could not marry, it was to be hoped that females would in like manner beware of imbibing unawares attachment to *them*: the result of which must be, since marriage was impossible, the pain of unrequited passion. This is the only interpretation which gives any point to the whole sentence: while to interpret it as Mr. White appears to have done, and as the Quarterly Reviewer understands him, that "the law of celibacy produced the utmost vigilance in guarding youth against lawful attachments and a *comparative indifference to profligacy*," is to bring an odious and monstrous charge, at the expense of all ordinary rules of interpretation.

We are convinced that Mr. White had no dishonest intention in the matter: it is only one instance of the utter distortion of facts into which his wild and blind fanaticism hurried him; and it only illustrates the impossibility of placing for a moment the slightest confidence in any of his representations, except where he barely and literally records facts which he has himself witnessed.

We shall take leave to make a further remark on this head, at the risk of its being thought invidious. We

hardly think so extreme a misconception could have taken place, had the writer's own mind been highly sensitive on such matters. For whatever reason, it appears to us that the present volumes do him more than justice on this head. One or two observations indeed on *theological* subjects, therein to be found, would to *Catholics* bear the plain mark of a corrupt disposition in the way alluded to; but the following passage, on which we happened to light by mere accident,\* will show plainly to *all* how very far he was from regarding sins of that nature simply as sins. In reference to a question of *adultery*, Mr. White proceeds, "A Spaniard who with a good voice and expression sings, &c.....must be endowed with *bashfulness* superior to that of the fabled hero of chastity, to avoid the snares which beset him on all sides." It is not surprising truly that such a writer writhed under Christian discipline, and was rejoiced to escape it.

A subsequent passage of his life reflects a curious light on part of his early history. He descants in several places, as our readers of course know, on the disastrous consequences inflicted by the law of compulsory celibacy, after he received subdeacon's orders. His defence for his taking a step, in itself purely voluntary, is thus stated for him by the Quarterly Reviewer. "The priesthood was forced upon him *as the indispensable condition of an intellectual life*. When he talked of entering the navy instead, the answer was devised with *revolting skill*: it was that he might give up the clerical profession, but that if he did he must return to the counting-house." Well:—he shook himself free from his fetters; he came to England; he re-examined the question of marriage, being free, as he considered, to decide either way. He feels himself obliged, to his own great unhappiness, to decide against it. Why? Because, "he cannot establish himself in that state of moderate independence which would enable him to make a gentlewoman happy." (Vol. i. p. 300.) In free England then, not less than in enslaved Spain, a person to whom marriage would be a great blessing, is in practice rigorously excluded from its attainment. Nay, and more rigorously in the former country than in the latter; seeing that in the latter the alternative

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\* From Mr. White's article in the London and Westminster Review on Godoy, the Prince of the Peace.



would merely have been the life of a respectable merchant, but in the former a complete descent from his place and rank in society.

It is worth while to insist a little further on this contrast between English and Spanish society. To hear some people talk, one would fancy that in Protestant countries the greatest facility is given to all who wish to marry; nay, the greatest encouragement to marriage, seeing that a celibate life is represented as so necessarily full of spiritual evils. Whereas the fact is, not only that a large number of political economists inveigh most severely against what they call imprudent marriages, being none the less vehemently anti-catholic on that account, but in the upper ranks the choice necessarily lies, in a vast number of cases, as it did in Mr. White's case, between a single life and the total abandonment, not only of their worldly station, but of comforts which to them, by habit, are absolute necessities. Marriage, in fact, is morally *impossible* to them. Do you wish for cases of absolute compulsion? such are not wanting. Without speaking of the instances often mentioned in controversy, where married persons are long separated by worldly engagements of various sorts, take the case of soldiers; who are over and over again ordered for a long term of years, say to such a climate as India, and absolutely prohibited, except a few of them, to have their wives in their company. And as well might you endeavour to turn back a river towards its source, as to prevent civilization from bringing with it such effects as these. Nay, while on the subject, we may refer to another Protestant state, closely united with our own; for our eyes fell accidentally the other day on a regulation just made in Hanover, prohibiting marriage to officers in the army, not possessing a certain amount of property.

Here will immediately occur to the mind a passing observation we made a few pages back, on the extreme care taken by the Catholic Church, a care which these memoirs themselves so signally illustrate, to guard the young mind from any corrupting influence. Such facts as those just mentioned on the impediments to marriage, have a most wonderfully different influence, accordingly as there has or has not been care of that kind; and how Protestant youth is protected in that respect, we leave it for others to determine. But further still: supposing (what is the very reverse of true) that the celibacy of the

clergy and other Catholic institutions had no tendency greatly to facilitate marriage, in all cases where celibacy is not chosen on religious grounds,—yet what is the position of Catholics, even when exposed to any spiritual dangers which may be specially incidental to the single life? They have the Church proclaiming loudly and consistently that God's grace is most abundantly sufficient to guard them from all harm;—they have the example of all who minister at the altar of God, as living illustrations of the Church's doctrine—and there are such institutions as those which so much disgusted Mr. White, moulded in various shapes on the *Spiritual Exercises*, the very general account of which no one can read without in some degree understanding their singular efficacy in saving souls from sin, and of which in practice the success is found to be almost miraculous.

But to what have Protestants to look, if they wish for help, that their right feelings and good desires may be ripened into steady resolutions and virtuous habits?—To the example of their clergy? The very institution on which they pride themselves, is a married clergy, and married for the very reason, as is openly professed, that celibacy is in ordinary cases fatal to innocence.—To the help of their Church? What help is forthcoming, unless general admonitions or severe denunciations? This is the really critical question. The very good, it may be said, will under all circumstances be good; the very bad will under all circumstances be bad; but that far greater number, who have a general wish and desire to be good but lack resolution and self-mastery, the fate of these may be almost called the especial criterion of a standing or a falling church.

If there be two nations, both of which profess high morality;—and if in one of these the system of early education is most carefully and scrupulously (even if to an excess of care) adapted to the object of inculcating it; and also numberless institutions abound, whose object and whose effect is to support the feeble steps and make straight the tottering knees of those who wish to walk blamelessly in the way of its requirements; while in the other, an accomplished member of a learned profession is able to utter, uncontradicted and in the face of day, such a sentiment as the following:



"It is at all times a delicate matter to touch upon this portion of men's histories," (viz., their private character,) "partly from the nature of the subject, and partly from a kind of *soreness* which the community feel upon it, *owing to the inconsistencies between their opinions and practices*, and to certain *strange perplexities* at the heart of those inconsistencies, which it remains for some *bolder and more philosophical* generation even to discuss ;"\*

which of these two nations will the world in general be apt to compare "with whited sepulchres?" which of the two will they charge with the base hypocrisy of assuming externally a great show and profession of morality that they may clamorously revile others, while they feel no real value for its attainment, when the question is of reforming and disciplining themselves?

Strange is it—not the least of the many strangenesses which Protestantism has ushered into the world—that numbers, who protest hotly and eagerly against the doctrine of a Christian priesthood, who are forward with self-deceiving and ungodly zeal to claim, as they say, for the laity their proper place in the Christian body, shall yet be the very persons, on the one hand to spy out with malignant keenness of perception any individual immoralities in the clergy, on the other hand tacitly, nay at times even openly, to admit for the laity a widely different standard of morals—a standard contradictory not merely to the plainest statements of God's word, but to the most elementary maxims of natural religion.

For an account of Mr. White's subsequent career, and for a detailed criticism on his character, we have already referred those who may be interested in the subject to the article in the *Christian Remembrancer* ; though, indeed, the quotations we have already made will convey to those of our readers who have truly Catholic hearts a sufficient general perception of his besetting evil tempter : which may be summed up, in one word, as most utter *irreligiousness*. As regards that very foundation of all religion, a keen perception of sin, his Anglican Reviewers have justly illustrated the complete absence of such feeling from his mind, by such passages as the following :

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\* Life of Lord Strafford, by John Forster, Esq., of the Middle Temple, being 2nd vol. of *Lives of Eminent British Statesmen in Lardner's Cabinet of Biography*, p. 281.

“There is nothing like pure joy among us. Pleasure instantly assumes the appearance of sin, *a word which perverts every mind among us.*”

And again,—

“The mixed disease, both mental and bodily, called scruples, so common among nuns and recluses of both sexes.”

A fact, by the way, strikingly at variance with any imputation of immorality against the general body of the inhabitants of cloisters; and also, what is to the present purpose, so mentioned by him as to show his total want of sympathy with that practical idea of religion from which such disorders spring. But no extracts can convey the least idea of the complete over-spreading of Mr. White's mind by a bitter, contemptuous, fanatical hatred and disgust, at the whole notion of attempting to reduce the mind into habitual subjection to God; whether such attempt show itself in careful self-discipline, or in penitential or devotional practices.

It may be worth while however, in connection with this part of the subject, to give a short sketch, upon his own authority, of his life in Spain; because, with regard to that whole period, he makes the following profession:

“Free at length, (as I feel when copying in 1835 my original manuscript,) from the early and deeply seated habits of that ascetic humility, which considers it a Christian duty to exaggerate one's own faults, I am bound to declare that very few of my actions, during that period, were such as have now my complete reprobation; and that even those had circumstances which greatly excused them. I do not justify myself before God; but men, such as they are, have no right to condemn me. The circumstances in which I was placed were very trying; yet I heartily thank God, that his Providence watched over me and prevented my preparing sources of remorse for my old age.”\*

At the age of twelve, from extreme dislike of the mercantile profession, he falsely pretended “that he felt a strong inclination to be a clergyman.” (p. 8.) Devotional practices were intolerable to him; mental prayer so impossible, that all he could do was “to reckon how many minutes still remained” of the prescribed time; (p. 29.) the recital of the breviary “exceedingly irksome;” (p. 27.)

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\* Vol. i. p. 44, note.



attendance at mass a mere form," (p. 26.) and "a nuisance;" (p. 32.) confession "a more serious annoyance." (Ibid.) The very day before he committed himself to the clerical profession, his father reminded him that it was not too late to change his determination; that if he disliked the profession to which he had been brought up, he would endeavour to settle him in another; (p. 51.) but his knowledge that the abandonment of his intention would cause great unhappiness to his mother overruled all objections, and he received subdeacon's orders. We are not speaking as though Mr. White in all this acted a consciously hypocritical part; the reverse is plain from the account he gives. But it illustrates the extreme degradation of his conscience at the time, that he did *not* feel his conduct to be very shocking; and further, when we consider that, as Mr. White very well knew, the whole life of a Spanish priest was occupied in the midst of these practical and devotional exercises, and that if he is to have any peace of mind it must be from his enjoyment of them; it is plain that a man who, with his eyes open, enters such a profession, while he feels nothing but disgust for the whole round of devotion we speak of, has none but himself to thank whatever miseries are the issue. At this time, at least, he was a sincere believer: did he dread no retribution for profanely intruding into holy things?

The natural result of all this ensued. Mr. White became an atheist. For ten years, being an atheist, he performed the functions of a priest at the altar and in the confessional; and, in making this astounding announcement, he gravely says, "*I thank God* that he gave me a heart which..... was often, *as in this case*, a law to myself."\* Why, there was not one of those fervent Christians, whose self-flagellations at the cave of Father Santa Maria so excited his "scorn, pity, and indignation," who would not rather have died a death of torture than dissemble his religious convictions. Which is the really melancholy and degrading spectacle before men and angels,—that Christians, being keenly sensible of the sins and imperfections of their daily life, albeit free from wilful and habitual transgression,

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\* "Practical and Internal Evidence," p. 11. In the present work, however, there is a note in which the writer supports by argument a conclusion which one is rather surprised at finding so explicitly stated, as though any one in the world could doubt it. "When a man is required to declare his belief in the truth of certain propositions, he is dishonest unless he really believes what he professes."

should punish themselves here before God that they may the rather meet with mercy hereafter;—or that such a person as Mr. Blanco White should publish to the world his own shame, exhibiting a perfect unconsciousness how pitiable an object he must appear to all right-minded men, and only interrupting his narrative to express eulogies on his own good qualities,—to commemorate his “great love of knowledge,” and his “equally great hatred of established errors;” (p. 14.) the compliment he received from his professor on his industry and success; (ibid.) his “distinguishing himself in the study of divinity;” (p. 16.) his “love of what is right, and abhorrence of baseness;” (p. 44.) his consciousness that “a sense of duty has supported him in many trying cases;” (p. 50.)—inserting a note indeed, as already mentioned, to confess that playing the hypocrite for ten years was not in fact defensible, but inserting another note, which we have also quoted, to say how little blame he takes to himself for it?

The Quarterly Reviewer urges, in extenuation, how little there is to support the mind in the idea of bearing witness to *atheism*; how widely different in matter from *Christian* confessorship. Be it so: this only tends to *prove*, what it seems the object of these volumes to *disprove*, that such opinions as Mr. White's are peculiarly unfavourable to moral integrity.

Another thing to be noted is, that it is plain, from the “practical and internal evidences,” (p. 11.)—that he did not expect to find any difficulty in leaving Spain altogether; he remained there, and pursued the dreadful course we have mentioned, for the same reason which originally had so powerful a share in bringing him to the clerical profession—an unwillingness to give his mother pain.

We are thus led to the remembrance of what holds so very prominent a place in these volumes: Mr. White's sensitively and tenderly affectionate attachment to his relations and personal friends. This it is which mainly gives his character at first sight a delusive colouring, and will cause many to think our general observations harsh, until they have well weighed the whole matter. He mentions himself, as a defect, his utter helplessness, his absolute weakness, in cases where he is called upon to give pain to any human being, and especially to those whom he personally loves. As we are not writing an ascetic treatise,



we shall here assume the Christian principle, that such affectionateness of disposition is in itself neither good nor bad ; that if by careful discipline subordinated to divine affections, it is capable of bearing very rich and beautiful fruit ; that if not so subordinated, it draws the whole man to an idolatry, of all perhaps the most dangerous. Never was there a more signal instance of the latter than in Mr. White. At the same time we must not omit one trait mentioned by the Quarterly Reviewer, which is a matter of very real praise, as tending to show that Mr. White's affectionateness was not the mere delight in another's love or society, but an unselfish desire of their welfare. We allude to his advising his son to return to India, for the sake of his professional prospects, while his own feelings are thus described in his Journal: "Took my last leave of Ferdinand, and felt as if my heart was breaking."

The Christian Remembrancer says of him, that he "had ardent human affections, and dry spiritual ones." The latter fact is indeed so obvious that a child may discern it ; what Christians mean by the love of God, such a feeling as Butler describes in his well-known sermon, does not exist in his character, even in the faintest rudiments. But the other clause of the antithesis requires qualification. Ardent feelings of *friendship* he most certainly exhibits ; and of friendship we have very affecting instances in some among the Saints, quite sufficient to show how fully that feeling admits of being taken up into the perfect Christian temper. But that "love of the brethren," which is the more especial characteristic of the Saints, which is an integral and indispensable part of the Christian's character—this, which is rather to be called charity than friendship, burned as dimly in Mr. White's heart as did divine love. We are quite convinced that this is faithful to the general tone of the work ; and are only aware of one brief passage (in p. 191 of vol. iii.) which bears even the superficial appearance of contradiction to it. It was his lot to live in a time, when the public mind has been most forcibly and powerfully drawn to the question of the poor ;—their sufferings, their sins, their oppressions: not Catholics only, nor Christians only, the great body of thinkers have had their attention intently fixed on this awful question. Yet it seems to have taken no hold on Mr. White's imagination ; his consideration for the mass is exclusively exhibited in his earnest desire to banish from their hearts

the whole spirit of religion, as being the one pervading evil of the world: and while the religious and philosophical world around him have had their thoughts engrossed and their hearts wrung with the intricacies and the miseries of the present state of society, his journal seems pretty equally divided between (1) affectionate mention of his friends, (2) clever little discussions on some literary question, and (3) fresh arguments against religion generally, and against every individual doctrine of Christianity in particular.

Another characteristic forcibly impressed upon the reader's mind, is the absence of all idea of moral discipline, all care for his own individual and personal improvement. It has been already seen that he confesses as a fault the weakness of his disposition, its pliability to mere human respects; yet we find no record of any attempt to correct it. Under the impulse of his transitory attempts at being religious, we see at times an exception to this general remark; but on subsequent reflection he condemns himself for the "ascetic tone of mind" evinced in such exception.\* His whole state of mind, under the acute suffering to which he was so long a victim, was distinct indeed from the cowardly and impotent querulousness which is sometimes witnessed, but was still more distinct from the humble Christian's demeanour; from his penitential remembrance of past sins, his joy in the purifying effects of pain, his exuberant gratitude for God's unspeakable mercies, his lively hope of an eternal reward. Mr. White's self-mastery, such as it was, was stoical not christian: and as was his life, so was his death.

That such a person should have failed to see the marks of divinity in the Catholic Church, most plainly and unmistakeably discernible though they be to the great mass of those trained in her communion, can be matter neither of surprise nor perplexity. His subsequent course of thought was merely such as might have been expected, in one abandoned by the light of divine faith. That to the last his philosophy was full of inconsistencies, as containing an incongruous mixture of the old traditions still haunting and influencing his mind with the new elements which were ever being received into it, this is most

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\* See vol. i. p. 348.



undoubted.\* Still there are the plain traces of one intelligible principle at work, which, could it have been allowed full time and scope, would have brought the whole mind into very complete and melancholy harmony. That principle, whether always consciously entertained or not, was in fact simply this, that a communication between the visible and the invisible world is, in the nature of things, inconceivable: and when, over and above this, we consider, the utter abhorrence and disgust for those doctrines that have been revealed, which his perverted and corrupt moral nature caused him to entertain, we shall have no difficulty in understanding the fearful speed with which, when once set free on his career, he coursed from stage to stage of the road which he had entered. There is every possible appearance of perfect sincerity and good faith. As far as matters of religion are concerned, he seems neither to have pursued enquiry for the sake of intellectual excitement, nor to have indulged himself in careless, much less in wilful, slander of those whose principles he detested. The latter especially we are bound to mention, as placing his writings in favourable contrast to the infamous work of Michelet; and still more are we bound to mention it, because we are indebted to his general truthfulness of narration for the means we have had of convicting him on so many particulars from his own mouth. The picture presented by his philosophical history, is that of a sincere desire of truth, energizing in a radically perverted and irreligious mind.

But, thank God, Catholics do not so read human nature as Mr. White read it; we believe that there is a divinely implanted habit of faith, by which we may obtain information of the invisible world. We believe that, in proportion as the Catholic Church is openly exhibited in her full proportions and her native dress, and in proportion as mere intellectual misapprehensions are removed, in that proportion will it be that each individual, who has not by his own misconduct darkened the light that was in him, as he comes from under the shadow of his early discipline and associations, will discern the plain and sure marks of God's commission in that Catholic Church; that he will recognize in her, what others by their own very confession are unable *anywhere* to recognize, the "pillar and ground

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\* Several of these have been clearly exposed by the Quarterly Reviewer.

of the truth." And much more, of course, those who have once yielded themselves to her holy discipline of doctrine and of precept, will intimately and certainly experience those blessings and inward gifts, which plain external notes had been, it may be, their original warrant for believing. True it is, as we have before fully allowed, that whereas the Catholic Church bears witness to certain external facts, it is fairly to be expected that those facts may be ascertainable by the very same rules, on which the general historian prosecutes his researches. To suppose it otherwise, would be to place one of God's gifts in contradiction to another; to represent reason as an antagonist to faith. But then, if this be the real state of the case, the whole ground is taken from under Mr. White's feet, when he complains that the historical evidences of Christianity are only of a probable character. *All* historical evidences are of that character: and since these evidences are not the real foundation whereon we build the edifice of Christian faith, but are only the warrant to a certain portion of the Christian community of the harmony between faith and reason; no uncertainty is thereby introduced into the grounds of Christian faith, nor any disparagement of its divine character.

And with these scanty remarks on a most important subject,—scanty, yet sufficient to show *where* lies the fallacy of Mr. White's reasoning,—we close our notice of the present work. If we may hazard a conjecture on its probable effect, we conceive that its influence will be felt on a very different class from those who are accessible to Michelet's work, lately alluded to. It is the higher and more reflecting class of minds on whom Mr. White's arguments and example will tell: they will tell, we should imagine, on some in the way of precipitating their course towards the gulf of utter infidelity; on some, we hope, in the way of clearing their ideas on the true character of Christian faith, and thus leading them the sooner into communion with the Church: in either case, then, to hasten the period of the internecine contest which is so clearly impending, between Christianity on the one hand, embodied in its legitimate representative Catholicism—and anti-Catholicism, on the other hand, stripped from its disguises and appearing in its true dress of infidelity. That an Unitarian minister should have put forth such a



work as this with sympathy and admiration, is indeed a sign of the times: but considering that he has held up Mr. Blanco White's character to our respect, with the very view of so far giving his sanction to opinions which the common sense of mankind, believers and unbelievers, will denominate anti-Christian, he will himself be the first to feel, that for the plainness with which we have expressed our opinion on the character of his friend we owe neither apology nor explanation.

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ART. V.—*Poems, by Thomas Hood.* In two volumes. London: 1846.

**P**ILE up these venerable tomes on yonder shelf, and fasten their burnished clasps until the morrow. The collected edition of Thomas Hood's poems, has just been laid on our library table. We cannot turn another leaf in that dear old hogskin folio, with its learning deep as the sea, and its reasoning strong as the same. In vain we try to finish this paragraph on the Unity of the Church. Father Suarez, "thou reasonest well," and on every page we see the reflection of that calm majestic forehead on the frontispiece, so radiant and glowing, and fresh under thy grey hairs. Well do we love to be with thee, when the blinds are down, and the shutters closed, and the lamp is lit, and the intense fantastic flame is writhing between the bars of the grate, in forms so bright and beautiful, that to molest it with rude iron, would be like thrusting a sword through the centre of an exquisite picture. But again—another time—no more for this evening. In vain we try to con over that brown page, on which Birckmann's types pressed, more than two hundred years ago. Moxon's snowy foolscap and the clinking of single and double rhymes are all we hear and see.

We met the "Song of the Shirt" for the first time last summer; and, excepting this piece, of Thomas Hood's poetry we do not recollect to have ever read a line until

this day. To us, in our critical capacity, this circumstance is, we think, an advantage in every way, save one—we may come to our task with too strong a bias in favour of the author, and with our judgment too highly coloured from the enthusiasm of a recent and first perusal. There is mediocrity—and every one knows what *poetical* mediocrity means—in Byron and Moore and Campbell and in every poet except Homer, and there is mediocrity in Homer too. Poets are ranked and classified according to their best writings. The *Childe Harold*, the *Melodies*, the *Sea Odes*, are, we believe, generally admitted to be the first or among the first productions of the three we have named. According to the relative merits of these, the relative place of their authors is assigned among the children of poesy. Judging of Hood's poems by the same very reasonable principle, we would rank them with the highest of the species to which they belong.

The genuine poetic feeling is not, in all who possess it, of one and the same kind, with only difference of degree. The epic, the drama, the tale, the song, the ballad, the sublime, the pathetic, the humorous, have each its own class of admirers. Of true sensibility and taste there are different sorts with their specific objects, as of men there are different races with their distinguishing peculiarities of stature, of aspect, of mental and bodily conformation. To the epic is, we believe, generally assigned the most eminent place in rank. We suppose there must be some good reason for this preference. Nevertheless we cannot help observing, that famous critics, on whose concurring judgment this distribution rests, are rather a heavy-minded, cold, and pedantic class of persons; with more of intellect than of heart, with more of dry fancy than of warm imagination, with more of metaphysics than of sensibility, loving and hating by rule, well versed in the dictionary, and first-rate schoolmasters. They say that their decision is universally admitted, which means universally admitted among themselves. We rarely met a man who did not feel a relief in coming to the last line of the *Paradise Lost*, and of the *Æneid*, we were going to say and even of the *Iliad*, with the heavenly music of its language stealing away the soul, like the symphony of golden cymbals heard over the waters in the calm moonlight. If some people choose to place their highest gratification in reading from beginning to end, a poem of twelve or twenty-four books, with five or



six hundred lines in each book, and every line a majestic sonorous heroic verse, we have no objection whatever to this mode of promoting one's happiness, any more than we have to that of the excellent individuals who place their earthly summum bonum in revelling in the mysteries of the Binomial theorem and the Conic sections. Only we wish that such persons would allow others the license, which we gladly concede to themselves, of indulging their own peculiar tastes unmolested; and that they would not so unhesitatingly maintain as the general opinion, what may be only the opinion of a party to which they belong.

Those objects of taste are undoubtedly most to be recommended, and are in a moral view, the highest, which have been always found to contribute most to awaken and strengthen the nobler and more refined emotions of the soul, to keep down what is gross, vile, selfish, earthy, and to develop and combine the disinterested, the spiritual, the charitable, and whatever is opposed to all that the generous and simple-minded hate and shun. But the ways in which different classes of men tend to the same end are so various; the same susceptibilities are in different minds, (we speak of cultivated and well constituted minds,) kindled into activity by such different objects; the means whereby the same inward sense is excited in different cases, so little resemble each other in many respects, that in mere matters of taste it has often appeared to us unaccountable, how the reputed doctors of the faculty ventured so calmly and decreterially to settle and define so much, to mark out so exactly the boundaries of toleration, and that there has been so tame an acquiescence in their decisions. We have never yet met a critic to our liking—a critic who belonged to no party in the “republic of letters”—a critic of a truly Catholic spirit, who, in forming his judgment, kept before his mind the important and very obvious truth, that of poetry there are many departments, and of these departments many species; that the natural turn of some minds, their particular training, habits, pursuits, fit them for the exclusive relish of one kind of excellence; as the same influences give to other minds different tendencies. In the structure of mathematical proofs, there is little or no room for substantial variety, beyond the variety of absolute truth and absolute falsehood. In moral reasoning there is much wider scope, the discursive faculty being here exercised on materials of a less definite nature. In works of

mere taste the latitude is of course infinitely greater still. If the demonstration of the first proposition in Euclid be in itself valid, it is valid everywhere and for ever; and its validity depends no more on our perception thereof, than it depends on the shape of the book in which the demonstration is printed. A poem, however, which charms the admirers of Crabbe, (and among his most devoted are we,) may read tame and common-place enough to the admirers of Southey. Both particular poems and particular kinds of poetry, are at one period the objects of general favour, and then fade into forgetfulness, and then regain their place in popular esteem, are again forgotten and again revive; as the vallies which are green to-day, look no longer green when night comes, and will resume their verdure with to-morrow's sun. There is something like a permanent universal consent, as to the merits or demerits of some works. Lord Brougham's translation of the great oration of Demosthenes is, like the translator's reputation, dead and for ever; the oration itself will never die. The writings of \* \* \* will be very soon as much lost to the world as the bellows of Tubalcain's forge. The epics of Pye have ceased to be anywhere. Of particular sorts of poetry, as well as of particular poems, there seems to be a universal consent that they are utterly vile and worthless. Mathematical poems, chemical poems, the wings, the axes, the altars, found in the collection of the "*Poetæ minores Græci*," belong to this class. But between what is condemned by all, and (if such there be,) what is admired by all, there exists a very ample room for diversity of tastes. Sunset on a calm autumn eve is beautiful to every eye, a slaughter-house is beautiful to none. Between these how many works of nature or art, which, though many may gaze on them unmoved, are yet to as many others, sources of purest delight and enjoyment. We are the advocates not of indifferentism but of toleration. In matters of pure taste there may be difference without opposition, as parallel lines are prolonged without crossing. Where there is no uniform standard of right and wrong, and where there is no authority competent to establish such a standard, we are against the despotism of an oligarchy self-formed, and dragging within the sphere of its control those who are without the sphere of its jurisdiction. We cannot understand how half a dozen of able men, whose taste lies chiefly or exclusively in one direction, should be allowed to make



this their own taste a law for all the world beside. If a man is a profound scholar, an elegant and vigorous writer, and in certain departments, a judicious critic, there is a very common and indeed very natural disposition to bow to his decisions in all things; and herein we think the mistake lies. If, in you, strength of understanding prevails over readiness of sympathy, live on your strong rough diet. But if there are others in whom a finer and more lively delicacy of taste predominates, if there are those who in the real world, or in the world of fancy, see a thousand analogies, the perception of which sets into quick and glancing motion springs of feeling that exist not in your bosom, let them too live on their more exquisite fare. If you are blind, is that a reason that others should not open their eyes? We, of course, have nothing to say here of Hood's religious opinions; but if you suppose him to speak of a *poetical* creed in the following lines, they express our sentiments in Hood's own style.

“ Well!—be the graceless lineaments confest!  
 ✓ I do enjoy this bounteous beauteous earth;

And dote upon a jest  
 Within the limits of becoming mirth;—  
 No solemn sanctimonious face I pull,  
 Nor think I'm pious when I'm only bilious—  
 Nor study in my sanctum supercilious  
 To frame a Sabbath Bill or forge a Bull.  
 My heart ferments not with the bigots' leaven,  
 All creeds I view with toleration thorough,  
 And have a horror of regarding heaven  
 As any body's rotten borough.

“ What else? no part I take in party fray,  
 With tropes from Billingsgate's slang-whanging tartars,  
 I fear no Pope—and let great Ernest play  
 At Fox and Goose with Fox's Martyr's!  
 I own I laugh at over-righteous men,  
 I own I shake my sides at ranters,  
 And treat sham-Abr'am saints with wicked banter,  
 I even own, that there are times—but then  
 It's when I've got my wine—I say *d—canters!*

“ I do not hash the gospel in my books,  
 And thus upon the public mind intrude it,  
 As if I thought, like Otaheitan cooks,  
 No food was fit to eat till I had chewed it.

On Bible stilts I don't affect to stalk ;  
 Nor lard with Scripture my familiar talk,—  
     For man may pious texts repeat,  
 And yet religion have no inward seat ;  
 'Tis not so plain as the old Hill of Howth,  
 A man has got his belly full of meat  
 Because he talks with victuals in his mouth !  
 Mere verbiage,—it is not worth a carrot !  
 Why, Socrates or Plato—where's the odds ?—  
 Once taught a jay to supplicate the gods,  
 And made a *Polly*-theist of a *Parrot* !

“On such a vital topic sure 'tis odd  
 How much a man can differ from his neighbour :  
 One wishes worship freely given to God,  
 Another wants to make it statute-labour—  
 The broad distinction in a line to draw,  
 As means to leads us to the skies above,  
 You say—Sir Andrew and his love of law,  
 And I—the Saviour with his law of love.”

*Ode to Rae Wilson.*

We did not intend to quote more than one or two lines, but having begun we knew not where to stop. Taking this passage and some others from the same Ode, which we hope to have room for extracting by and by, even in their literal meaning, there is very little to jar with our religious principles. For, whatever our doctrine on exclusive salvation may be, (and this is not the place to enter on such a question,) there can be no doubt that Rae Wilson and his party could put forward no claim to the monopoly of grace and glory.

We have not yet seen any of Hood's “Poems of Wit and Humour,” which, we learn, from the preface to the present volumes, are to be published—we hope soon. But we have heard a great deal about them, and among other things, that they are sparkling (or blotted !) all over with puns. There is, however, in the graver collection before us, a large number of specimens of this kind of writing, including the puns—witness the extract we have just given.

There are many very clever and worthy persons who have a great horror of puns—something analogous to the feeling which is produced in witnessing the needless torturing of small and harmless animals. It is not worth while here to enter into the philosophy of the matter. In the utter detestation of this word-bating, this



syllable and letter and aspirate worrying, this ventriloquism of language, this mesmerising of the alphabet, this bilocation of mind, this squeezing and poising and whirling of human thought for no serious purpose—in the deep dislike of all this we did ourselves most cordially share, until within the last couple of years; nor are we sure that our dislike is even yet more than superficially cured. Such a feeling the recollection of our own past feeling enables us fully to appreciate. To all who hold puns in abomination, who would as soon meet a rattle-snake as a pun, to such persons we would say—Do not open Hood's poems, do not visit the house in which a copy of them is kept on the parlour table, do not travel in the stage-coach or steam-packet which carries a reader of them, do not seek an introduction to the acquaintance of the acquaintance of such a reader. By all means nourish your own taste, indulge your own humour, be grave or gay according to your own method. Walk in your own way—only let other people walk in theirs. Do not say that, because a pun is your evil, it is therefore a *malum in se*. Do not imagine that there are not as grave and good and able as you, to whom a pun is like a breath of fresh air after a long morning's study, better than a walk before dinner, aye or wine after it; stirring up the latent sparks of languid life, and setting the whole soul into a glow—as the nimble foot begins to quiver at the sound of an Irish jig. It were indeed truly intolerable to pun always or at unseasonable times, as it would be to continue always laughing, or always eating, or always sleeping. Let no one pun while he is at work with Donnegan over his Lucian, let no one pun while he is studying logarithms, let no one pun until dinner is over. But here is the peril. In the company of a practised punster you are never secure. He is worse than the bore in Horace, or the frogs in Aristophanes, or the old man of the sea in the eastern story, or Lord Brougham in the House of Lords. He is an evil genius at night; he is a shadow in the sunlight. Like a shower in April, his nonsense pours down upon you when you least expect and are least prepared, when you are without cloak or umbrella. While in solemn contemplative mood, while your mind is soaring upwards, he sends his intangible arrow after you, and brings you down, like a heavy bird, with a bump on the black earth. While you are discoursing politics or metaphysics with a friend, and work-

ing up the big idea, he shoots his tiny missive thereat, as children crack soap-bubbles by the touch of a pin. Where an opening presents itself a pun enters, as wind rushes into a vacuum. There is no keeping down this passion; when suppressed, it breaks out again, like the Gheber's fire in Moore's fable. It is astonishing how much delight, how much genuine happiness some persons feel in petty mischief. Perhaps we should have no puns in our Utopia. But in the real world there is, after all, a large—we suspect, a very large—number of people who really love puns, who entertain an exquisite relish for this sort of amusement, and the natural bent of whose mind leads them to entertain it. Critics should not overlook this fact, any more than parliament should, in framing laws, forget that there is more than one class in the community.

It is common, in reviews of poetry, to point out first the general, and then the characteristic excellencies and defects of the work under notice. An admirable custom this is, but the world is growing tired of it. We have nothing new or striking in this way to say, and therefore we shall say nothing. Of wit, humour, pathos, sublimity, the gushings of a kind and generous heart, of simple, graceful, vigorous language, abundant specimens will be found in these volumes; sometimes lying thickly together, sometimes thinly scattered. Whether Hood is likely to be so general a favourite with the generations to come as he is with ours, is a question which we will not undertake to answer; and the solution of which, in one way or the other, does not, in our opinion, affect his relative merits nearly so much as is commonly supposed. Immortal fame depends in a great degree, though not altogether, upon accident. The world is full of excellent poetry, old and new—and life is short. A selection must be made by each reader, and generally it can be a selection of but a small part. Generations, in this as in many other things, herded together—the present moving from the place of the preceding; the next, or that after the next, returning to it, or near to it. The stock of literature is like a lending library, only a few volumes can be taken at a time. Where a choice is to be made from a large number, what is left for a future selection is not always thereby disparaged.

But it is time to present our readers with some extracts. We would not think of transferring to our pages "The Song of the Shirt," published as it has been in so many



journals in every part of the empire, but for two reasons. The first is, we know that a considerable number of a certain class of *our* readers have never seen it, and will thank us for now affording them an opportunity of reading it. The second reason is that, in an article on Hood's poems, in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, the following passage occurs :

"The two compositions which have attained the noisiest popularity, are among those which to us appear the *least poetical* in these volumes—we allude to the 'Song of the Shirt,' and the 'Bridge of Sighs.' We respect the generous and humane feeling which dictated both; we grant that the former produces a heart-rending impression upon the feelings; that it paints with a stern and gloomy touch a scene of misery and suffering, too common, but, alas! we fear, unavoidable and irremediable. All this we grant, but we cannot recognise—or at least in any high degree—*its claims to poetry*. To be the mouth-piece of such a wail of distress—to give words to a sentiment already felt generally, though inarticulately, and thus to strike home to the public sympathy, demands honesty and strength of language; but it *requires but little aid from poetry*, and we must add, in all candour, in this instance *it has received little*."—Page 385.

Of the "Bridge of Sighs" we shall say nothing. With the strictures of the Reviewer on *certain parts* of it we perhaps agree. But to say that the "Song of the Shirt" has little or no claims to poetry! If from one of our theological fraternity—if from a clerical Dublin Reviewer, begrimed with "the dust of the schools," long a stranger to Helicon and the Muses, such a sentiment came, it might be accounted for and overlooked. But that it should appear in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*!—the *Edinburgh*, which has produced by far the ablest literary criticisms of our age—the *Edinburgh*, in which Sydney Smith, (so loveable, notwithstanding his profaneness and belly-god philosophy,) and Jeffrey, and Mackintosh, and Macaulay, and Henry Brougham, (not Punch's Brougham, but another of the same name, since defunct,) and so many other most gifted men have written! "To give words to a sentiment already felt generally, and thus to strike home to the public sympathy, requires but little aid from poetry!" Who is this tin-lipped, leaden-eyed, granite-hearted critic who speaks thus? Anything more absurd we never read—more opposed to the great principles advocated in the same Journal of old, when the mas-

ter spirit presided over it. "To give words to a sentiment already felt generally, and thus to strike home to the public sympathy"—why, to do this felicitously is the highest and most arduous task of the poet, and of the orator, too—"proprie communia dicere." To represent agonies and ecstasies that have never existed, save in imagination—to describe horrid murders such as never have been committed, enchanted serpents, demon steeds, breathing fire from their nostrils, and bounding over seas of ice, or frozen mountains, or abysses of blazing sulphur, their adamantine hoofs ringing to the empyrean—to picture fairies and sylphs gliding, and twining, and dancing, and weaving their moonlight spells—all this is much more easy, both in Germany and elsewhere, than to paint real human beings and human feelings, so as "to strike home to our sympathy;" as it is more easy to paint monsters—a griffin or a flying dragon—than to pourtray a living likeness of an individual human face. The common feelings of tenderness, of love, of pity, of sorrow, of soul-felt joy, how hard it is so to embody them in simple strains that the emotions of the reader's heart will answer them like an echo whenever they call! How many masters of the lyre have tried to effect this, and tried in vain! It is not gorgeous imagery, nor brilliant style that is required, but that happy selection of common and natural sentiments, not obvious perhaps, but seeming to be such when expressed, and that happy selection of words that come we know not how, whose expressiveness we feel but cannot describe, and which no study of books or things, no familiarity with language can give, though they may improve, the power of choosing when required. To picture a scene of misery, to transfer it to the poet's age, to group together not only the physical and prominent traits, but those that lie deep in the very soul and centre of sensibility—the shades which sad memory, fond recollections, affections rudely smothered, dreary forebodings fling over the rough outlines of the mere outward suffering, melting all into one tender image, so sadly sweet, so mournfully beautiful, that the gazer's eye is rivetted thereon until it becomes wet with tears: thus to describe is given but to few, and to these few only on rare occasions. But we shall produce the poem itself which has occasioned these remarks, and leave our readers to decide between the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Dublin*; only premising, that the picture is drawn from life, and



that there is in it no more of exaggeration than what must be found in all such pictures.\*

### THE SONG OF THE SHIRT.

“ WITH fingers weary and worn,  
With eye-lids heavy and red,  
A woman sat, in unwomanly rags,  
Plying her needle and thread—  
Stitch! stitch! stitch!  
In poverty, hunger, and dirt,  
And still with a voice of dolorous pitch  
She sang the “Song of the Shirt!”

“ Work! work! work!  
While the cock is crowing aloof!  
And work—work—work,  
Till the stars shine through the roof!  
It's O! to be a slave  
Along with the barbarous Turk,  
Where woman has never a soul to save,  
If this is Christian work!

“ Work—work—work  
Till the brain begins to swim;  
Work—work—work  
Till the eyes are heavy and dim!  
Seam, and gusset, and band,  
Band, and gusset, and seam,  
Till over the buttons I fall asleep,  
And sew them on in a dream!

“ O! men, with sisters dear!  
O! men with mothers and wives!  
It is not linen you're wearing out,  
But human creatures' lives!  
Stitch—stitch—stitch,  
In poverty, hunger, and dirt,  
Sewing at once, with a double thread,  
A Shroud as well as a Shirt.

“ But why do I talk of Death?  
That Phantom of grisly bone,

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\* Of London we cannot speak from personal knowledge; but we can testify that, in the Liberty of Dublin the plaint of the dressmaker would be but a literal expression of real sorrow and suffering. Many of this class are employed in that fair but *fallen* city, from nine in the morning until twelve at night—and this too, in several cases, from mere compassion, and not from any need of their services on the part of the employers—at the rate of three shillings a week wages—to find themselves, out of this pittance, in food, clothing, lodging, everything!

I hardly fear his terrible shape,  
It seems so like my own—  
It seems so like my own,  
Because of the fasts I keep,  
Oh! God! that bread should be so dear,  
And flesh and blood so cheap!

“Work—work—work!  
My labour never flags;  
And what are its wages? A bed of straw,  
A crust of bread—and rags.  
That shattered roof—and this naked floor—  
A table—a broken chair—  
And a wall so blank, my shadow I thank  
For sometimes falling there.

“Work—work—work!  
From weary chime to chime,  
Work—work—work—  
As prisoners work for crime!  
Band, and gusset, and seam,  
Seam, and gusset, and band,  
Till the heart is sick, and the brain benumb'd,  
As well as the weary hand.

“Work—work—work,  
In the dull December light,  
And work—work—work,  
When the weather is warm and bright—  
While underneath the eaves  
The brooding swallows cling  
As if to show me their sunny backs  
And twit me with the spring.

“Oh! but to breathe the breath  
Of the cowslip and primrose sweet—  
With the sky above my head,  
And the grass beneath my feet,  
For only one short hour  
To feel as I used to feel,  
Before I knew the woes of want  
And the walk that costs a meal!

“Oh but for one short hour!  
A respite however brief!  
No blessed leisure for Love or Hope,  
But only time for Grief!  
A little weeping would ease my heart,  
But in their briny bed  
My tears must stop, for every drop  
Hinders needle and thread!



“ With fingers weary and worn,  
With eyelids heavy and red,  
A woman sat in unwomanly rags,  
Plying her needle and thread—  
Stitch! stitch! stitch!  
In poverty, hunger, and dirt,  
And still with a voice of dolorous pitch,  
Would that its tone could reach the rich!  
She sang this “ Song of the Shirt !”

Of the longer poems we hardly know which to prefer. Each has its own excellence. The reader will select his favourite according to his peculiar taste, fancy, and humour of the hour. The “ Plea of the Midsummer Fairies” we think extremely beautiful, not only in the execution—in which respect nearly the same may be said of all—but in the conception and fancy of the story itself. The fairy group, with its gentle, innocent, affectionate pleading, presents a very sweet and enchanting little picture; and the whole narrative is carried out in the most natural and agreeable manner. Hood’s similies are extremely picturesque and happy, and, to us, original; as when old Time says:

“ Or when am I so wroth as when I view  
The wanton pride of summer;—how she decks  
The birth-day world with blossoms ever new,  
As if Time had not lived and heap’d great wrecks  
Of years on years!—O then I bravely vex  
And catch the gay months in their gaudy flight,  
And slay them with the wreaths about their necks,  
Like foolish heifers in the holy rite,  
And raise great trophies to my ancient might.”

The following is Ariel’s recital:

“———Quoth Ariel now—

Let me remember how I saved a man,  
Whose fatal noose was fasten’d on a bough,  
Intended to abridge his sad life’s span;  
For haply I was by when he began  
His stern soliloquy in life’s dispraise,  
And overheard his melancholy plan,  
How he had made a vow to end his days,  
And therefore followed him in all his ways.

“Through brake and tangled copse, for much he loath’d  
All populous haunts, and roamed in forests rude,

To hide himself from man. But I had cloth'd  
My delicate limbs with plumes, and still pursued,  
Where only foxes and wild cats intrude,  
Till we were come beside an ancient tree  
Late blasted by a storm. Here he renewed  
His loud complaints,—choosing that spot to be  
The scene of his last horrid tragedy.

“It was a mild and melancholy glen,  
Made gloomy by tall firs and cypress dark,  
Whose root, like any bones of buried men,  
Pushed through the rotten sod for fear's remark;  
A hundred horrid stems, jagged and stark,  
Wrestled with crooked arms in hideous fray,  
Besides sleek ashes with their dappled bark,  
Like crafty serpents climbing for a prey,  
With many blasted oaks moss-grown and grey.

“But here upon his final desperate clause  
Suddenly I pronounced so sweet a strain,  
Like a pang'd nightingale, it made him pause,  
Till half the frenzy of his grief was slain,  
The sad remainder oozing from his brain  
In timely ecstasies of healing tears,  
Which through his ardent eyes began to drain;—  
Meanwhile the deadly Fates unclosed their shears:—  
So pity me and all my fated peers!”

The “Two Peacocks of Bedfont,” “Eugene Aram,” the “Haunted House”—but it were needless to enumerate where so little should be left without special notice.

We are half afraid to say, that to us “Miss Kilmansegg and her Precious Leg” seems to be the epic of these volumes. There is some redundancy and carelessness here and there. We do not, indeed, find fault with the manifest absurdity and improbability of the story; which is obviously, and on set purpose, meant to be grotesque, outlandish, and exaggerated, and thereby to convey, in the most striking manner, its excellent moral. Mere nature would have been insipid, and an old story. There are, however, principles even for improbable hypotheses; and though cocks and horses speak in Esop and Phædrus, they speak according to certain rules. There is some clumsiness in the structure of the story, and the reader receives too many jolts in passing through. Nevertheless, we think the Legend to be on the whole what we have just ventured



to designate it. We are not disposed to follow the example of some of our elder brethren, by supplying our readers with a prose outline of the tale, thereby forestalling their gratification in the perusal of the tale itself. We shall, however, extract a few passages. The poem opens thus—we omit some lines now and then :

#### MISS KILMANSEGG'S PEDIGREE.

“ To trace the Kilmansegg pedigree,  
To the very roots of the family tree,  
Were a task as rash as ridiculous :—  
It wouldn't require much verbal strain  
To trace the *Kill-man*, perchance, to *Cain* ;  
But waving all such digressions,  
Suffice it, according to family lore,  
A Patriarch Kilmansegg lived of yore,  
Who was famed for his great possessions.

“ Tradition said he feathered his nest  
Through an Agricultural interest  
In the Golden Age of farming ;  
When golden eggs were laid by the geese,  
And Colchian sheep wore a golden fleece,  
And golden pippins—the sterling kind  
Of Hesperus—now so hard to find—  
Made Horticulture quite charming !

“ A Lord of Land, on his own estate,  
He lived at a very lively rate,  
But his income could bear carousing ;  
Such acres he had of pasture and heath,  
With herbage so rich from the ore beneath,  
The very ewe's and lambkin's teeth :  
Were turned into gold by browsing.

“ Moreover, he had a Golden Ass,  
Sometimes at stall, and sometimes at grass,  
That was worth his own weight in money—  
And a golden hive on a golden Bank,  
Where golden bees, by alchemical prank,  
Gather'd gold instead of honey.

“ Gold ! and gold ! and gold without end !  
He had gold to lay by, and gold to spend,  
Gold to hive, and gold to lend,  
And reversions of gold *in futuro*.

In wealth the family revell'd and roll'd,  
Himself and wife and son so bold ;—  
And his daughters sang to their harps of gold  
    "O bella età dell' oro."

#### MISS KILMANSEGG'S CHRISTENING.

"A wealthy Nabob was Godpapa,  
And an Indian Begum was Godmamma,  
    Whose jewels a Queen might covet—  
And the priest was a Vicar and Dean withal  
Of that temple we see with a Golden Ball,  
    And a golden cross above it.

"The font was a bowl of American gold,  
Won by Raleigh in days of old,  
    In spite of Spanish bravado ;  
And the Book of Pray'r was so overrun  
With gold devices, it shone in the sun  
Like a copy—a presentation one—  
    Of Humboldt's "El Dorado."

"Gold ! and gold ! and nothing but gold !  
The same auriferous shine behold  
    Wherever the eye could settle !  
On the walls—the sideboard—the ceiling sky—  
On the gorgeous footmen standing by,  
In coats to delight a miner's eye  
    With seams of the precious metal.

"Gold ! and gold ! and besides the gold,  
The very robe of the infant told  
A tale of wealth in every fold,  
    It lapp'd her like a vapour !  
So fine ! so thin ! the mind at a loss  
Could compare it to nothing except a cross  
    Of cobweb with bank-note paper.

#### MISS KILMANSEGG'S ACCIDENT—HER HORSE RUNS AWAY WITH HER.

"Away went the horse in the madness of fright,  
And away went the horsewoman mocking the sight—  
Was yonder blue flash a flash of blue light,  
    Or only the skirt of her habit ?  
But still flies the heiress through stones and dust ;  
Oh, for a fall, if fall she must,  
    On the gentle lap of Flora !



But still, thank Heaven! she clings to her seat—  
Away! away! she could ride a dead heat  
With the Dead who ride so fast and fleet,  
In the Ballad of Leonora!

“The fields seem running away with the folks!  
The Elms are having a race with the Oaks!  
At a pace that all jockeys disparages!  
All, all is racing! the Serpentine  
Seems rushing past like the ‘arrowy Rhine,’  
The houses have got on a railway line,  
And are off like first-class carriages!

“She’ll lose her life! she is losing her breath!  
A cruel chase, she is chasing Death,  
As female shriekings forewarn her:  
And now—as gratis as blood of Guelph—  
She clears that gate, which cleared itself  
Since then, at Hyde Park Corner!

“Alas! for the hope of the Kilmanseggs!  
For her head, and brains, and body, and legs,  
Her life’s not worth a copper!  
A hundred hearts turn sick and chilly  
As hundred voices cry ‘Stop her!’

“On and on!—what a perilous run!  
The iron rails seem all mingling in one,  
To shut out the Green Park scenery!  
And now the Cellar its dangers reveals,  
She shudders—she shrieks—she’s doomed, she feels,  
To be torn by powers of horses and wheels,  
Like a spinner by steam machinery!

“Sick with horror she shuts her eyes,  
But the very stones seem uttering cries,  
As they did at that Persian daughter,  
When she climbed up the steep vociferous hill,  
Her silver flagon to fill  
With the magical Golden Water!

“‘Batter her! shatter her!  
Throw and scatter her!’  
Shouts each stony-hearted clatterer!  
‘Dash at the heavy Dover!  
Spill her, kill her! tear and tatter her!  
Smash her! crash her!’ (the stones didn’t flatter her)

' Kick her brains out ! let her blood spatter her !  
Roll on her over and over !'

" For so she gathered the awful sense  
Of the street in its past unmacadamized tense,  
As the wild horse overran it,—  
His four heels making the clatter of six,  
Like the Devil's tattoo, played with iron sticks  
On a kettle-drum of granite !

" On ! still on ! she's dazzled with hints  
Of oranges, ribbons, and colour'd prints,  
A Kaleidoscope jumble of shades and tints  
And human faces all flashing,  
Bright and brief as the sparks from the flints,  
That the desperate hoof keeps dashing !

" On and on ! still frightfully fast !  
Dover-street, Bond-street, all are past !  
But—yes—no—yes !—they're down at last !  
The Furies and Fates have found them !  
Down they go with a sparkle and crash,  
Like a bark that's struck by the lightning flash—  
There's a shriek—and a sob—  
And the dense dark mob  
Like a billow closes behind them !

" ' She breathes '  
' She don't !'  
' She'll recover !'  
' She won't !'

She's stirring ! she's living, by Nemesis  
Gold, still gold ! on counter and shelf !  
Golden dishes as plenty as delf !  
Miss Kilmansegg's coming again to herself  
On an opulent Goldsmith's premises !"

How Miss Kilmansegg recovered—and the loss she sustained in her recovery—and how she made up for the loss—and how she got married—and the scenes that followed, and the end of them—we leave our readers to gather from the book itself, in which all are narrated. We shall make room for only one extract more.

#### PARTY SPIRIT.

" Of all the spirits of evil fame  
That hurt the soul or injure the frame,



And poison what's honest and hearty,  
There's none more needs a Mathew to preach  
A cooling, antiphlogistic speech,  
To praise and enforce  
A temperate course,  
Than the Evil Spirit of party.

“Tories love to worry the Whigs,  
Who treat them in turn like Schwalbach pigs,  
Giving them lashes, thrashes, and digs,  
With their writhing and pain delighted—  
But after all that's said, and more,  
The malice and spite of party are poor  
To the malice and spite of a party next door,  
To a party not invited.”

The memory of early years, in after life, is one of the most universal sources of the dearest, and tenderest, and purest feelings which the heart is capable of entertaining. Spleen, and jealousy, and unworthy ambition, and grasping avarice, and all base and malignant passions are hidden for a while under the vivid and softening recollection of the friends and the scenes—the past, the distant, the changed, the dead—among whom our early and innocent days were spent. Whatever strongly reminds us of those days, though worthless in itself, is fair to our eyes. Perhaps it is this principle of association that lends to the following lines the melody which they seem to possess for *our* ears. We seldom, indeed, meet with any sweet, simple strain on the same subject, without being moved in the same way. How little soever some of our readers may appreciate this, perhaps too warm, susceptibility, there are few of them, we think, who will not agree with us in regarding the closing lines of the last stanza as peculiarly beautiful and touching.

## 1.

“I remember, I remember,  
The house where I was born,  
The little window where the sun  
Came peeping in at morn ;  
He never came a wink too soon,  
Nor brought too long a day,  
But now, I often wish the night  
Had borne my breath away !

## 2.

"I remember, I remember,  
 The roses, red and white,  
 The v'lets and the lily-cups,  
 Those flowers made of light!  
 The lilacs where the robin built,  
 And where my brother set  
 The laburnum on his birth-day,—  
 The tree is living yet!

\*   .   \*   \*   \*

## 4.

"I remember, I remember,  
 The fir trees dark and high;  
 I used to think their slender tops  
 Were close against the sky;  
 It was a childish ignorance,  
 But now 'tis little joy  
 To know I'm farther off from heaven  
 Than when I was a boy."

We shall make room for one more of the shorter poems.

☞ HYMN TO THE SUN.

"Giver of glowing light!  
 Though but a god of other days,  
 The kings and sages  
 Of wiser ages  
 Still live and gladden in thy genial rays!

"King of the tuneful lyre,  
 Still poets' hymns to thee belong;  
 Though lips are cold  
 Whereon of old  
 Thy beams all turned to worshiping and song!

"Lord of the dreadful bow,  
 None triumph now for Python's death;  
 But thou dost save  
 From hungry grave  
 The life that hangs upon a summer breath.

"Father of rosy day,  
 No more thy clouds of incense rise;  
 But waking flow'rs  
 At morning hours,  
 Give out their sweets to meet thee in the skies.



“God of the Delphic fane,  
No more thou listenest to hymns sublime ;  
But they will leave  
On winds at eve,  
A solemn echo to the end of time.”

The “Ode on a distant prospect of Clapham Academy” we would wish to extract ; but it is too long. Shall we incur the displeasure of our readers by presenting them with another passage from a poem, which, notwithstanding certain drawbacks, is a great favourite of ours—the “Ode to Rae Wilson?” This gentleman, let it be borne in mind, is a type of the hypochondriac, apocalyptic, groaning, whining, lying, canting fanatics, who used to frequent Exeter Hall, and inflame the popular mind in England with anti-catholic bigotry.

“Shun pride, O Rae !—whatever sort beside  
You take in lieu, shun spiritual pride !  
A pride there is of rank—a pride of birth,  
A pride of learning and a pride of purse,  
A London pride—in short, there be on earth  
A host of prides, some better and some worse ;  
But of all prides, since Lucifer’s attaint,  
The proudest swells a self-elected saint.

“To picture that cold pride, so harsh and hard,  
Fancy a peacock in a poultry yard.  
Behold him in conceited circles sail,  
Strutting and dancing, and now planted stiff  
In all his pomp of pageantry, as if  
He felt ‘the eyes of Europe’ on his tail !  
As for the humble breed retained by man,  
He scorns the whole domestic clan—  
He bows, he bridles,  
He wheels, he sidles,  
At last, with stately dodgings, in a corner  
He pens a simple russet hen, to scorn her  
Full in the blaze of his resplendent fan !  
‘Look here,’ he cries, (to give him words,)  
‘Thou feather’d clay,—thou scum of birds !’  
Flirting the rustling plumage in her eyes,—  
‘Look here, thou vile predestin’d sinner,  
Doomed to be roasted for a dinner,  
Behold these lovely variegated dyes !  
These are the rainbow colours of the skies.

A bird of Paradise?—a pretty story !  
I am that Saintly Fowl, thou paltry chick !  
Look at my crown of glory!  
Thou dingy, dirty, dabbled, draggled jill !  
And off goes Partlet, wriggling from a kick,  
With bleeding scalp laid open by his bill !

“That little simile exactly paints  
How sinners are despised by saints.  
By saints! the hypocrites that ope heav’n’s door  
Obsequious to the sinful man of riches—  
But put the wicked, naked, barelegg’d poor,  
In parish stocks instead of breeches.

“The Saints!—the bigots that in public spout,  
Spread phosphorus of zeal on scraps of fustian,  
And go like walking Lucifers about  
Mere living bundles of combustion.”

The perusal of Hood’s poems has created in us a strong desire to know something of the author’s life. We earnestly hope that our curiosity in this respect will be gratified in the forthcoming publication; and we regret that want of time and space, (the usual excuse for short reviews,) prevents us from dwelling longer on the present.

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We still more regret that the volume of Davis’s Poems forming the May number of the “Library of Ireland,” did not reach us until we had come to the close of this article, for the names of Thomas Davis and Thomas Hood should have been united at the head of it. Between them there are not a few prominent features of resemblance. The premature death of each was mourned by a large circle of friends and admirers, in language which is ordinarily used only to express sorrow for the loss of a near relative. They both fought to the end against baseness and despotism. Their poetical writings breathe a fine and manly spirit. Their fancy was not a manufactory of mere things of ether and sun-gilt vapours, of images having no reality to correspond with them, of sentiments that shine but glow not, and are outside the world of the heart and of human sympathy. The wail of the poor, the oppressed, the broken-hearted, the chant of virtue successful and valour triumphant in a good cause, were caught up and echoed



back from their lips, and made to ring and reverberate through city and hamlet, over mountain and valley, until men were compelled to listen, and from listening, to feel and follow. Of course, there is only a portion of Hood's verses that will in this respect stand in juxtaposition with those of Davis, nearly all of whose poems are full of life, warm, braced, bursting into uncontrollable activity. From some of his prosaic opinions we entirely dissent, and his friends will, we are sure, bear with us in thus plainly expressing our dissent. But his poetry is a miracle of untutored genius, for we are informed that, until within a couple of years before his death, he never wrote nor thought of writing a single stanza, and, until he made an experiment in order to supply, as best he could, the lack of poetical contributions to the *Nation* newspaper, had never been conscious of the poetical power within himself. And yet there are in his verses an extraordinary ease and versatility, combined with condensed and elastic vigour in a surprising degree; the lines bounding and rebounding, like tennis balls in the hands of a master of play. He sweeps the lyre with the bold familiarity of one whose fingers had learned their cunning before time had stiffened and cramped the joints. Had Davis lived to correct and polish these fugitive poems, and to realize the promise which they give of yet higher excellence, we are strongly of opinion that his place would be found, if it be not already found, among the very first of the Bards of Erin.

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ART. VI.—*The Banker's Magazine.* Nov. 1845.

WE hardly think that we shall be taxed with making a hazardous assertion, when we affirm, that there are many persons in the number of our readers who have from time to time received circulars from parties in Frankfort, Hamburg, and other towns in Germany, inclosing plans of lotteries, to which the consideration of the public is solicited.

The "Banker's Magazine," for November, 1845, gave some specimens of these circulars, and an able article in one of the numbers of "The Times," in September, 1844, (if we recollect rightly,) furnished some details and explanations respecting those schemes; from the limits, however, necessarily confined, of that article, the subject was but superficially treated. Other newspapers, particularly the Sunday ones, now and then make allusions to, and invariably stigmatize, these "speculations" and "distributions," (to adopt the language of the circulars,) as *humbugs* or *swindling transactions*; but from the sweeping nature of these censures, we are inclined to conclude that the writers are not conversant with the real nature and details of the projects in question. Not that we would insinuate that these lotteries are not open to objection, or deny that frauds may, and perhaps have often been practised by the agents or speculators who sell the shares; but we merely mean to state that some of them are *bonâ fide* transactions as lotteries; and whereas, as we shall later have occasion to show, very considerable sums of money are every year spent in these islands in the purchase of tickets, we may perhaps render an agreeable service to some of our readers by informing them which are the "speculations" to be avoided, and what measures can be taken in order to guard against imposition or fraud; while at the same time many who are risking their money with the hope of obtaining a sudden accession to their wealth, may be enabled to form a judgment as to the soundness of the sundry schemes "submitted to their consideration," without being quite so much in the dark respecting them, as they are at present. We have been at considerable pains to collect data and information on this subject in the head quarters of the trade, viz. Frankfort; and the sources whence we have derived them induce us to hope that, if some of our statements may not be perfectly accurate, they will, at least, not be found far distant from the truth.

That it was a wise morality to suppress State Lotteries in England, cannot be legitimately doubted. But it may be fairly asked if their suppression has not given rise to greater evils. State lotteries, as they existed here, were a very great nuisance, and one of the most unjust institutions, in so far as the public was concerned. In no other country were they unjust to such a degree, for nowhere did so



small a proportion of the stakes return in the shape of prizes to the pockets of the contributors. Yet, of them, foreign lotteries draw sums hardly less considerable from the public, the whole of which are transferred to foreign exchequers; and Derby sweeps encourage and maintain a spirit of gambling among the people, to an extent hardly credible. Raffles for objects of every description, including houses, are daily and publicly advertised, and even periodically combine the terms of their subscription with schemes partaking of the nature of lotteries—projects all these, which offer no security to the adventurer as a guarantee either to their fairness or solvency. On an evening in the last summer, we noted down, during a ramble of three hours through the streets of the metropolis, the amount of stakes advertised in the windows of public-houses to be drawn in the course of one week, and we found on casting the sum up, that it amounted to between five and six thousand pounds: this result we obtained from a part of the public-houses which we passed, and only in a small section of London.

We do not think that there is any exaggeration in taking at a minimum of one million sterling, the capital which, in consequence of these transactions, changes hands during the running season.

We have before us a number of “*The Sunday Times*,” which contains advertisements of Derby clubs, the stakes in which amount in the aggregate to £11,052. 4s. 6d., in capital, ranging from £4. 15s., to £3,000, and in which the contributions to be paid vary from 2s. 6d., to £10. If it be taken into account that several of these advertisements announce other clubs, of which they do not furnish the details; that many of these schemes, when the stakes are covered by one club, work with two or three sets of subscribers, we may fairly suppose that those advertisements represent a capital of £20,000 invested in private lotteries. If, moreover, it be taken into consideration that these stakes depend only on one race; that a dozen or more of such aleatory projects, (if we may use the term) are brought forward in the course of the season in each of those establishments; that but a small proportion of the clubs is advertised, and that they exist not only in the metropolis, but in all the principal towns and even many villages of the empire; that in some of them the sums in abeyance amount to ten or twelve thousand pounds, as many

of the public prints stated when the *qui tam* actions were pending in 1844, we believe our estimate will not appear over-rated.

There are, therefore, elements in abundance to encourage foreign lottery agents in their endeavours to put into circulation shares in different enterprizes, and to turn to account a tendency which is not peculiar to our own age or country.

The legislature has endeavoured to counteract and throw impediments in the way of these transactions, but without avail; nor is it easy to see what means can be devised to that effect, for even in France, where the judicial and administrative authorities are armed with almost despotic power, which is wielded with almost brutal force wherever they are called into action, it is merely the high rate of postage which prevents the Agents of Frankfort from being successful to the extent they are with us, where this obstacle does not exist. We have it on the authority of well-informed parties, that five or six Frankfort houses alone distribute upwards of 120,000 circulars in the United Kingdom; and there are, we believe, nearly twenty houses who deal in those shares.

It is a matter of astonishment how parties residing for the most part in distant German towns, contrive to ferret out the residents of secluded country seats, and the denizens of remote villages; the addresses of the gentleman, the farmer, and the small tradesman, who are hardly known beyond their own family circle, or the precincts of their parish. For large and populous districts, the post-office, or other directories are sufficient, but for places of smaller importance, commercial travellers are employed, who, while engaged on other pursuits have time and opportunity not only to make lists of names, but also to collect information respecting the circumstances of the parties, and though most of the circulars are sent at random, some go almost with the certainty of proving successful;—and the classes among which they generally prove so are, clergymen of the Church of England, half-pay officers, widows and spinsters.

The “speculations” which are the most extensive, and in which the really fortunate speculators are the agents, may be reduced to three classes:

1st. Austrian lotteries, or to speak more correctly, raffles for houses and estates.



2nd. Class lotteries, such as those of Prussia, Frankfurt, Hamburgh, &c.

3rd. Bonds of State loans contracted by the Austrian and other German governments, which are paid off by lotteries.

To each of these classes we will devote a couple of pages, and endeavour to show "speculators," of whom the major part do not understand the schemes in which they embark, their respective merits, and point out the impositions to which they may be subjected.

1st. Of the Austrian lotteries for houses, estates, &c., it may be at once said that persons purchasing a ticket, might as well throw their money into the sea; or rather, they would do better to devote it to some act of charity. It is indeed a matter of surprise how the Austrian government authorizes or tolerates them, but as the tenth part of the nominal price of the shares is levied by the hospitals of Vienna, and it would be difficult or inconvenient to assign other sources of revenue to cover the deficit which would result from their suppression, it puts up with the evil.

The system of them is as follows. A nobleman or a person, who has rendered some service to the government is in debt, and having some house or estate for which he cannot find a purchaser, or which would not half cover the amount of his liabilities, applies for, and obtains, permission to dispose of it by raffle. He then applies to some third or fourth-rate merchant to undertake the management of the affair, and a prospectus is drawn up. A house which has perhaps not been inhabited for years, situated in some remote suburb of Vienna, where the mephytic exhalations of an uncovered sewer, (like the Fleet ditch until lately,) render residence impossible, is transformed into a palace, and if there be attached to it some perches of ground with a couple of unproductive apple-trees and a copious crop of docks and nettles, the pen of the Vienesé "George Robins" becomes a magic wand, which transforms them into the gardens of Armida.

If the estate lies in some secluded nook of Styria or Bohemia, a hundred miles distant from any road or river, forests which it would not pay the expenses to fell even for the purpose of making potash or extracting turpentine, are described as a source of unfailing and inexhaustible revenue. The lists of the prizes to be gained

are perfect illustrations of what M. Thiers once called, "*l'art de grouper les chiffres*," for they are presented in columns in three or four different combinations, so that to the superficial observer, or to the majority of the public, they appear to hold out four or five times the number of prizes they in reality contain.

It would occupy too much space to give demonstrations of this science of arranging numbers, and we should probably bewilder our readers by presenting whole columns of figures for this purpose, but we will point out a couple of instances as illustrations.

The first object in these prospectuses, is to present to the eye as great an agglomeration of numbers as possible, and the florins are reduced to francs: thus, the 80,000fl. or £8000., which, as we have said, is the principal prize, becomes 200,000 francs. But the Frankfort agents can afford to be liberal at a small expense, and by the addition of a unit placed on the left hand, the fortunate adventurer is to become possessed of 1,200,000 francs. In the original prospectus there is always a long flourish stating that, whereas the pecuniary circumstances of many individuals, or their pursuits or tastes, may be such that they would prefer a sum of ready money to the estate or palace; therefore, the projectors are ready to give the sum of 200,000 francs in exchange. This clause would, however, prove inconvenient to the gentlemen at Frankfort, and therefore it is suppressed, and the estate alone, with its value of 1,200,000 francs is advertised.

The sale of these tickets being prohibited all over Germany, in France, and in Russia, only about 70 or 80,000 find purchasers; but the projectors make the large number of 160 or 180,000, because the half or more remaining in their hands, they have a probability of being themselves the gainers. As these tickets, therefore, cost them nothing, they are in many of the plans made conducive to presenting large sums as prizes in the following manner, subject, however, to numberless variations in the arrangement. Thus, for example, the first prize will be the magnificent estate or palace, N.; and the second, and perhaps a dozen other prizes, several thousands of these tickets—say, for the second prize 10,000 tickets, No. 100,001 to 110,000, which are not sold, but kept up as the gain of the second number drawn. Suppose this to be No. 2,145, and it will be entitled to the prizes which have been obtained



by the tickets thus set apart. We have had the patience to go through several drawing lists, and found that, in the most favourable instance, the proprietor of the 10,000 tickets had gained 625 francs. He might have gained the principal or the second prize, but he did not; in the mean time, the prospectus represented the second prize (calculating the nominal value of the tickets) as a prize of 125,000 francs; and we have before us such plans, in which the gains *in shares* amount to half a million and upwards, showing a long array of prizes which reduced to their simple expression were—0.

Some years ago, Prince Esterhazy (the former Austrian ambassador in London,) contracted a loan with Messrs. Rothschild for £700,000., reimbursable by lottery, on the principle of the Austrian state loans, of which we will later treat. Two drawings take place every year, and the highest prize is £5000. in some drawings, in others £4000. There were besides each time smaller premiums of £1000., £800., £500., and smaller sums. In thirty-two years the whole amount to £1,400,000. In order to have a long list of large sums, one or more prizes consist in bonds of this loan, and we will take an advertisement before us as an instance:

#### “SPECIAL DRAWING.

##### “Principal Prize.

“100 Original Bonds of the Esterhazy Loan.

“*The bonds of this Loan, contracted by Messrs. Rothschild, partake in the following prizes.*”

Then follows in very small and faint type:

“Reimbursable by sixty-four half yearly drawings, taking place on the 15th of June, and 15th of December each year.

4	Prizes	of	frcs.	150,000
4	...	...	...	125,000
56	...	...	...	100,000
4	...	...	...	30,000
4	...	...	...	25,000
56	...	...	...	20,000
4	...	...	...	10,000
60	...	...	...	7,500
128	...	...	...	3,750
256	...	...	...	1,250

320	...	...	...	1,000
336	...	...	...	500
1280	...	...	...	250
120	...	...	...	210
120	...	...	...	205
240	...	...	...	200
240	...	...	...	192
240	...	...	...	187
240	...	...	...	180
16,080	...	...	...	175
15,840	...	...	...	167
16,080	...	...	...	162
11,840	...	...	...	155
24,400	...	...	...	150
11,600	...	...	...	142
15,200	...	...	...	137
7,660	...	...	...	130
37,000	...	...	...	125

“ Each bond must obtain one of the above prizes, the smallest of which is 125 francs.”

Then follow the numbers of the bonds.

These splendid prizes look very pretty on the prospectus, and parties who do not understand anything of the Esterhazy loan think that, in the lottery in question, there is a chance of getting one of these prizes. But what is the case in reality? If he succeed in gaining the 100 bonds, he has gained at the market-price £550. sterling; as to the 150,000 francs, &c., they are *partly* in the future contingent, for the loan having been made ten or twelve years ago, a considerable part of the large prizes has already been drawn, and he may wait twenty years or upwards before his bonds are drawn even with the smallest prize of 125 francs.

But reduced to their simple expression, they are this, with a difference of a few hundred pounds more or less in the sundry schemes. There are from 160,000 to 170,000 tickets, among which all the prizes to be gained amount to about £20,000. sterling, the largest being £8000., and the remainder, with the exception of one perhaps of £1500. or £2000. of so small an amount, that it is more vexatious to gain one of them than to draw a blank. But, though the original plans are sufficiently unintelligible, they are too clear for the convenience of the Frankfort agents, who draw up the plans differently, and in such a manner as to



defy a first-rate mathematician to understand them, or calculate the chances. The nominal price of these tickets, which is printed on them, is  $12\frac{1}{2}$  francs, but they are sold at Vienna, and actually hawked about the coffee-houses, for five or six shillings, and sometimes even for less, but their value is enhanced in a direct ratio with the distance thence, and with the ignorance of the public as to their real value: thus in Frankfort they are sold for twelve shillings, in France for twenty francs, and in England for twenty shillings. Our readers may thus see what probabilities there are of gaining, and how profitable this branch of business is for the agents. But the chances for a purchaser of a single ticket are even much less than would *primâ facie* appear from the "beggarly account of empty boxes" we have laid before them. In all these lotteries there are at least two, and often more, descriptions of tickets. A certain number, say 20 or 22,000 are printed on coloured paper, and nearly one-half of the amount of the prizes is reserved for them in a separate drawing, in which they alone participate, besides concurring with the others for what is pompously called the principal drawing. One of these is given gratuitously to the purchaser of five shares; and as most purchasers buy only one, they thus form a bonus for the vendors and agents. This generosity does not cost the undertakers anything; but, nevertheless, the Frankfort agents do not give the public this advantage to which it is entitled, but instead they give a sixth ordinary ticket, and sell the others for £2. a-piece—their real value being about twelve shillings. This appropriation to themselves, by the agents, of the gratuitous shares, particularly considering the enormous profit they make by their outrageous overcharge, is a downright and impudent robbery.

The number of shares in these lotteries, of which there is one every five or six months, sold in the United Kingdom, is supposed to be between five and six thousand, of which about eight hundred or a thousand are disposed of in the Channel Islands, from whence, however, we understand that a considerable portion finds its way into France. In this supputation, as well as in those regarding the other lotteries, which we shall later lay before our readers, there is a great deal of uncertainty, as it is of course impossible to obtain positive information regarding the operations of the different agents, who keep their transactions as secret

as possible; but we have drawn our conclusions from probable data, and have adhered to the lowest reasonable minimum.

2. The second description of lotteries, the tickets of which are in circulation in this country, are called "Class Lotteries," and though such exist in Hamburg, Leipsic, Brunswick, Holland, and Prussia, the great mass of those sold here belongs to the Frankfort lottery. With considerable variations in the details, the system or principle is the same in all. To render this intelligible, we will suppose one of these class lotteries to consist of only one thousand tickets. Of these a certain number, say one hundred, are drawn out of the wheel, and one hundred prizes out of another, and assigned by chance to each of the numbers thus drawn. The number of tickets remaining undrawn will be 900—the wheel is sealed up, and a similar operation is repeated after an interval of three or four weeks, when the number of undrawn tickets will be reduced to 800. Each of these drawings is called a class: this method is virtually the same as if there were only one drawing, interrupted by an indefinite period of time, for the numbers drawn in one class no longer partake in the chances of the subsequent ones. The object in view is that, as the price of a ticket is very considerable, it would not be easy to raise the amount at once, and therefore the payment of them takes place by instalments. The period over which those instalments are distributed is about six months; the number of tickets being in the Frankfort Lottery 26,000, in the Prussian 85,000. The agents who negotiate these shares in England, however, make adventurers pay at once the amount of the ticket—viz. £10.; the prime cost of the Frankfort being to them £7. 10s., that of the Prussian £8. sterling. The offices where these shares are sold do not take more than the instalment due, and according to the regulations a shareholder should procure a fresh ticket for each class, bearing the same number, the ticket of the first class not being recognized as valid for the subsequent drawings: these the agents keep in their own hands, and by that means the purchaser of a ticket having paid the full amount is ignorant that he ought to have it renewed for each successive drawing, and consequently, if he prove successful, he is obliged to submit to any deduction or commission which the agent may think proper to demand, for he has nothing in his possession but a piece



of waste paper, the only valuable voucher being in the possession of the agent, and the direction of lotteries not recognising any other, nor taking cognizance of any disputes which may arise. A premium drawn in the fourth, fifth, or sixth class is paid only on the production of the ticket of that class, and the endorsement of the agent that either is answerable for all the classes, becoming an ordinary debt between him and the holder. Hence, in order to guard against these exactions, the agents never demanding less than ten per cent, and sometimes twenty-five, those persons who purchase tickets should *insist* on having the proper voucher, if not for each class, at least *for the last*, which contains the principal premiums, and demand it in proper time: so that, if it is not in their possession at least a fortnight before the drawing, they may be able to write to the directors of lotteries explaining the circumstances, and lay an attachment on the ticket, when they will be completely secured, as the authorities will, for their own credit, see immediate justice done, and the collector or agent will not risk having his license taken from him.

This will also explain how the agents can send tickets to parties with whom they are unacquainted, at the risk of their not being returned or remaining unpaid, for the fact is, that they send the vouchers of classes already drawn, which have consequently no value, those belonging to the subsequent drawings being in their own hands. We understand that instances have frequently occurred of persons who have obtained shares on credit, or kept in their possession those forwarded to them, and not remitted the amount, have found themselves disappointed when their numbers have turned up fortunate, and they expected to receive the prize.

We have said that the price of the tickets is paid by instalments: each of these instalments is paid before the drawing of each class. In order to collect these instalments it is that these different drawings take place, and the plans are very scientifically and artfully arranged, offering at each stage a considerable number of prizes: but if they be considered attentively, it will be found that, with the exception of one or two of the premiums, (excepting in the last, usually termed the principal class,) the boon offered consists of paltry sums, which, unless the speculator be fortunate enough to gain in all the classes—which,

though within the limits of possibility, is highly improbable—have at the end only the result of diminishing his outlay, while, at the same time, the considerable sums applied to this object reduces very considerably the sum which might otherwise be distributed in the final drawing. The same effect is produced by the *gratuitous* shares, as they are called: the holder of every share drawn in one class is besides entitled to a share in the following one, without paying up the instalment corresponding thereto—but the price of these shares is in the plan reckoned as money paid, and consequently as premium, a circumstance which escapes the attention of the superficial observer. This advantage, however, is lost to the English speculator, and is one of the profits of the agents, as we will endeavour to explain. Looking at one of the original German prospectuses, we find that the instalments of the Frankfort lottery are distributed in the following manner:

" For the 1st Class ...	6 florins
„ 2nd do ...	14 „
„ 3rd do ...	20 „
„ 4th do ...	24 „
„ 5th do ...	20 „
„ 6th do ...	6 „

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90 Florins = £7. 10."

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Supposing a ticket to be drawn a prize in the third class, the holder, besides the sum in money, would be exempted from paying the instalment for the fourth class, which is twenty-four florins, or two pounds sterling, he receiving a fresh ticket with a fresh number, on which he would only have to pay later the fifth and sixth instalments, unless he were to prove again fortunate. As the agents, however, who sell tickets in this country, have the full amount paid from the beginning, it is evident that they ought to return to their purchaser the £2. which they thus receive: this, however, they never do; they merely furnish a new ticket, and "speculators," unaware of this circumstance, are satisfied. These remarks are applicable to the other classes.

There is a very ingenious contrivance in the Frankfort lottery, the object of which is, not to loose hold of a person who once engages in it. We find, on looking at the plan,



that in the last class there are 5,615 prizes of 100 florins, and 12,500 blanks, each of which latter receives a gratuitous share for the first class drawing of the following lottery. Those prizes of 100 florins are, by the deduction of the government profit of ten per cent, reduced to ninety florins, or the price of a ticket for all six classes, and many are consequently induced to invest that sum in the subsequent lottery; while a great proportion of those who are in possession of a first class ticket, are drawn by that means to continue paying up the subsequent instalments.

The Prussian lottery is much more favourable than that of Frankfort. Though the duty levied by the government is more considerable, it being in Frankfort about eleven per cent, and in Prussia about sixteen, there is not so great a proportion of the stakes frittered away in gratuitous shares, small premiums, and other contrivances to blind the public. The plan is much more simplified; and, besides, the collectors are prohibited not only from asking, but even from accepting any gratuity or commission voluntarily offered by gainers, whereas, at Frankfort, it is impossible to withstand the importunity of the collectors, who are not satisfied with a small commission. But this applies equally to the Prussian shares circulated here, because, as the agents at Frankfort are not servants of that government, but purchase the shares from the collectors at Berlin, &c., and they have the original documents in their possession, they are in a position to impose whatever conditions they may think proper—for, to use a homely proverb, they hold the handle of the frying-pan in their hands. But we have already pointed out the means of obviating this, by demanding the renewal of the ticket after the drawing of each class.

We must add that, of all these class lotteries, the least objectionable is the Prussian, and the least *bad* the Frankfort—the others ought to be entirely eschewed.

Though many of the agents have been known to commit frauds, and even to refuse the payment, totally or in part, of prizes gained, there are many respectable individuals among them, and some men of very great wealth, who act honourably in every respect, but it is necessary to be cautious as to the parties whose agency is availed of.

3. The third description in our classification is that of loans, of which the reimbursement takes place by lottery.

This system was, we believe, first introduced in a loan contract by the municipality of Paris, and later adopted by Messieurs Rothschild in two loans contracted with them by the Austrian government, in 1820 and 1821. These having been reimbursed in the course of time, the same plan was applied to other loans made in 1834 and 1839. With the exception of the capital, and some details, they are nearly similar; but, in consequence of the amount of the bonds being only the moiety of those of the year 1834, those of 1839 are principally, or rather exclusively, the basis of speculation here. By explaining the nature of the one, we shall have done as much for the other.

The Austrian loan of 1839 consists, or rather consisted, primitively of 120,000 bonds of 250 florins, or £25. each, forming a capital of 30,000,000 florins, or three millions sterling. The bonds are divided into 6000 series, each containing twenty bonds, and each bond is divided into fifths. This loan bears no interest, and a certain proportion is reimbursed every year in the following manner, the operation having commenced in 1840.

Two drawings of 35 series, or 700 bonds each, have taken place twice each year.

One drawing will take place each year, during the six next years; and after that

Eighteen drawings will take place at intervals of eighteen months, so that the last will take place on the 1st of December of 1878, when the loan will have been totally reimbursed by payments amounting in the aggregate to £7,425,000. sterling, the number of series drawn augmenting progressively at each term. The sum of the interest, calculated at four per cent. per annum, is the amount distributed in prizes; but, as the whole amount of the first years, when the number of series to be reimbursed is small, is left to accumulate for future reimbursements: this circumstance, coupled with other minor details, and with the action of compound interest, reduces the interest paid by the government to three-and-five-eighths per cent. per annum.

The favour which these operations enjoy in Germany may be judged of by the fact that, while the Austrian four per cents are at about par, and the five per cents at about 115, the bonds of this loan are worth about 125, and those of



1834, of which the basis is somewhat more favourable, are quoted at nearly 150.

At the stated periods, a number of series is drawn, and three months later the bonds comprised in those series are drawn as a lottery, fortune or hazard determining the amount with which each is to be reimbursed. These amounts vary in the different drawings from £30,000. to £50., the minimum, being double the amount of the original price of the bonds when the loan was contracted. This is, consequently, not a lottery in the strict sense of the word ; but it is converted into one by speculators in many of the principal towns in Germany, and principally at Frankfort. The principle on which they do this is the following.

In some cases they purchase a number of original bonds, which bearing, as we have before said, a premium of twenty-five per cent, cost them about thirty-one or thirty-two pounds sterling each, and sell their own private engagement to deliver to the purchaser one of the seven hundred bonds which concur for reimbursement, if the series of which their promissory document bears the number should be drawn. Thus, if A purchases one of those promises or tickets bearing the No. 243, and that series is drawn, they give him a bond from among those which are to be reimbursed. The price at which these promises are sold is £2. 10s. But, in most instances, the agents have not any bonds in their possession, for if they sell, for example, some hundreds, as many do, it would require an investment of several thousands of pounds, and they therefore take the risk upon themselves. As soon as the preliminary drawing takes place, by which the series to be reimbursed are determined, the bonds therein comprised acquire an additional value. The sum distributed among the seven hundred bonds being £71,000. sterling, the intrinsic worth of each is a fraction more than £100. ; but, in consequence of the demand for them by private individuals, and by the agents who have to deliver them to such of their customers as have been so fortunate as to have the number of a successful series, they sometimes sell for £140. or £150., but generally for about £130. Let us now see how the agent finds his account in this operation, taking as an exemplification the last reimbursement in December, 1845, the twelfth since the loan was made. By the previous ones the number of series had been diminished by 385,

leaving consequently 5615 series in the wheel: the number of series drawn being 35, the proportion is pretty nearly one in one hundred and sixty, whence it is evident that the money received by the agents for that number of tickets being £400., they realize a very large profit even if they are compelled to pay the largest of the sums stated for one of the drawn bonds. This profit will, however, be more or less considerable, according to the degree in which one may have been fortunate in the numbers he has selected, as more, or more than the proportion, may be drawn.

The Baden lottery, so often advertised, is on the same principle, though on a smaller scale, and the profits of the agents in proportion larger, the ratio being about 1 :: 240; the price, we believe, is ten shillings, and on that account it is of them that the largest quantity is sold.

It is therefore evident, that this being a private speculation, all depends upon the bona fides of the agents: and though we have not heard of any unfair conduct on their part, we repeat that caution is necessary, or at least prudent, in the selection of the parties with whom dealings are had: their profits are, as has been shown, sufficiently remunerative, apart other considerations, to induce them to act fairly. The circumstance might, and has, we understand, actually occurred, that the agents have not been able to procure the necessary number of drawn bonds, and have therefore been under the necessity either of compounding with the parties interested, or of taking the risk upon themselves: the first alternative is disagreeable to the adventurer, who, having been successful in the first instance, naturally wishes to try his fortune in the drawing of the prizes; in the second, if a large prize of £23,000. or £25,000. had been drawn, would the agent have been able or willing to pay? It is not always easy to purchase drawn bonds; indeed, a whole one it is almost an impossibility to procure. Bankers and capitalists who hold entire series, very seldom part with them when drawn, and proprietors of single shares seldom sell more than two or three-fifths, and reserve the remainder; and the agents may therefore easily be placed in a dilemma. This applies more particularly to the Baden loan, where there are only four series drawn each time, each consisting of one hundred numbers.

The question is often put, Are large prizes ever gained



in England? and we can, on authentic information, answer in the affirmative. We have, in fact, been told the names and residences of several parties who have been fortunate, principally in the Austrian loans. The principal prize, once of £25,000., and twice of £23,000., has been gained in this country; and as several others of smaller import have also fallen here, we must suppose that the extent of speculation in them is large. In the Frankfort lottery, also, many large prizes have been gained in this country.

We have endeavoured to ascertain the number of shares in these different enterprises which are on an average sold among us; but the solution of this question presents considerable difficulties. It is obviously impossible to become acquainted with the private operations of the agents, but nevertheless something may be gathered respecting those of some who are not so discreet, or so guarded as their *confrères*, and something being known of their transactions, analogy gives a cue to those of the others.

With regard to the Frankfort lottery, something positive is there known as to the quantity of shares disposed of in different countries; and about 2,500 to 3,000 are stated to be disposed of in England. Of the Prussian, less is known; but it would seem that about six or seven hundred are sent here, but to these must be added a considerable number purchased by tourists at Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, &c.

Of the Austrian estate lotteries, we have already stated the number, and in the loan reimbursements, one house alone has been known to sell for one drawing promises to the amount of £3000 sterling; while, for the Baden loan, a much larger quantity is disposed of, though, of course, the sum of money received is less considerable.

We have, therefore, no hesitation in giving the following as much below the *real* limits of the money spent in this country in foreign lotteries, in order to show what a large amount must be absorbed by them:

4,000 Austrian Estate lottery tickets at £1.	£4,000
2,500 Frankfort tickets at £10.	25,000
500 Prussian tickets at £10.	5,000
2,000 Promises for bonds in the Austrian loan at £2. 10.	5,000
4,000 ditto in the Baden loan at 10s.	2,000
	<hr/>
	£41,000
	<hr/>

And as each of these lotteries is drawn twice a-year, we shall have a total of £82,000. ; but, adding the tickets of other lotteries, such as the Hamburg, Leipsic, &c., which we have not taken into account, and considering that we have greatly underrated the actual number of shares sold, we may take in round numbers £100,000. sterling as being annually invested in these foreign speculations.

On the Austrian, Baden, and Austrian loans, the agents realize, as we have seen, upwards of sixty per cent, or about £8000. ; and the governments of Prussia and Frankfurt twelve per cent., or £7,200 ; or, to take round numbers, we may say £15,000. *at least*, (without the profit made by the sale of the tickets by the agents,) are contributed in this country to foreign exchequers.

However, an indirect profit, though in proportion a small one, is also realized by our own government, by these transactions, in the shape of postages. Upwards of two hundred thousand circulars are distributed through the country annually ; and, if we suppose that only one-twentieth of them is answered, and that from a part of this fraction a correspondence ensues, we may safely suppose that 300,000 letters pass through the post-office, equal to a revenue of a couple of thousand pounds.

We will, in conclusion, condense in a few words the substance of the foregoing statements for the caution of such of our readers as venture their money in foreign lotteries: that many persons in this country do so, we have already demonstrated ; and in much larger numbers than we have insinuated, for, in order not to be guilty of exaggeration, we have kept far within the bounds of reality. We think it, however, necessary to premise, that in so far as the respective foreign governments are concerned, the drawing of the numbers is not only conducted with the greatest fairness, but with the most minute and comprehensive precautions to prevent either collusion or mistakes, in presence of the public, and that, in some of them any of the spectators is entitled to control and examine the operations. The only exception to this is the Russo-Polish loan, of which we have taken no notice in our preceding remarks, because the drawings of that loan have terminated ; and therefore it will not again be brought before the public. Of these bonds a vast quantity, more, perhaps, than of any other description, used to be sold in this country. There is an inherent and natural vileness in every



thing that is Russian ; and the profligacy of all the public officers of that country, however high their position, would in itself be sufficient motive to assume *primâ facie* that there was a probability of unfairness in the drawing of the bonds and numbers. But there are cogent and positive circumstances (which as these transactions do not any longer interest any portion of the British public, it would be waste of time to detail,) that raise these suspicions to the rank of almost demonstrative certainties. The public was always excluded from witnessing the drawings, which took place at Warsaw.

But to return from this digression to our premises ; there being no unfairness in the manner in which these operations are conducted by foreign governments, adventurers can become the victims of illicit practices only at the hands of the agents, and they would therefore do well not to purchase tickets except from agents of known respectability and standing. There are scores of individuals at Frankfort who call themselves authorized agents, who are not so, and who, after receiving the money for the tickets, have either pocketed the prizes, or forced the parties who had a right to them to make large sacrifices in order to secure a part. We would recommend them, if they are determined to speculate, notwithstanding all the disadvantages which attend those speculations, to avail themselves of those houses which have agencies in this country, and of whom we understand that three or four are known to act with uprightness and liberality. They should, however, at all events insist upon having *the original ticket* of the last class in the class lotteries.

The Austrian estate lotteries we have already shown to be worthless, and little better than swindling transactions ; however pompous the prospectuses, however numerous the prizes advertised, and however well arranged the numbers, the positive and real truth is, that the whole amount of cash distributed in prizes never in any instance exceeds £12,000., and that the estates and houses represented as worth thousands are hardly ever worth more than the half of the sum offered by the projectors for them : finally, that the chances against obtaining that prize are 169,999 to 1.

In the Frankfort lottery, with the exception of twenty-three prizes, varying from £250. to £7,500., the nineteen-twentieths of the other 13,500 prizes are merely paltry

*bonuses*, by which merely the stake and a trumpery profit of a couple of pounds are returned, which are, however, subject to a deduction of ten per cent.; and further, though by the arrangement of the numbers it appears in the prospectus that the prizes amount to 1,822,500 florins, the sum in reality is 1,050,000 only, about £90,000. sterling.

In the Prussian lottery there is not so much trickery in the arrangement of the ciphers, and the chances against gaining anything are reduced from 8 to 3, the prospect being to recover the stake with a small profit; but there are upwards of four hundred prizes which are not small, of which twenty-five are sums varying from £300. to £21,000.

In the drawings for the reimbursement of state loans, speculators should bear in mind that, though the number of series is small, yet, as each series contains a considerable number of bonds, the chances against gaining any of the large prizes is one hundred thousand to one, and upwards against them.

We have endeavoured to condense as much as possible our details, our object being to show such of our readers as may have been or shall be tempted to embark in foreign lotteries, their nature and arrangement, which are in general very little understood by parties even who engage largely in them. That notwithstanding all their endeavours to put a stop to them in this country, the sale of tickets is very considerable, and will probably increase, is to us a matter of certainty. The act of parliament passed during the last session to prevent advertising, is not likely to be any great obstacle in the way of the agents; for the price of one advertisement is equivalent to the postage of thirty or forty circulars, the printing included. It will, therefore, merely cause the agents a little more trouble in finding out amateurs, instead of the amateurs finding them.

There is something attractive in the plan of a lottery, and avarice as well as indigence, the wealthy gentleman, the tradesman who expects to be inconvenienced by acceptances about to become due, the modest possessor of a large family and small revenue, and a thousand others, will not fail to be sometimes allured by the hope of gaining at small risk a large sum of money. The agents are not therefore likely to want purchasers, for, the man who

.....Ingentes oculo irretorto,  
Spectat acervos

is as great a phenomenon in our times, as he was in the days of Augustus.



ART. VII.—*The Noviciate, or a Year among the English Jesuits: a personal Narrative. With an Essay on the Constitutions, the Confessional Morality, and History of the Jesuits.* By ANDREW STEINMETZ. London: 1846.

A CERTAIN modern writer, speaking of the suppression of the Jesuits by Pope Clement XIV. compares him to “the ass kicking the lion.” The author of so delicate a simile cannot think it derogatory to dignity, if applied to one far below the pontiff in rank or acquirements. That author is the one before us; (p. 315) and we leave the application of the figure to such as shall peruse his work. For colour it as he may, it will always strike any English mind, as the base attempt to injure in the public estimation, nay, utterly to uproot and destroy, as far as he can, those “whose salt he has eaten,” to betray those into the same dish with whom he has dipped his hand. Nay more; he applied unsolicited, unenticed, for admission into a society on which he had no claim, which he could offer no pledge to of benefiting—for of the abilities and learning whereof *he* seems ever so conscious it had no evidence—he was poor and unfriended, yet its superiors accepted him: *they* it is true exacted no secrecy, they made no bargains; they admitted him frankly, a stranger, into the bosom of their community; he was fed by them and clothed, called and treated as “a brother;” received what he acknowledges to have been “maternal” kindness in his treatment, was nursed when sick, was comforted when sad; and when he chose to leave was freely let—nay, the very means of travelling were supplied him with instant liberality: he parted from his companions not without tears, and from his superior with a fatherly blessing; and his first public step is to throw open rudely to the sneers of prejudiced enemies the privacy of the retreat which gave him shelter, to uncover scenes of confidential intimacy, and drag into a light in which it may be unfair to contemplate them, words, acts, incidents, and characters, which belong to a little world of their own, arise from springs, and flow through territories, and tend to objects, all of another

sphere. Who would receive beneath his roof the person who had once done this?

We are anxious to be candid. We therefore at once say that Mr. Steinmetz does not altogether belong to the family of the Cioccis and the Maria Monks. He does not invent his *facts* as those worthy predecessors of his did. In his autobiography we have no reason to suppose that he has positively told untruths. But first the meanness is scarcely less, nor is the untruthfulness. Let us suppose that we admitted a stranger into our family circle, and treated him not with the formality of a guest, but with the freedom of a friend: how many little peculiarities of manner or speech, how many conventional names of endearment, nay, how many weaknesses even, and trifling occurrences might he, or rather would he, not be able to record, which if he roughly transplanted them into his "memoirs," and gave them to the world in a tone of scoffing irony, would be equivalent to the grossest calumny, and would call forth indignation from every reader. What "at home" was natural and in its place, to the public may be absurd, and its betrayal is mean. But truth may be violated by the colour given to real facts, or by the medium through which they are presented to view, as much as by the distortion or alteration of facts themselves.

Now this is the case throughout Mr. Steinmetz's book. Let us take, as an illustration, his section on St. Ignatius, (p. 278.) He tells us, at its conclusion, that all the facts recorded in it are taken from Alban Butler's and Bouhour's Lives; and yet throughout the saint is made to appear little better than a madman and impostor. How is this managed? Why easily enough. Give your own motive to every act, clothe every anecdote in scoffing language, treat every thing wonderful as an imposture, every act of noble virtue as hypocrisy; sneer, insinuate, interlard with inuendoes; and without altering the skeleton of a fact, you may make it bear a hideous form as well as the fairest. The deformity, however, will come from him that moulds it.

We own that we do not apprehend any danger to the society which Mr. Steinmetz assails, from this work. It does too much and it does too little. It will satisfy no party. In the Essay on the Constitution and History of the Order his abuse is too gross and wholesale not to dis-



gust moderate men: in the record of his own experience he is too tame, too little *piquant* to satisfy the violent. For in the former, not only St. Ignatius, but St. Francis Xavier, St. Francis Borgia, Laynez, and other extraordinary men are not merely stripped of their prerogative of sanctity, but dragged down below the level of ordinary virtue. To satisfy Mr. Steinmetz's theory they were either the accomplices, or the dupes, of their common master. Pursue this view to its legitimate bounds, and you find it too monstrous for human belief. Mr. Steinmetz must earn for himself a higher claim than he now has to the confidence of others, before they will allow him to sit in judgment upon such men.

But we rather turn to that part of his work which contains his own history: and we own that with any man of sense, and of ordinary candour, we think it will rather counteract, than promote, Mr. Steinmetz's own project—that of holding up the Jesuits to public execration, and making them an object of terror. Putting aside the high colouring of trifles, and the occasional attempt to insinuate charges, we think that the friends of the Order may rather rejoice than grieve, that a traitor with all the wish, has made the effort to hurt—and has so signally failed. The ex-novice gives us minutely the system of “training” pursued in the noviceship—training mental and corporeal, of thought and sense, of look and gesture; training by the year, by the day, by the hour; training in the chapel, in the dormitory, in the field—the training in fine by which the true, the refined, the perfect *Jesuit* is to be formed. And a Jesuit, according to Mr. Steinmetz's idea is something about as unscrupulous, as ambitious, as cunning, and as unprincipled as can well be imagined. Let any one read the “Essay,” and come, if he can, to a different conclusion. Well, now Mr. S. admits us behind the scenes, draws away the veil of privacy, exhibits to us the Master of Novices in secret instilling into the youthful hopes of the society its essential principles—training them to be downright good Jesuits. Is he not telling them that “the end sanctifies the means?” teaching them the comfortable doctrine of “mental reservation?” gently insinuating to them that the exaltation and interests of the society are the paramount end of their lives and profession? Mr. Steinmetz either has nothing to say on such topics, or he is yet a very Jesuit and conceals them. But no; let us take his—an enemy's—a

traitor's statements. First, whom does this artful society entrust with the delicate task of rearing its precious brood of future Parsons and Escobars? One of whom this his recreant son writes :

"A mother's gentleness is also requisite to inspire that confidence which has no secrets. In this respect the man selected to guide us at Hodder left nothing to desire: in unbosoming my heart to him, I often thought of my mother."—*Page 153.*

Again :

"I liked this man. I like him still; and will only say that his conduct during that retreat filled me with sorrowful admiration."—*Page 262.*

"All that this kind man ever requested me or ordered me to do, I did from my heart."—*Page 268.*

And truly any one who knew F. Thomas Brownbill would have considered it a libel on the proverbial cleverness of the society, to say, that it put him at the head of the Noviciate, for the forming of Jesuits according to Brother Steinmetz's present ideas. He was a true Israelite without guile, as ignorant of what passed in the world, three miles from his garden wall, as if he had lived in India, single-hearted, humble, mild, and kindly; yet withal discreet, firm, and thoroughly versed in the science of the spiritual life. May his prayers in heaven obtain the grace of repentance for his wayward disciple, who has raised up his hand against all that was dearest to him on earth! Secondly, what are the means employed to attain this end, of making accomplished Jesuits? Mr. Steinmetz informs us, that they were prayer, self-examination, self-restraint, and meditation—meditation on sin, on death, on judgment! It is true that he is pleased to pick up motives of censure of these holy practices; but no good Christian will fail to recognise in them the surest foundations of a solidly virtuous life. For, thirdly, according to his own account, what were the results of this training? Mr. S. shall tell us.

"In concluding this topic I will only add, that I attained in a short time so complete a mastery over my mind and heart, that at the slightest thought of evil, the vigilant conscience shuddered, as the body starts, in a solitary walk, at the rustling of the leaf suddenly falling."—*Page 186.*



Again—

“I saw no difficulties in perfection—all things were easy to him that loved strongly.—Page 216.

“What had I to confess? Perhaps a little negligence in this, a trivial omission of that duty, nothing more.”—Page 263.

Such was the result of the process for “making a Jesuit” out of one who had confessedly been given up to sin and infidelity before he was subjected to it; of one who had “unscrupulously ventured into the eddies of the world’s whirlpool,” not without remorse; of one, in fine, who thus draws his own former portrait: “Daily my heart overflows with love to my God, who has been so singularly kind to me! I shudder when the memory of the past rises in judgment against me! How I fluttered on the abyss of infidelity! You remember [he is writing to a friend] the wanderings of my mind—the specious arguments she framed on the basis of impassioned flesh. Yes, I was almost a Deist.” (p. 84.) Now, we put it to any one: Can that man be *now* a Christian, who can write a book to vilify and hold up to scorn a system, which in a few months changed him from *this* state to that described above; made the conscience shudder at the thought of sin, which before had framed its excuses at the dictation of the flesh?

And, in truth, we have grounds for putting this question. Mr. S. through his book speaks as though he were a Protestant, a Bible-reader and admirer. Let those whom he thus wishes to gain look to it. He *has* told others that Voltaire and such books had disabused him, and made him what he is. Nor are we surprised at this. Divine grace is not to be trifled with. The soul which it has once purged of the very affections to sin, and even of its temptations, (for so Mr. S. describes his state,) and has been brought to love God, as he tells us he did, and then on a mere whim flings all its spiritual treasure away, can hardly fail to be stript, in judgment, of every fair gift, even to that of faith, and be left cold and poor, and blind and naked.

For, any one reading his account of his departure from the Noviciate, will naturally conclude: either the truth is suppressed, or the author acted in the spirit of a froward, capricious, pettish child. There is neither manliness nor sense in the transaction as he describes it. A year’s

training which has subdued passion, desires, self; the splendid superstructure of piety and devotion; meditation, retreats, in fine, the Noviciate—all vanish like smoke, on having to make a confession of trivial faults to a man whom he does not like! There is something untold in the winding up—depend upon it.\* Perhaps the character with which he was sent to the Noviciate by the discerning superior of his former college may have accompanied him to the end. He had given “indications of considerable *mental extravagance*, impatience to discipline,” &c. (p. 18.) The symptoms of “*mental extravagance*,” we fancy we can trace through the whole account which he gives (candidly, we think, on the whole) of the working of his mind through the entire Noviciate. There is nothing sober, calm, simple-hearted through it. All is exaggerated, violent, and unsober. But in nothing so much as in the constant presence of self throughout. Whatever else Mr. Steinmetz may have conquered in his noviciate, one thing we see little evidence of his having subdued—and that is vanity.. Perhaps no hero of an autobiography can help displaying it; it is, in fact, the root of his work. But in Mr. S. this is truly the leaven which at once sours and puffs out the entire work. Of learning it cannot boast. Notwithstanding that its author has “never lost a day in idleness of mind since the hour when he first went to school in his seventh year,” and speaks of his great industry, &c., more than once, there is hardly a classical quotation in the book which goes beyond the mere school-boy reading of the college in which he was educated—its “Latin by heart;” and as for the historical matter respecting the Jesuits, on which we might have looked for something new, there is nothing but what every enemy of theirs has said again and again, and what has been as often answered.

Possibly Mr. Steinmetz’s work appearing at this moment may be a good *hit*; there is a party in the reading world in England, a shark-jawed generation, that must have a periodical feed of religious calumny. Michelet’s book, though rather grossly flavoured, has been savoury to its palate; but it has been swallowed, and the gaping jaws

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\* Since this was written, we have learnt, on good authority, that the account of this transaction is utterly incorrect; and that the real cause of his departure is not given in his book.



are craving for another tit-bit—not *quite* so strong. To throw this new gobbet in, just at the nick of time, is clever. It will go down, in spite of the hooked chain on the back of it; and another mouthful will be wanted. Perhaps it might not be amiss to try the history of Mr. Steinmetz's conversion from popery to—what?

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ART. VIII.—*Lyra Innocentium; Thoughts in Verse on Christian Children, their Ways and their Privileges.* Oxford, Parker, 1846.

IT is far from our intention to approach the work of so deservedly celebrated a writer as the author of the *Christian Year*, in a controversial, or even in a critical spirit. That the poems, which we have named at the head of this article, are really his, we make no question, though we are not told so in the title-page. There are few of them which do not bear clear marks of their relationship to those which are so familiar to our memories and our hearts; and that, (unlike the *Lyra Apostolica*,) they have all one and the same parentage, is evident, on the principle that *exceptio probat regulam*, from the circumstance that one of them, and one only, is ascribed, in a note appended to it, to another person. One or two there are, which are somewhat different from the rest in style; and there are metres introduced which do not occur in the *Christian Year*; the matter too is not so condensed, nor the thoughts so recondite; but such varieties are found in the separate works of every author—time, place, age, frame of mind, subject, giving to each its distinctive character. The *Christian Year* was published in 1827; the *Lyra Apostolica* (as far as it is Mr. Keble's,) is the *Christian Year* of 1833; the *Lyra Innocentium* is the *Christian Year* of 1846. The circumstances of 1827 and 1846 differ from each other more than the two volumes which belong to those respective dates.

We have not the analytical powers which would war-

rant a critical survey of so gifted an intellect as has given birth to these poems ; and we have not quite the heartless officiousness to view them in a controversial aspect. If they have a special characteristic, it is that they are not controversial, in this aspect differing from other poems of the same school. Whether we look at the *Lyra Apostolica*, or the Cathedral and Baptistry, loyalty to the Anglican Church is here or there secured or attempted by attacks on the See of Rome and the Catholic Church ; some few traces of this peculiarity are found even in the *Christian Year*. But the volume before us preserves an emphatic silence on the subject of other churches. It will teach the happy children who are submitted to its influence, at least by implication, that there is no contrariety, no separation between the different portions of Christendom ; that Christianity is every where the same, the religion of peace and truth, with one and the same great daily rite, one and the same profession of faith. Catholics, at least, are not called to find fault with such a representation.

Nor do we find in this volume any strong language against those who have recently left the Anglican Church, as is the manner with the periodicals and pamphlets which express the sentiments of the party with which the author's name is connected. That he seriously disapproves of their step, is evident even from the fact that he does not take it himself ; for such a step is either a duty or a sin ; nay, he distinctly records his feeling on the subject : at the same time he records it without bitterness, violence, or injustice towards the persons concerned. In his introductory stanzas "to all friendly readers," he desires their prayers

" That he  
A true and timely word may frame  
For weary hearts, that ask to see  
Their way in our dim twilight-hour :  
His lips so purged with penance-fire,  
That he may guide them, in Christ's power,  
Along the path of their desire ;

" And with no faint and erring voice  
May to the wanderer whisper, ' Stay :  
God chooses for thee : seal His choice,  
Nor from thy Mother's shadow stray."

It will be observed that he here recognises himself dis-



tinctly as “guiding” others, and that “with no faint nor erring voice.” And in another place he seems to compare those who “mistrust their elders” and leave the Anglican Church, to St. Thomas, who would himself see, before he believed the Resurrection; a kind comparison, because St. Thomas was an Apostle notwithstanding, but still of very decided meaning. The poem is on the general subject of wilfulness and “worldly wisdom,” in refusing to “see with others’ eyes;” it ends thus:

“Alas! that man his breath should lose  
In wayward, doubting race,  
Nor his still home in shelter choose  
Where Thou hast set his place.”—p. 109.

Would that others had confined themselves to this—we will not say kind and gentle, but—*equitable* tone in their reproofs; we speak not of one person or another, but of the generality of those who have felt it a duty to animadvert on recent converts to the Catholic Church. We are not here crying for mercy, but asking justice, demanding common English fairness; we have a right to expect, but we do not find, that considerate, compassionate, comprehensive judgment upon their conduct, which, instead of fixing on particular isolated points in it, views it as a whole—uses the good, which is its general character, to hide its incidental faults—makes one part explain another, what is strong here excuse what is weak there, and evident sincerity of intention atone for infirmity of performance; which has a regard to circumstances, to the trial of an almost necessary excitement, the necessity of acting beyond exception, yet of acting without precedent, and of reaching a certain object when each assignable path has its difficulties. We are not apologizing for their great and momentous decision, but for the peculiarities which have accompanied its execution; if to do as much as this, be considered after all asking for mercy not for equity, it is only such mercy, to say the least, as they, as well as the subjects of their censure, will require on a day to come. In the well known words of the poet—

“In the course of justice, none of us  
Should see salvation; we do pray for mercy;  
And that same prayer doth teach us all to render  
The deeds of mercy.”

And we on our parts will show to these objectors so much consideration, as to allow that they do not pass their censures wantonly. We do not hold them justified in those censures, but we are able to enter into the feelings under which they pass them. Such censures are necessary for their position. When men of education, of good abilities, of blameless lives, make great sacrifices, give up their place in society, their friends, and their means of living, in order to join another communion, it is a strong argument, as far as any single argument is strong, for that communion's claim on the dutiful regard of Christians generally. And, in the instances before us, the argument came with particular cogency to those persons, and they were not few, who were united to the converts by ties of friendship, kindred, or gratitude. It was impossible that such persons should not be moved by the example thus held out to them; and, this being the case, there was no saying how far its influence might spread. In consequence it became very necessary to show, with respect to the seceding parties, that there was something faulty in the mode in which they had severally detached themselves from their original communion,—a fault such as to invalidate the testimony of each, and to destroy its logical and rhetorical force. It was a great point to be in a condition to say, that not any one of them but might have acted better than he did; and, whereas by seceding they had shown no piety towards the Church of England, its doctors, or its living divines and prelates, there was no special call for delicacy in dealing with them, and no reason against imputing motives or using personalities. If motives could not be plausibly conjectured, faulty tendencies at least were discoverable in their several characters; or hypothetical failings were assignable, as restlessness, or flightiness, such as would, if existing, account for their conduct by what Gibbon calls “human causes;” or, if every thing else failed, words might be cast at them, and they might be accused of “rationalism.” Nay, since no man living is perfect, and such critical junctures bring out an individual mind, such as it is, into full play, develop its qualities and faculties, and magnify for the time, as in a lens, even its minutest peculiarities and represent its faintest shades and colours, we may readily grant that never was there a case of conversion, except under the influence of extraordinary inspiration, which might not have proceeded more holily, more wisely, more religiously than it did—never



a case which did not present an opportunity of criticism, to those who had the heart, or felt it a necessity, or thought it a duty to criticise.

Such is the condition of all of us in this world. "Posuisti iniquitates nostras in conspectu tuo, sæculum nostrum in illuminatione vultus tui." Good friends, you have not far to seek; habetis confitentem reum; he pleads guilty; he has given up a fellowship or a living, or he has forfeited an inheritance, or ruined the prospects or present provision of wife and children, or damaged his reputation for judgment or discernment; he has cheerfully made himself a scoff, submitted himself as a prey to the newspapers, has made himself strange to his brethren; and besides and amid all this, it is true, he has said a strong word—or uttered a sarcasm—his successive disclosures have not severely kept time with the growth of his misgivings,—he has spoken to those with whom he should have been reserved, and has been silent where he should have spoken; at times he has not known where he stood, and perhaps promised what he could not perform. Of his sacrifices he thinks and says nothing; what he does know and does think of, is in substance what you so rhetorically urge against him, yes, and before you urge it. His self-scrutiny has preceded your dissection of him. What you proclaim to the world, he confesses without grudging, viz. that he has but acted *secundum captum suum*, according to what he is, not as an angel, but as a man; in the process of his conversion he has had to struggle with uncertainty of mind, with the duties of an actual position, with misgivings of its untenableness, with the perplexity of fulfilling many duties and of reconciling conflicting ones. He is not perfect; no one is perfect; not they who accuse him; he could retaliate upon them; he could gratuitously suggest reasons for their retaining their stations as they can for his relinquishing them; but it would be unworthy of him to do so. He leaves them to that judgment to which he himself appeals. May they who have spoken or written harshly of recent converts to the Catholic Church, receive at the Great Day more lenient measure than they have in this case given!

Returning to the volume which has led to these remarks, we find the author's silence concerning the affairs of the day still more emphatic than we have as yet described it. Not only is he entirely uncontroversial, as beseemed one

who writes of "Christian Children, their ways and their privileges," but he abstains almost entirely from any allusion whatever to the existing state and prospects of the English Church. In this respect he is singularly in contrast with himself in the *Christian Year*, which, though written for the personal edification of private persons, abounds in sentiments about ecclesiastical matters as existing at the date of its composition. These sentiments wear the character of forebodings, and those forebodings seem, from the event or the present position of affairs, to be almost prophetic. He wrote and published in a time of peace and plenty for his Church, when Lord Liverpool's government was in power, when Church patronage was dispensed more respectably than perhaps it ever had been, and when Church reform had not even showed itself on paper. In those palmy days of the Establishment, our author discerned that neither in doctrine nor in ethical standard, was she even as much as she might have been according to her principles, and as she had been from time to time in the persons of certain of her children. He considered he perceived, not merely corruption of life, but failure of faith, and judgment in the horizon. He described the world, which once attended our Lord in triumph into Jerusalem, as now

"Thronging round to gaze  
On the dread vision of the latter days,  
Constrained to own Thee, but in heart  
Prepared to take Barabbas' part;  
'Hosanna' now, to-morrow 'Crucify,'  
The changeful burden still of their rude lawless cry."

And then he asked:

"But what are heaven's alarms to hearts that cower  
In wilful slumber, deepening every hour,  
That draw their curtains closer round,  
The nearer swells the trumpet's sound?  
Lord, ere our trembling lamps sink down and die,  
Touch us with chastening hand, and make us feel thee nigh."

He speaks of the "watchman true," as

"Waiting to see what God will do,  
As o'er the Church the gathering twilight falls:  
No more he strains his wistful eye,  
If chance the golden hours be nigh,  
By youthful hope seen beaming round her walls.



“ Forced from his shadowy paradise,  
 His thoughts to heaven the steadier rise ;  
 There seek his answer when the world reproves ;  
 Contented in his darkling round,  
 If only he be faithful found,  
 When from the East the eternal morning moves.”

He addresses the clergy in a similar strain :

“ Think not of rest ; though dreams be sweet,  
 Start up, and ply your heaven-ward feet ;  
 Is not God’s oath upon your head,  
 Ne’er to sink back on slothful bed—  
 Never again your loins untie,  
 Nor let your torches waste and die,  
 Till, when the shadows thickest fall,  
 Ye hear your Master’s midnight call ?”

And elsewhere :—

“ Is this a time for moonlight dreams  
 Of love and home by mazy streams—  
 For fancy with her shadowy toys,  
 Aerial hopes, and pensive joys—  
 While souls are wandering far and wide,  
 And curses swarm on every side ?  
 No—rather steel thy melting heart,  
 To act the martyr’s steadfast part ;  
 To watch with firm, unshrinking eye,  
 Thy darling visions as they die,  
 Till all bright hopes, and hues of day,  
 Have faded into twilight gray.....

“ Pray only that thine aching heart,  
 From visions vain content to part,  
 Strong for love’s sake its woe to hide,  
 May cheerful wait the Cross beside,  
 Too happy if that dreadful day,  
 Thy life be given thee ‘ for a prey.’ ”

At another time, speaking of the English Church more directly, after commencing with “ Stately thy walls and holy are thy prayers,” he continues—

“ O mother dear,  
 Wilt thou forgive thy son one boding sigh ?  
 Forgive, if round thy towers he walk in fear,  
 And tell thy jewels o’er with jealous eye ?”

And then he proceeds to apply to his Church Ezekiel's fearful Vision in the Temple. Elsewhere he speaks of

“God's new Israel, sunk as low,  
Yet flourishing to sight as fair,  
As Sion in her height of pride,  
With queens for handmaids at her side,  
With kings for nursing fathers, throned high,  
And compassed with the world's too tempting blazonry.”

And, to make one additional extract, speaking of Aaron's sin in the matter of the golden calf, he asks,

“For what shall heal, when holy water banes ?  
Or who may guide  
O'er desert plains  
Thy loved yet sinful people wandering wide,  
If Aaron's heart unshrinking mould  
An idol form of earthly gold ?.....

“Therefore on fearful dreams her [the Church's] inward  
sight  
Is fain to dwell ;  
What lurid light  
Shall the last darkness of the world dispel—  
The Mediator, in His wrath,  
Descending down the lightning's path.”

He ends, addressing that Divine Mediator, with a continued allusion to Moses in the Mount :

“But at Thy touch let veiled hearts awake,  
That nearest to Thine altar lie,  
Yet least of holy things descry.  
Teacher of teachers ! Priest of priests ! from Thee  
The sweet strong prayer  
Must rise, to free  
First Levi, then all Israel from the snare.  
Thou art our Moses out of sight—  
Speak for us, or we perish quite.”

Such plaintive notes, quales populeâ Philomela sub umbra, have by this time altogether left the Poet's Lyre : as far as we have observed, not a sound remains of them in the present volume. What is the meaning of this ? is it that singing-birds are silent when a storm is at hand, and that the evil in his Church is too awful and imminent



for verse? Actual England is too sad to look upon. The Poet seems to turn away from the sight; else, in his own words, would it "bruise too sore his tender heart;" he takes refuge in the contemplation of that blessed time of life in which alone the Church is what God intended it, what Christ made it, the time of infancy and childhood. He sounds a *Lyra Innocentium*. He hangs over the first springs of divine grace, and fills his water-pots with joy "ex fontibus Salvatoris," before heresy, schism, ambition, worldliness, and cowardice have troubled the still depths. He would fain have the morning last till evening; he almost confesses it:—

"O sweet morning-dream, I pray,  
Pass not with the matin-hour:  
Charm me:—heart and tongue allay,  
Thoughts of gloom and eyes that lower.  
From the Fountain to the Shrine,  
Bear me on, thou trance divine;  
Faint not, fade not on my view,  
Till I wake and find thee true."—*p.* 11.

Thus he would live and die in a "trance" or "dream;" a dream, as he confesses it to be, since souls fall from their first innocence, as time goes on; a dream, as *we* should add, because children in the Anglican Church, though commencing their course as Catholics, yet when they come to years of discretion fall into a schismatical state. Yet we cordially thank him for his "dream;" we thank him for choosing a subject for his verse in which Catholics and he are one,—a subject such, that Catholics can claim and use his poems as expressing their own mind, not merely imposing a higher and fuller sense on them; but taking them in that very sense in which he speaks. Whatever differences Catholics may have with Mr. Keble, they have none in the main doctrine and fact on which his volume is written. If there be one point from which Catholics can look with satisfaction on this bewildered land, it is as regards the state of its baptized infants. Those infants are, in their estimation, as good Catholics as themselves, or better. The Catholic Church is the very Church of their baptism; they were baptized into nothing short of that Church; whoever baptized them, baptized them into her and for her; she claims them as her property. There is but one baptism for the remission of sins, and she it is who

administers it, wherever it is legitimately administered. Heretics and schismatics may be her instruments in this work, as perfectly as saints. She baptizes by means of the Anglican communion, which is not their real mother but a stranger. By the Catholic Church they are suckled;—alas, at length the time comes when they are weaned; and then they pass into the hands of one or other foster parent, who soon detaches them from their true mother. But in their first years, till they come to years of discretion, and commit acts which separate them from her, they are as fully and absolutely the children of the Catholic Church as if they were baptized in the Catholic communion. They have angels to guard them, and saints to intercede for them; they are lovely and pleasant in their lives, and blessed in their deaths. Thus the death of children in this poor country is attended by a consolation unspeakable; the dreadful controversy about the two communions does not touch them; they are recognised as innocents on all hands, and they have been taken away from the evil to come. Bright precious thought, though dimmed of late years with a shade of sadness, from the negligence and ignorance with which the sacred rite of baptism has been so often administered!

Well would it be for all men, could they always live the life they lived as infants, possessed of the privileges, not the responsibilities of regeneration. Our author, as we have said, especially feels it at this present time; and, leaving the Anglican Church to go on as it will, and to deny truth as it will, he hides from himself all that is national, local, schismatical, existing,—he withdraws his pleading eye and his warning voice from a generation which scorns him,—he leaves bishops and clergy, cathedral chapters and ecclesiastical judges, town mobs and country squires, to the tender mercies of history, in order to enjoy a blameless Donatism, to live in a church of children, to gaze on their looks and motions, to encourage them in good, and to guard them from harm and sin.

Thus, in some beautiful stanzas he compares a child sleeping in his cradle, first to the infant Moses in his ark of bulrushes, then to our Lord Himself asleep in the vessel.

“ Storms may rush in, and crimes and woes

Deform the quiet bower ;

They may not mar the deep repose

Of that immortal flower.



Though only broken hearts be found,  
To watch his cradle by,  
No blight is on his slumbers sound,  
No touch of harmful eye.

“So gently slumbered on the wave  
The new-born seer of old,  
Ordained the chosen tribes to save,  
Nor dreamed how darkly rolled  
The waters by his rushy brake,  
Perchance even now defiled  
With infants’ blood for Israel’s sake,  
Blood of some priestly child.

“What recks he of his mother’s tears—  
His sister’s boding sigh?  
The whispering reeds are all he hears,  
And Nile, soft weltering by,  
Sings him to sleep;—but he will wake,  
And o’er the haughty flood  
Wave his stern rod—and, lo! a lake,  
A restless sea of blood!

“Soon shall a mightier flood thy call  
And out-stretched rod obey;  
To right and left the watery wall  
From Israel shrinks away.  
Such honour wins the faith that gave  
Thee and thy sweetest boon  
Of infant charms to the rude wave,  
In the third joyous moon.

“Hail, chosen Type and Image true  
Of Jesus on the sea!  
In slumber, and in glory too,  
Shadowed of old by thee.  
Save that in calmness thou didst sleep  
The summer stream beside,  
He on a wider, wilder deep  
Where boding night-winds sighed:—

“Sighed when at eve He laid Him down,  
But with a sound like flame  
At midnight from the mountain’s crown  
Upon his slumbers came.—

Lo! how they watch, till He awake,  
 Around His rude low bed :  
 How wishful count the waves that break  
 So near his sacred head !"—*p.* 32—34.

He inquires whether regenerate infants do not see their Saviour, and by their sudden transport on waking is reminded of the unborn Baptist at the Visitation :

"Oft as in sun-bright dawn  
 The infant lifts his eye, joying to find  
 The dusky veil of sleep undrawn,  
 And to the East gives welcome kind,  
 Or in the morning air  
 Waves high his little arm,  
 As though he read, engraven there,  
 His fontal name, Christ's saving charm.

"Oft as in hope untold  
 The parent's eye pursues that eager look ;

. . . . .  
 Still in love's steady gaze,  
 In joy's unbidden cry,  
 That holy Mother's glad amaze,  
 That infant's worship we descry.

"Still Mary's Child unseen  
 Comes breathing, in the heart just sealed His own,  
 Prayers of high hope : what bliss they mean,  
 And where they soar, to Him is known," &c.—*p.* 43.

To this intimate approach to the Saviour of all, vouchsafed to children, he is led to attribute, in another poem, the sort of understanding which exists between them and the brute creation.

"Thou makest me jealous, infant dear,  
 Why wilt thou waste thy precious smiles,  
 Thy beckonings blithe, and joyous wiles,  
 On bird or insect gliding near ?  
 Why court the deaf and blind ?  
 What is this wondrous sympathy,  
 That draws thee so, heart, ear, and eye,  
 Towards the inferior kind ?



“We tempt thee much to look and sing—  
Thy mimic notes are rather drawn  
From feathered playmates on the lawn—  
The quivering moth, or bee’s soft wing,  
Brushing the window pane,  
Will reach thee in thy dreamy trance,  
When nurse’s skill for one bright glance  
Hath toiled an hour in vain.”

Then he speaks of the “baying bloodhound” and the “watch-dog stern,” the “war-horse,” nay, the “tiger’s whelp,” “wild elephant and mountain bull,” as well as “bounding lamb or lonely bird,” as being in league with children. The poem proceeds:

“Ah, you have been in Jesus’ arms,  
The holy fount hath you imbued  
With His all-healing kindly blood;  
And somewhat of His pastoral charms,  
And care for His lost sheep,  
Ye there have learned : in ordered tones  
Gently to soothe the lesser ones,  
And watch their noon-day sleep.”

In another poem he traces the power of children over the wicked:

“A little child’s soft sleeping face  
The murderer’s knife ere now hath staid :  
The adulterer’s eye, so foul and base,  
Is of a little child afraid.  
They cannot choose but fear,  
Since in that sign they feel God and good angels near.”

He continues :

“Heaven in the depth and height is seen ;  
On high among the stars, and low  
In deep clear waters : all between  
Is earth, and tastes of earth : even so  
The Almighty One draws near  
To strongest seraphs there, the weakest infants here.”

This leads him to an interpretation of the sculptured cherubs in churches, which will not be satisfactory to Iconoclasts :

“O well and wisely wrought of old,  
Nor without guide be sure, who first  
Did cherub forms as infants mould,  
And lift them where the full deep burst  
Of awful harmony  
Might need them most, to waft it onward to the sky;

“Where best they may, in watch and ward,  
Around the enthroned Saviour stand,  
May quell, with sad and stern regard,  
Unruly eye and wavering hand,  
May deal the blessed dole  
Of saving knowledge round from many a holy scroll.”  
—p. 268—271.

The above extracts rather show the view Mr. Keble takes of the infants of the Church, than exemplify his earnestness in connecting their holy condition with the rite of baptism. On the latter point, however, he is very earnest; and, if we might theorize on the subject, we should fancy that he was not quite pleased with the Platonic tone, as it may be called, of much of the poetry of the day, which extols indeed the divine blessedness of infancy, but in so unguarded or ignorant a manner as to forget the source of it, as if this divinity belonged to children as they are born into the world, and not as washed from original sin, and gifted with regeneration. There is a studious accuracy of the author on this point.

But now we come to notice a second peculiarity in these poems, which immediately follows from their main topic being such as we have described it to be. If the author is to sing of regenerate infants and children, and is to view them in such lights as Scripture will furnish, to what is he necessarily referred at once, but to the thought of our Lord in the first years of His earthly existence, when He was yet a little one in the arms and at the breast of His blessed Mother? Hence the Virgin and Child is the special vision, as it may be called, which this truly evangelical poet has before him throughout his “Thoughts in Verse on Christian Children;” like “that holy painter” and evangelist, whom he himself speaks of,

“Who with pen and pencil true  
Christ’s own awful Mother drew.”—p. 98.

He even introduces the thought of St. Mary, where



there are neither children to suggest it, nor Scripture to sanction it. He observes, that at the first Whitsuntide, "all estates, all tribes of earth" were collected; "Only sweet infancy seemed silent in the adoring earth." "Mothers and maidens" were there, "widows from Galilee," "Levites," and "elders sage." He continues:

"But nought we read of that sweet age  
Which in His strong embrace He took,  
And sealed it safe, by word and look,  
From earth's foul dews, and withering airs of hell:  
The Pentecostal chant no infant-warblings swell."—p. 343.

And he goes out of his way, as follows, to supply the imagined deficiency:

"Nay, but *She* worships here,  
Whom still the Church in memory sees,  
(O thought to mothers dear!)  
Before her babe on bended knees,  
Or rapt, with fond adoring eye,  
In her sweet nursing ministry.  
How in Christ's anthem fails the children's part,  
While Mary bears Him throned in her maternal heart?"

We feel a natural reluctance to exhibit the many traces which these poems exhibit of a similar devotional feeling towards the blessed Virgin; it is like running through the volume to find out what are called "strong passages," a procedure which here would obviously be very offensive. Yet, since it falls into the direct line of thought which we are pursuing to enlarge upon this peculiarity of his religion, we shall do so for the sake of Catholics, who know nothing of him except that he is one of those who are retaining doubting minds in a schismatical communion, and who ought to know a great deal more of him.

For instance, the following is part of his Poem or Hymn for Easter Day:

"The Angel came full early, But Christ had gone before,  
The breath of life, the living soul, Had breathed itself once more  
Into the sacred body, That slumbered in the tomb,  
As still and lowly as erewhile In the undefiled womb.  
And surely not in folds so bright The spotless winding-sheet  
Inwrapt Him, nor such fragrance poured The myrrh and aloes  
sweet,  
As when in that chaste bosom, His awful bed, He lay,  
And Mary's prayer around Him rose, Like incense, night and day.

“And even, as when her hour was come, He left His Mother mild,  
 A royal Virgin evermore, Heavenly and undefiled,  
 So left the glorious body The rock it slumbered on  
 And spirit-like in silence passed, Nor touched the sealed stone.”  
 —p. 344.

He continues presently :

“He veiled His awful footsteps, Our all-subduing Lord,  
 Until the blessed Magdalene Beheld Him and adored.  
 But through the veil the spouse may see, For her heart is as His  
 own,  
 That to His Mother or by sight Or touch He made Him known.  
 And even as from His manger-bed He gave her His first smile,  
 So now, while seraphs wait, He talks Apart with her awhile :  
 That thou of all the forms, Which to thee His image wear,  
 Mightest own thy parents first, With thy prime of loving care.”  
 —p. 336.

In his poem on “Judas’s Infancy” he has, what seems to us, a most touching and beautiful thought, though some may call it refined, that “the blessed Mary” doubtless thought with pity upon the poor mother who had nursed the traitor, “a harmless child,” ere gold had bought him. Yet, sure it was, he grew up to be the man of whom the Voice of Truth has said, that it had been good if he had not been born :

“Sure, as to blessed Mary come  
 The saints’ and martyrs’ host,  
 To own, with many a thankful strain,  
 The channel of undying bliss,  
 The bosom where the Lord hath lain,  
 The hand that held by His :

“Sure, as her form for evermore  
 The glory and the joy shall wear,  
 That robed her, bending to adore  
 The Babe her chaste womb bare.”—p. 67.

Elsewhere he says that “two homes of love’s resort” are mentioned in Scripture—the upper room and the temple :

“Possessing  
 Alike *her* presence, whom the awful blessing  
 Lifted above all Adam’s race.”—p. 83.



We, in like manner, have two homes, our closet and our Church; and, in like manner,

“The Mother of our Lord is there,  
And saints are breathing hallowed air,  
Living and dead, to waft on high our feeble prayer.”

The feeling which is brought out into formal statement in these passages is intimated by the frequency and tenderness of expression with which the thought of the blessed Virgin is introduced throughout the volume. She is the “Blessed Mary” with her “lily flower,” “the Virgin blest,” “that Maiden bright,” or “Virgin bright,” a “royal Virgin evermore,” Christ’s “Mother mild,” or “Mother dear,” “the Mother-maid,” “the Maiden Mother,” “the Virgin Mother,” “that Mother undefiled,” “Christ’s awful Mother,” “Mother of God;” “the spotless Mother, first of creatures.” And Christ is “the dread Son of Mary,” “Mary’s child,” “the awful child on Mary’s knee.” Perhaps the author’s most beautiful lines on this subject are those addressed to a child who had lost her mother, in which he applies to the child the words spoken by our Lord on the cross to St. John. He says that, though she has lost her natural mother, yet surely she now has the blessing of the Virgin’s patronage, to whom she had already, on the birth of a younger sister, shown her devotion.

“Thy vision (whoso chides, may blame  
The instinctive reachings of the altar flame,)  
Shows thee above, in yon ethereal air,  
A holier Mother, rapt in more prevailing prayer.

“’Tis *she* to whom thy heart took flight  
Of old in joyous hour,  
When first a precious sister-spright  
Came to thy nursery bower.  
And thou with earnest tone didst say,  
Mother, let Mary be her name, I pray,  
For dearly do I love to think upon  
That gracious Mother-Maid, nursing her Holy One.”

—p. 153.

The deep and tender devotion which this language discovers is no novelty with our author. No reader of the

Christian Year can forget his "Ave Maria! Thou whose name *All but* adoring love may claim;" and we may even say that, judging from these poems, his devotional feeling has but become more decided, and has more firmly based itself in his reason, as life has advanced. Shall we observe, there is one thing we "desiderate" in this volume—to use Mr. Froude's word on a similar occasion? We do not discover one "Ave Maria" throughout it, though he has used that invocation in the above passage of the *Christian Year*. We cannot doubt it has been upon his lips; why, then, is it excluded from his book? Perhaps he feared to give scandal, or to cause distress or excitement, in the use of a form of words not sanctioned by his Church; the case was different at the date of the *Christian Year*, when it would pass for mere poetry. Moreover, in two of the passages above-quoted the author studiously speaks of Mary as "bending to adore the Babe," and before her Babe "on bended knees." No Catholic will quarrel with such an image, which is represented in some of the paintings of the great masters; but, as introduced in these places, it is surely out of place—is introduced to give satisfaction, or to furnish a safeguard, to others—is more fitted for polemics than for devotional poetry, and savours much of the evangelical school, who never mention one doctrine of religion by itself, lest they should be supposed thereby to deny every other, not of the author of the *Christian Year*.

Such a volume as this is a clear evidence that what is sometimes called "the movement" in the Anglican Church is not at an end. We do not say that it is spreading,—or that it will obtain permanent footing in the communion in which it has originated,—or that it will or will not lead to a reaction, and eventually protestantize,—or again weaken,—a religious body, to which, under favourable circumstances, it might have brought strength. We are not prophets; we do but profess to draw conclusions; and the above conclusion respecting "the movement," which these poems have suggested, seems a very safe one. Nor can we venture on predicting the destiny of individuals who are connected with that movement; for them the gravest anxieties will naturally be felt by sensitive friends, lest they should be resisting a call, and risking their election. Cases may be expected which will pierce to the heart those



among ourselves who come across them. We only mean to say, that more has still to come of the opinions which have lately found such acceptance in the Church of England, because they are still alive within its pale. Our author has doubtless published the poems before us with the intention of calling people's minds off external and dangerous subjects, of leading them back to the memory of the years when they were young, innocent, and happy, and thus persuading them calmly to repose under the shadow of the tree beneath which they were born. He has published them at a critical time, and much will be expected of them by his friends. Much certainly came of the *Christian Year*; it was the most soothing, tranquillising, subduing work of the day; if poems can be found to enliven in dejection, and to comfort in anxiety; to cool the over-sanguine, to refresh the weary, and to awe the worldly; to instil resignation into the impatient, and calmness into the fearful and agitated—they are these.

“Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta,  
Quale sopor fessis in gramine : quale per æstum  
Dulcis aquæ saliente sitim restinguere rivo.”

Or like the Shepherd's pipe in the *Oriental Vision*, “The sound was exceedingly sweet, and wrought into a variety of tunes that were inexpressibly melodious and altogether different from any thing I had ever heard. They put me in mind of those heavenly airs that are played to the departing souls of good men upon their first arrival in paradise, to wear out the impressions of the last agonies, and qualify them for the pleasures of that happy place. I drew near with that reverence which is due to a superior nature; and as my heart was entirely subdued by the captivating strains I had heard, I fell down at his feet and wept.”

Such was the gift of the author of the *Christian Year*, and he used it in attaching the minds of the rising generation to the church of his predecessors, Ken and Herbert. He did that for the Church of England which none but a poet could do; he made it poetical. It is sometimes asked whether poets are not more commonly found external to the Church than among her children; and it would not surprise us to find the question answered in the affirmative. Poetry is the refuge of those who have not the Catholic Church to fly to and repose upon; the Church

herself is the most sacred and venerable of poets. Poetry, as Mr. Keble lays it down in his University Lectures on the subject, is a certain method of relieving the overburdened mind; it is a channel through which grief or agitation finds expression, and that a safe, regulated expression. Now what is the Catholic Church, viewed in her human aspect, but a discipline of the affections and passions? What are her ordinances and practices but the regulated expression of keen, or deep, or turbid feeling, and thus a *καθαρσις*, as Aristotle would word it, of the sick soul? She is the poet of her children; full of music to sooth the sad and control the wayward,—wonderful in story for the imagination of the romantic,—rich in symbol and imagery, so that gentle and delicate feelings, which will not bear words, may in silence intimate their presence or commune with themselves. Her very being is poetry; every psalm, every litany, every collect, every versicle, the cross, the mitre, the thuribule, is a fulfilment of some dream of childhood, or aspiration of youth. Such poets as are born under her shadow, she takes into her service; she sets them to write hymns, or to compose chants, or to embellish shrines, or to determine ceremonies, or to marshal processions; nay, she can even make schoolmen of them, as she made St. Thomas, till logic becomes poetical. Now the author of the *Christian Year* found the Anglican system all but destitute of this divine element, which is an essential property of the Catholic;—a ritual dashed upon the ground, trodden on, and broken piecemeal;—prayers, lopped, pieced, torn, shuffled about at pleasure, till the meaning of the composition perished, and offices which had been poetry were no longer even good prose;—antiphons, hymns, benedictions, invocations, shovelled away;—scripture lessons turned into chapters;—heaviness, feebleness, unwieldiness, where the Catholic rites had had the lightness and airiness of a spirit;—vestments chucked off, lights quenched, jewels stolen, the multitude of ministrants, the long procession, put down;—a dreariness which could be felt, and which seemed the token of an incipient Socinianism, forcing itself upon the eye, the ear, the nostrils of the worshipper; a smell of dust and damp, not of incense; a sound of ministers preaching Catholic prayers, and parish clerks droning out Catholic canticles; the royal arms for the crucifix; huge ugly boxes of wood, sacred to preachers, frowning on the con-



gregation in the place of the mysterious altar; and long cathedral aisles unused, railed off, looking like tombs (as they were,) of what had been and was not; and for orthodoxy, a frigid, unelastic, inconsistent, dull, helpless dogmatic, which could give no just account of itself, yet was intolerant of all teaching which contained a doctrine more or a doctrine less:—such was the religion of which this gifted author was,—not the witness and denouncer, a deep spirit of reverence hindered it,—but the renovator, as far as it has been renovated. Clearly as he saw the degeneracy of his times, he attributed nothing of it to his Church, over which he threw the poetry of his own mind and the memory of better days.

His happy magic made the Anglican Church seem, what Catholicism was and is. The established system found to its surprise that it had been all its life talking not prose, but poetry.

“*Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma.*”

Beneficed clergymen used to go to rest as usual on Christmas Eve, and leave to ringers, or sometimes to carollers, the sole duties which were performed towards the sacred time; but now they suddenly found themselves, as if in the Catholic Church, “wakeful shepherds;” and “still as the day came round,” “in music and in light,” the new-born Saviour “dawned upon their prayer.” Anglican bishops not only had lost the habit of blessing, but are said sometimes to have been startled and vexed when asked to do so; but now they were told of their “gracious arm stretched out to bless;” moreover, what they had never dreamed when they were gazetted or did homage, they were “each an apostle true, a crowned and robed seer.” The parish church had been shut up, except for vestry meetings and occasional services, all days of the year but Sundays and one or two other sacred days; but church-goers were now assured that “martyrs and saints” had “dawned on their way,” that the absolution in the Common Prayer Book was “the Golden Key each morn and eve;” moreover they heard, at a time too when the Real Presence was all but utterly forgotten or denied, of “the dear feast of Jesus dying, upon that altar ever lying,” “while angels prostrate fall.” They learned besides, that, what their teachers had spoken of, and sextons had not even treated, as a communion table, was “the dread altar;”

and they were told of "holy lamps blazing," of "perfumed embers quivering bright," of "the stoled priest," and the "floor by knees of sinners worn."

Such doctrine coming from one who had such claims on his readers from the weight of his name, the depth of his devotional and ethical tone, and the special gift of consolation, of which his poems were the evidence, wrought a great work in the Establishment. The Catholic church speaks for itself, the Anglican needs external assistance; his poems became a sort of comment upon its formularies and ordinances, and almost elevated them into the dignity of a religious system. It kindled hearts towards his Church; it gave a something for the gentle and forlorn to cling to; and it raised up advocates for it among those, who otherwise, if God and their good angel had suffered it, might have wandered away into some sort of philosophy, and acknowledged no church at all. Such was the influence of the *Christian Year*; and doubtless his friends hail the *Lyra Innocentium*, as being likely to do a similar work in a more critical time. And it is to be expected that for a while something of a similar effect may follow its publication. That so revered, so loved a name as the author's, a name known by Oxford men for thirty years and more, that one who has lived "a hermit spirit" unlike the world all his days, who even in his youth caused the eyes of younger men to turn keenly towards him, if he was pointed out to them in public schools or college garden, who by the mere first touch of his hand has made them feel pierced through, so that they could have sunk into the earth for shame, and who, when removed from his loved University, was still an unseen silent influence moving hearts at his will,—that a "whisper" from him, "with no faint and erring voice," will for the time retain certain persons in the English Church, who otherwise, to say the least, would have contemplated a return to that true Mother whose baptism they bear, the one sole ark of salvation, of this we make no question at all. But there is another point, of which we entertain just as little doubt, or rather are a great deal more confident,—that, as far as the volume has influence, that influence will, on the long run, tell in favour of the Catholic Church; and will do what the author does not, nay from his position alas, cannot, may not contemplate,—will in God's good time bring in a blessed harvest into the granaries of Christ. And being sure of this, much as



the immediate effects of its publication may pain the hearts of those who are sighing and praying for the souls of others, we can bear to wait, we can afford to be patient, and awfully to watch the slow march of the divine providences towards this poor country.

Take the volume; consider its doctrine; consider, too, that it seldom dwells upon the English Church as a definite and actual body, but seems almost to view the infant's breast as *the* true visible Church, the only doctor and saint in the land; and then imagine what will be the direction and course of thought in those children, who grow up under the teaching which it imparts. It tells them, for instance, that in the very act and moment of baptism the soul is regenerated, and, ordinarily, is regenerated in no other way; that each soul has an angel for its guardian; that, whereas Christ works His miracles of mercy now as at the beginning, St. Mary is an instrument in them as in the marriage of Cana, and the Apostles; that the saints are rightly called gods; that "the Infinite" is in the "unbloody rite;" that the Eucharistic sacrifice is offered up daily all over the world, and that the sun never sets upon it; that the Church has ever spread in that shadow of St. Peter, which in the beginning wrought miracles, and that it shall never grow less; and that it is "duteous" to pray for quick as well as dead, a position with which he opens the first stanza in his volume. Now, in what sense is this a Church of England training? How can a child ever learn from it sympathy with and attachment to that communion, as he grows up? How is such teaching dutiful towards it? The Ethiopian, on reading the prophet Isaiah inquired, "Of whom speaketh the prophet this?" and so the boy, the youth, the man, as he looks wider and further into the world, as he is gradually thrown upon his own thoughts, will surely ask with louder and louder voice where this teaching is to be found? whence it comes? which of the living English bishops or departed divines, and how many, which of Anglican formularies, what part of the Prayer Book, which of the Articles, what obsolete canon, or what ecclesiastical judge, sanctions its doctrines; and how far literal, tangible facts bear out its statements?—and next, whether there are not existing bishops elsewhere, and divines, and decrees, and usages, which do bear it out fully, and offer him what he is seeking; whether, in short, the author's comment is acknowledged by

his text ; or belongs to some other text, not his. There is but one Church which has firmly, precisely, consistently, continually held and acted upon these doctrines of the *Lyra Innocentium* ; and if holding them to be token of the true Church, one and one only Church is true. It must be recollected, too, that these doctrines are part of a system ; they lead to other doctrines ; they gradually and imperceptibly draw the mind into the reception of others, whether it will or no. At this very moment souls are being led into the Catholic Church on the most various and independent impulses, and from the most opposite directions. True it is, that such persons as have been taught from childhood certain principles, are able without prejudice to them to admit other doctrines which are their direct contradictories, and which tend inevitably to their destruction. Anglicans of forty years standing may admit that St. Peter is the foundation of the Church, yet feel no misgivings in consequence that the Church of England is external to Catholic communion ; but the *Lyra Innocentium* is not addressed to grown men, but to children, whose hearts and heads have yet to be formed, and who, if “trained up” (as they will be) “in the way they should go,” are not likely in the end to “depart from it.” Is it not, indeed, by this time abundantly clear, that, as children of the Evangelical school of the last age have so often become Latitudinarians, so the young generation whose pious and serious parents are now teaching them to cross themselves, to fast or abstain, to reverence celibacy, and to say Ave to St. Mary, if they grow up as serious and pious as their instructors, will end in being converts to the Catholic Church ?

Well would it be, if the really honest holders of Anglo-Catholic principles could be made to see this ; it would be the removal of a veil from their eyes ; they would at once perceive that they ought to be plain Catholics. Some of them, indeed, may hitherto have had thoughts of leavening the whole English Church with their doctrine ; they may have spoken of the Anglican Church as what it ought to be and was not, in the hope thereby of tending to make it what it ought to be ; and now, though they see or suspect their own tendency to be towards Rome, they may put this suspicion aside, and remain where they are, in the confidence that, if they are but patient, they shall ultimately succeed in bringing over their whole communion to their



own views. But such a confidence has not been the feeling of the author of the *Christian Year*, if we may judge from his writings. His imagination, creative as it is, has been under the control of too sober a judgment, as we cannot but surmise, to acquiesce in the notion that the English Church is the natural seat of Catholicism; that you have but to preach the truth, and the heart of her members will recognise in that truth their own real sentiments, and claim their lost inheritance; that Erastianism in high places will ever become a mere matter of history; that ecclesiastical courts, university authorities, mobs and vestries, will ever lose their keen scent for detecting popery, and their intense satisfaction in persecuting it. He seems to resign himself and his friends, as if it were no "strange thing," to the prospect of unkind, unnatural treatment *for ever*, from her whom the word of prophecy has depicted as the mother of her children. He has some beautiful lines on a child's clinging to its mother's gown who appears the while to disregard it, with a reference to the miracle wrought upon the issue of blood: and it is impossible not to see that he is all the while drawing himself and the English Church in a parable.

"She did but touch with finger weak  
The border of His sacred vest,  
Nor did he turn, nor glance, nor speak,  
Yet found she health and rest.

"Well may the Word sink deep in me,  
For I full many a fearful hour,  
Fast clinging, Mother dear, to thee,  
Have felt love's guardian power.

"When looks were strange on every side,  
*When, gazing round, I only saw*  
*Far-reaching ways, unknown and wide,*  
I could but nearer draw:

"I could but nearer draw, and hold  
Thy garment's border as I might,  
This while I felt, my heart was bold,  
My step was free and light.

"Thou haply on my path the while  
Didst seem unheeding me to fare,  
Scarce now and then, by word or smile,  
Owning a playmate there.

“What matter? well I know my place,  
Deep in my Mother’s inmost heart :  
I feared but, in my childish race,  
I from her robe might part.”

We are ourselves reminded of another image. We have somewhere seen some lines by Darwin, in which a mother is described as killed by a chance ball in a battle; her children are found clinging to her in the persuasion that she is asleep;—when she is discovered by those who know better, the poor babes say in surprise, “Why do you weep, mamma will soon awake.” None other but that miraculous Voice, which used the same words over Jairus’ daughter, can wake the dead.

There is one other issue, to which we have not yet drawn attention, to which Anglo-catholic writers may reduce the enquiring mind;—they may throw it, by a re-action, into rationalism. When the opening heart and eager intellect find themselves led on by their teachers, as if by the hand, to the See of St. Peter, and then all of a sudden, without good reason assigned, they are stopped in their course, bid stand still in some half position, on the middle of a steep, or in the depth of a forest, the natural reflection which such a command excites is, “This is a mockery; I have come here for nothing; if I do not go on, I must go back.” Of course such a feeling, though the natural, will not, and ought not to be, the first feeling of the young. Reverent minds will at first rest on the word of their teachers by the instinct of their natures, and will either receive them without examination, or accept on faith what does not approve itself to their reason. But as time proceeds, and the intellect becomes more manly, and has a greater hold of the subjects of thought and their relations to each other, it will at length come to feel that it must form its own judgment on the questions which perplex it, unless the authority to which it has hitherto submitted claims to be infallible. To an infallible authority it will submit; but since no teacher of the Anglican Church, no, nor that Church itself, claims to have the power of absolutely determining the truth in religious matters, the moment must arrive when the young inquirer feels it right to have an opinion of his own, and then it is that a peremptory prohibition of his advancing onward, without sufficient reason assigned for it, will act as a



violent temptation to recede. A forlorn feeling comes over the mind, as if after all there was nothing real in orthodoxy—as if it were a matter of words about which nothing is known, nothing can be proved—as if one opinion were as good as another. The whole Roman faith it thinks it could receive; but a half-and-half system, which both does and does not appeal to reason—which argues as far as it thinks argument tells in its favour, and denounces argument when it tells the other way—flies to authority, puts forward great names, and talks in a vague way of “reverence,” “submission,” “the Church of our baptism,” “rationalism,” “restlessness,” and the like, neither commands its faith nor wins its love. O that we could be sure about our author, that however he might think it his duty to treat the gentle and unlearned who depend on him, at least when men of independent minds, young or old, come to him in doubt—men of the world, or rising men of active minds, whose characters are yet undetermined, (we are speaking in entire ignorance whether he has knowledge of such cases,) what a blessing it would be to be able to think that, instead of placing an obstacle in the path of such, he felt himself at liberty to say to them as much as this: “Stay with us, if you do not risk your Christian faith and hope by staying; but, little as I can countenance your departure to the Church of Rome, better do so than become a rationalist.” This surely is not asking a very great deal.

As to the author personally, we cannot help cherishing one special trust, which we hope is not too sacred to put into words. If there be one writer in the Anglican Church who has discovered a deep, tender, loyal devotion to the blessed Mary, it is the author of the *Christian Year*. The image of the Virgin and Child seems to be the one vision upon which both his heart and intellect have been formed; and those who knew Oxford twenty or thirty years ago, say that, while other college rooms were ornamented with pictures of Napoleon on horseback, or Apollo and the Graces, or Heads of Houses placed in easy chairs, there were the rooms of one man, a young and rising one, in which might be seen the *Madonna di Sisto* or *Domenichino’s St. John*—fit augury of him who was in the event to do so much for the revival of Catholicism. We will never give up the hope, the humble belief, that that sweet and gracious Lady will not forget her servant, but will recompense him, in

royal wise, seven-fold,—bringing him and his at length into the Church of the One Saviour, and into the communion of herself and all Saints whom He has redeemed.

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ART. IX.—*The Testimony of St. Patrick against the false pretensions of Rome to Primitive Antiquity in Ireland.* By HENRY J. MONCK MASON, L. L. D. Dublin: 1846.

IF Mr. Mason's success were equal to his zeal and erudition, his name would rank respectably among Irish historians. More than twenty years ago he published his opinions on Irish matters, and during the long interval, he professes to have formed a familiar acquaintance with our rarest and most ancient documents. If we can judge from his name, he is not a Celt, but he vastly admires that strong propensity of the Celt to idolize old opinions because they are old, and accordingly he boasts with evident complacency, that what he has collected, and read, and seen during the last twenty years, has but confirmed his old opinions. For the tone and spirit of his controversy, we can answer that he is unchanged; sour, intolerant, and insulting as ever, if a Catholic could be insulted by one who denounces Ussher as weak and credulous, and declares that half an age's contempt of the dishonest Ledwich, was a foul conspiracy of Catholic and Protestant, of Dr. Lanigan and Mr. Petrie to blast an honest reputation. For Mr. Mason's consistency on other points we should be sorry to answer. It would be easy, were it worth the trouble, to cull from the present work many positions, which no special pleading even of a doctor of laws, could reconcile with assertions in that life of Bedell, which we were under the painful necessity of noticing some years ago. But of contradictions, did we notice them, there would be no end; for whether it is that the load of his erudition is too heavy, or that he is completely lost in the vortex of Biblical Propagandism, it is impossible to read three pages of his book, without thinking of the



drifting and lurch of the helmless collier, battered by wind and waves, and at last hopelessly buried in a sand-bank. There is an old proverb applied originally to confine the aberrations of an humble son of Crispin, which we would apply to Mr. Mason, if Mr. Mason could change, but proverbs can have no effect on the man, whose asperity cannot be mollified by the great revolution in both the tone and substance of religious controversy in these Islands within the last ten years. Determined not to be provoked by the snarling of an old offender, we shall confine ourselves strictly to a few and only a few of the very important points he has attempted to discuss.

The title tells the object of the work ; our ecclesiastical history is divided into three periods, the first closing at 600, the second at 1172, the third extending to the present day. The first Mr. Mason maintains was purely Protestant without a tincture of Romanism ; during the second Catholic doctrines were gradually introduced, though Mr. Mason cannot say when ; in 1172 they were firmly established through the whole island by our Anglo Norman invaders.

Mr. Mason is secretary to the Irish Bible Society. If in his system there be one dogma more essential than another, it is beyond doubt the right of every Christian to read the scriptures in his native tongue, and the correlative duty of pastors to provide vernacular versions for their flocks under pain of eternal damnation. What opinion then are we to form of the period anterior to 600, if while Latin scriptures were multiplied and adorned with costly art, and preserved with such care, that some of them are still extant, Mr. Mason cannot produce a fragment of a vernacular version of scripture, nor a record or hint that such ever existed ? How does he meet this startling difficulty ? In his index we read, " Evangelical use of the Irish Tongue," p. 47 ; but on opening page 47, we are referred to a text of St. Chrysostom, " Although thou shouldst go to the ocean and those British Isles, thou shouldst hear all men everywhere discoursing matters out of the Scriptures." St. Chrysostom does not say in what language the Scriptures were written, or the *discoursings* held, but Mr. Mason decides the question *on his own authority* ; " doubtless," he says, " St. Patrick spoke the Irish language in those discoursings from Scripture mentioned by St. Chrysostom." What Catholic ever denied that St. Patrick

preached Scriptural doctrine in the Irish tongue? and who but Mr. Mason can infer from that fact the diffusion of the Scriptures in the ancient Irish tongue? Dissolve your Bible Society, or admit that our Church before the year 600 was not Protestant.

The canonicity of a book of Scripture, a Gospel, or suppose one of the prophets, is an article of faith. One of the most grievous charges against us is, that we have added the deuterocanonical books to our canon, and among others the book of Ecclesiasticus. Mr. Mason does not receive that book, but St. Patrick received it and quotes it in his confession, which Mr. Mason contends is genuine. Either admit that book, or confess that on a point so essential as the canon of Scripture, you do not hold the faith of St. Patrick.\*

The perpetuation of miraculous powers in the church to the end of time, is rejected by Mr. Mason as a fond or cunning device of interested or credulous monks or priests. This belief prevailed in Ireland before the year 600. In the celebrated book of Armagh, the book of St. Patrick's own cathedral, and partly copied from his own autograph volume, we have, together with some copies of the Scripture and other pieces described by Sir W. Betham, a copy of the life of St. Martin of Tours, by the Christian Sallust, Sulpicius Severus, and letters on the same subject by the same classic hand. We can judge of the reverence in which this life was held, from the fact of its being treasured up with the sacred Scriptures, and committed to the guardianship of an hereditary keeper, who had the revenue of eight town-lands allotted for his support. Open any chapter you please in that life, and miracles appear. Christ and the angels appear to St. Martin, c. iv. St. Martin flying from Milan, meets the evil one, c. iv. St. Martin raises to life the dead catechumen,

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\* We have still extant in Irish libraries Latin versions of the Scriptures, coeval with the vulgate perhaps, even older, which in the opinion of Mr. Mason, prove that Ireland did not receive the faith from Rome. He does not know what every Tyro in Biblical literature knows, "that the Church of Rome never attempted by decree or otherwise to suppress the old versions, and that in Spain they were in use indifferently with St. Jerom till St. Gregory's time." But if those old Irish versions are orthodox Protestants, why not publish them? appoint a Catholic priest to superintend the publication, with a Protestant clergyman, or Mr. Mason himself, and we promise a good number of subscribers. Such a publication would be well received by Catholic scholars. Mr. Mason says, he has not funds enough—where are the funds of his Bible Society? See the able article on Westwood, "Dublin Review," September, 1845.



who tells on his return to this world, that when the judge was going to pronounce sentence, two angels presented the prayers of St. Martin in his behalf, c. v. St. Martin orders a pine tree to be cut down, because it was an object of idolatrous worship, but the tree is falling on himself until he makes the sign of the cross and turns it the other way, c. x. What need of more, "*Curationum vero, tam potens in eo gratia erat, ut nullus fere ad eum ægrotus accesserit qui non continuo reciperet sanitatem, c. xiv. Constat autem angelos ab eo plerumque visos, c. xxiv.*"

One objection arises against this argument. Granted, it may be said, that this life was written in the fourth century by Sulpicius, who was a contemporary and for a time a companion and disciple of St. Martin, yet the copy in the book of Armagh, so carefully deposited with the Scriptures, is not older perhaps than the seventh century. Perhaps, therefore, the belief in miraculous powers does not date from St. Patrick's time.

We answer, Mr. Mason holds the common opinion of our historians, that St. Patrick was the nephew of St. Martin of Tours, a circumstance which at once proves why the life of St. Martin was placed in St. Patrick's book, and also that it must have been there from the beginning.

The use of the sign of the cross, assuredly is an anti-Protestant practice. Yet St. Martin, who was especially revered from the very cradle of the Irish Church, used that sacred sign as often as it had been used by the early Christians. When the Pagans in Gaul carried about in procession the images of their false gods, St. Martin met them with the sign of the cross, C. ix., and used the same sign whenever he was assaulted by the temptations of the devil. C. xxiv.

Communities of men and women, bound by vows of chastity, punishing their bodies by rigorous fasts, flying from the haunts of men and living to God in solitude, are assuredly unprotestant institutions. Who ever heard of a Rathfarnham, a Blackrock, the Cork Presentation, a Clongowes, or Mount Mellery, or Castleknock, in Irish Protestantism, or in any sect of Protestants? But before the year 600, in the days of St. Patrick, many ladies of the highest rank, virgins and widows, did, often against the wishes of their friends, prefer the honour of being "*Virgines Christi,*" to any alliance their position could

command. "Filii Scottorum et filiae regularum monachi et virgines Christi esse videntur." This testimony from the confession of St. Patrick can hardly be necessary, for no man denies, that immediately after the establishment of Christianity in our island, convents for men and women sprung up in almost every islet of our lakes and rivers, in our bogs and *cluains*, and every place that promised a retreat from the tumult of the world. Severe penances are prescribed in our penitentiaries for the monks or the nun who had the misfortune to violate their vows.

Penitentiaries! how the word must sound in delicate ears. We have several of them still extant, and among others, those of Columbanus and Cummián. They are admitted on all hands to be authentic monuments of the penitential usages of the Irish Church. They prove to any candid enquirer, who inspects them even cursorily, that confession—confession, not of public only, but of private sins—sins even of thought, must have been practiced in the Irish Church; else how is it possible that the priest who was to impose the penance, could apportion the graduated scale of penances to the various sins according to their grievousness. When the sign of the cross, the conventual life, and confession, are proved not to be parts of the Catholic system, Mr. Mason can say that the Primitive Irish Church was not Catholic.

Images of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, are parts of the Catholic system, and denounced by Protestants as damnable and idolatrous. How then are we to save the Book of Kells from anathema? One of the first paintings in that wonderful book, is the Blessed Virgin with our infant Saviour in her arms, a halo of glory round her head, and the angels above her, an Irish combination of the Regina Angelorum and Vierge à la chaise. This book, Mr. Mason contends, was written by St. Columba himself, who was born in the year 521, and it proves incontestably, according to the best archæologists, that we had in Ireland in the sixth century, a style of illumination peculiarly national, and, for the age, of no inconsiderable merit. In the same book, and in others of the same period or some time later, we have representations of our Divine Redeemer, the Crucifixion, the Evangelists, and other religious subjects, which, however rude in design and execution, are as eloquent proofs of the practice of the Church, as the masterpieces of a Raphael



or Michael Angelo. But why dwell on this point, when the labours of learned men of his own creed, have proved to Mr. Mason, that religious painting or sculpture of some kind, is as old as Christianity in Ireland, and when every day's experience is producing new proofs of that fact.

In chap. v. of the life of St. Martin, by Sulpicius Severus, in the book of Armagh, we have seen the two angels presenting to the Judge the prayers of St. Martin in behalf of the dead catechumen. This savours strongly of a Catholic opinion. But we have more conclusive proofs of the intercession of the Saints, being the doctrine of St. Martin and his friend Sulpicius. On the last folio of the book of Armagh, at the end of the Epistle of Sulpicius Severus to Aurelius the deacon, there is the following petition written in Greek characters. "*Per Martini suphphragia Summum deprecor D-n-m ut Mikei (mihi) Sapientiæ donet Divina Munera.*" How does Mr. Mason meet this proof of the primitive usage of praying to the Saints, before the year 600? merely by assuming the point disputed—the book, he says, cannot be so old as St. Patrick, because it contains a prayer to the Saints. Mr. Mason perhaps has forgotten—for he would not deliberately suppress—what Sulpicius writes to the same Aurelius, "de obitu et apparitione Beati Martini." Sulpicius was inconsolable for the loss of his friend, and even after having written his life and celebrated his praise through the Christian world, still thought more affectionately of him than before. He dreamed one night, he tells us, that he saw St. Martin, who held in his hand that life written by Severus. Severus asked his blessing. Judge, says Severus, what was my delight? but on awaking and finding that it was only a vision, "*Spes tamen,*" he tells Aurelius, "*superest illa sola, illa postrema, ut quod per nos obtinere non possumus, saltem pro nobis, orante Martino mereamur.*" "My only, my last hope still remains, that what I cannot obtain by myself, I may merit by the prayers of St. Martin." Yet, with this passage before his eyes, written by Sulpicius before the year 400, Mr. Mason pronounces that the Greek inscription at the close of the letter to Aurelius, cannot date from the age of St. Patrick, because it is a prayer to a Saint! We could produce other proofs of the belief of Sulpicius on the intercession of the Saints, but let one more suffice. Writing on the same beloved

topic—the virtues and death of St. Martin—he says at the close of his epistle to Basula: “Martinus Abrahæ sinu lætus excipitur, Martinus hic pauper et modicus cælum divis ingreditur, illuc nos ut spero, custodiens, me hæc scribentem respicit, te legentem.” 357.

The reader must have perceived that we draw our arguments from those sources only to which Mr. Mason appeals, and still following that course, we come to the confession of St. Patrick, in which, if we believe our learned Doctor, there is not a trace of Catholic doctrine. One passage at least, he cannot deny, does present some difficulty. Our Apostle writes, that fatigued with his labours and his great austerities, he felt in sleep as if his strength was gone, and that an immense rock was falling on him. “But how it happened I know not, that I should invoke Elias. And I saw the sun rise in the heavens, and whilst I exclaimed, Elias! Elias! with all my strength, behold the splendour of that sun, and immediately it struck off from me all that weight. And I believe it was by my Christ I was relieved, and that his Spirit was then crying out for me.” From the fact of St. Patrick’s having invoked a Saint against a temptation of the devil, (though in a dream,) Dr. Lanigan infers, as every fair man must, that St. Patrick prayed to the Saints as well as Sulpicius Severus. But Mr. Mason cannot admit that conclusion.

“Who can form an argument,” he asks, “on a dream, a temptation of the devil?” “It would appear,” he continues, “that St. Patrick in this passage had in view the following text in Mark xv. 34, 35. Eloi, Eloi, lamma Sabacthani, and that Dr. Lanigan has fallen into the same error as some of the Jews, who said upon that occasion, ‘Behold, he calleth Elias.’” At the close of this epistle there is a passage that *seems* to advert to this event, and affords *some* illustration of its meaning. In alluding to the sun, an object of worship among the Pagan Irish, he says, “nam sol iste quem vidimus illo jubente, propter nos quotidie oritur, sed numquam regnabit . . . nos autem credimus et adoramus solem verum Christum. It appears to me, that the entire transaction admits of this obvious solution. The apostle, while greatly exhausted by fasting, and excited by the horrid superstitions of the Irish, in their adoration of the sun, (Baal or *ἡλιος* in the Greek,) falls into a disturbed sleep, and is assaulted by the temptations of Satan in his dreams. He imagines that he invokes the God of the Pagan Irish, and awakening in all the horrors of such idolatry, he is fully relieved by the instantaneous rising of Christ, the true Sun, upon his soul.”



This is a characteristic specimen of contradiction, conjecture, and false statement.

We must observe, in the first place, that there are various readings in almost every page of St. Patrick's confession, but in this passage all manuscripts agree in the reading *Elias*. St. Patrick asserts that he invoked *Elias*; Mr. Mason asserts that he invoked *Eloi*. St. Patrick asserts that the invocation expelled the temptation, and that it was the Spirit of Christ that cried out for him; Mr. Mason asserts that it was the spirit of the devil. St. Patrick clearly distinguishes between the temptation and the means by which it was repelled; Mr. Mason confounds all—the whole dream was a temptation, he says, no man can reason from it. St. Patrick does not tell what was the temptation; Mr. Mason, by a bold flight of divination, knows it was a temptation to adore the sun. Such are the evasions of a learned librarian and doctor of laws, to obscure St. Patrick's plain testimony that in his sleep he was tempted, that he invoked *Elias*, that on the invocation Christ relieved him, and that he believes it was the Spirit of Christ that was then invoking for him; in fact, that it was the Spirit of Christ in St. Patrick, that invoked *Elias*. For Mr. Mason has suppressed part of the sentence, "and it is my belief that it was Christ who relieved me, and that his Spirit was even then crying out for me; I hope, too, that it shall be so in the day of my distress, as the Lord declareth in the Gospel," "*in illa die inquit, non vos estis qui loquimini sed spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis.*" So far from rejecting the whole affair as a temptation, a thing on which no argument can be founded, St. Patrick prays that in all his difficulties the Spirit of God may plead for him, as when suggesting the invoking of *Elias*. If we had not already said too much on this subject, we might ask, if St. Patrick invoked the Lord, "*Eloi*," can Mr. Mason say *that* was a temptation of the devil?

On the last page of the entries in the book of Kells, we have the following, "*Rogo beatitudinem tuam, See Presbiter Patrici, ut quicumque hunc librum manu tenuerit meminerit Columbæ scriptoris, qui hoc scripsi [ ] met evangelium per xii dierum spatium,*" thus translated by Mr. Mason, "I beseech your blessedness, Holy Presbiter Patrick, that whosoever may hold this book in his hand, may

remember Columba the writer, who wrote [ ] gospel in 12 days space of time."

This book of Kells is a copy of the four gospels, the autograph of St. Columba. The entry, according to the best judges, is in the same hand as the rest of the book; but it cannot be so old, according to Mr. Mason, because St. Patrick is invoked. Confident that such an objection can have no weight, and relying on the best judges, that the 'Apostle of Scotland did pray to the Apostle of Ireland,\* we request Mr. Mason's attention to the petition, "*meminerit Columbæ scriptoris*," which brings us to another article of Catholic belief in Ireland before the year 600.

St. Columba does not need our prayers now, but when he finished his Gospel, he did request alike any pious Catholic of the present day, that they who profited by his labours would pray for his soul. The word "*meminerit*" is the ecclesiastical term for prayers for the dead in all our

\* It is not certain that *scripsi* [ ] is the first person, but the argument in either case is substantially the same; other proofs of prayers to the saints before 600 could be produced if necessary. Thus the addition to the hymn of Secundinus in honour of St. Patrick, "*Patricii laudes semper dicam, ut nos cum illo defendat Deus:—Ibèrnienses omnes clamant ad te pueri:—veni Sancte Patrici salvos nos facere:—Patricius sanctus Episcopus oret pro nobis omnibus:—ut deleantur proptinus peccata quæ commisimus:—Amen.*" The hymn was composed while St. Patrick was yet living. It was *once* a popular hymn, but like many other good things, it is known now only to a few scholars. The addition given above from Colgan is substantially the same as that found in the Antiphonarium Bencho-sense brought to Bobbio from Bangor, where Columbanus studied under Congall before the year 600. "Again in the life of St. Columba by Adamnan L. iii. C. xvii.) Columba when dying promises to pray in heaven for the good of his disciples." *Hæc vobis O, Filioli novissima commendo verba, ut inter vos mutuum et non fictam habeatis charitatem cum pace. Et si ita juxta sanctorum exempla observaveritis, Deus confortator bonorum vobis auxiliabitur; et ego cum ipso manens pro vobis interpellabo, et non tantum præsentis vitæ necessaria vobis ab eo administrabuntur sed etiam æternalium honorum præmia, divinorum observatoribus præparata, præceptorum, tribuentur.*" Again in the very ancient Irish hymn to St. Bridget by Brogan of Ossory, in the 6th or early in the 7th century, we read, "I will pray to Holy Bride (Bridget):—with the saints of Cill-Dara (Kildare):—that she may stand between me and judgment:—that my soul may not perish:—the nun that roamed the Curragh:—is my shield against sharp arrows:—except Mary, who can compare:—(in my opinion) with my Bride:—two holy virgins are above:—my guardians may they be:—Holy Mary and my Bride:—on whose power all may depend:—St. Bridget was often called by sacred poets the "Mary of Erin," and then by a daring trope, "the Mother of Christ." Thus in Colgan's Latin translation of an Irish hymn in honour of St. Bridget by St. Columba, "*Brigida virgo, perennis bonitatis:—Fax aurea, præfulgida:—nos adducat ad perenne regnum:—sol fortis, et irradians:—Extinguat in nobis:—carnis pravos affectus:—hæc arbor florifera:—hæc Christi mater:—suppar columna regni:—post Patricium primum:—quæ decor decorum:—quæ regina regia:—Colgan, Irius. Thaum. p. 606.*" Would that all who have leisure, reflected on the proverb of St. Patrick: Patricius ait:—*Exempla majorum perquire*...St. Ita was the Bridget of Munster: how many persons now living ever heard her name?



rituals, missals, and ecclesiastical writers. It cannot have any other meaning at all consistent with the holiness of St. Columba, who assuredly would not seek the glory of this world, or the posthumous fame which all the saints despised, though by despising they secured it. Moreover, in chap. xii. of one of St. Patrick's synods, under the heading "*De oblatione pro defunctis*," we read, "*Audi Apostolum dicentem, 'est autem peccatum ad mortem non pro illo dico ut rogat quis,' et Dominus 'nolite dare sanctum canibus.'* Qui enim in vita sua *sacrificium* non merebatur accipere, quomodo post mortem illi potest adjuvare," thus stating an exception to the general rule of sacrificing for the dead. If other proof of prayers for the dead before the year 600 be required, we refer Mr. Mason to the prayer for Breacon the pilgrim, found in the tomb of the Isle of Arran, and to other similar monumental inscriptions in our private collections and public museums.

The liturgy in an unknown tongue is a Catholic practice; Mr. Mason does not attempt to prove that we had the liturgy in the Irish language before or after the year 600. There is no record of such having ever existed.

The veneration of relics of the saints by the primitive Irish Church rests on documents so well known and conclusive, that we need only refer to them. No man denies that Palladius brought with him relics of SS. Peter and Paul. There are in the Royal Irish Academy, in the Museum of Trinity College, in Stackallen College, in private hands, and in truth every place except in that college where they ought to be, bells, crosiers, copies of the Scriptures, manuscripts, *cumdachs*, and *cathachs*, copiously described by Westwood, Sir William Betham, Petrie, and Mr. Todd—all of which were adorned in the most costly style, and preserved with religious veneration, solely because they were believed and are known to have been once in the hands of Irish saints, many of whom lived before the year 600. The individuals and public bodies who preserve these relics deserve well of Ireland, by doing from a love of the arts and the monuments of history what other bodies could and ought to have done from higher motives.

Did we mean to give a dissertation on the religion of the ancient Irish, piles of evidence could be adduced to scout the ridiculous assertion, that we were not Catholics before the year 600. Where are the *altars*, the *conse-*

crated churches, the *grades* of the hierarchy, ostiarii, lectors, exorcists, &c. to be found in Mr. Mason's church? where the *sacrifice*, and the communion of Christ's body, not by faith but in deed? We had them before 600. "*Si quid supra manserit, ponat supra altare Pontificis.*" Can. v. "*Si quis presbyterorum ecclesiam ædificaverit non offerat, antequam adducet suum Pontificem ut eam consecret.*" Can. xxiii. Syn. S. Patricii; and again, c. xiii. De *Sacrificio*: "*Quid aliud significat, quod in unâ domo sumitur agnus, quam quod sub uno fidei culmine, creditur et communicatur Christus;*" clearly distinguishing faith in Christ, and the actual receiving of him in communion.

Having now given as briefly and plainly as possible the proofs of Catholic doctrine in Ireland before the year 600, we might proceed to the chief point—the communion of Ireland with the Holy See. But having alluded to the life of St. Martin of Tours by Sulpicius Severus, in the Book of Armagh, St. Patrick's own book, a most interesting enquiry presents itself. Suppose our controversy with Mr. Mason were on a school of art, not a system of religion—that it was admitted on all hands that, sometime in the fifth century, a great master did found a great school in Ireland, and that it was equally certain this master spent many years of his life on the continent, where he had ample opportunities of forming his style on the models of the first lights of the age, how should we proceed, if domestic evidence were scant or wanting, in deciding what works were from the hand of our master, what were added by the corrupt or inferior taste of his disciples? Is it not by examining those works with which he was familiar when his genius was opening, by studying the circumstances in which he was placed, the place where he lived, its tastes, its associations, the men with whom he came in contact, and whom he must have held in the highest esteem? It so happens, that with regard to St. Patrick we have the most abundant means of ascertaining the religious opinions of his contemporaries, the great lights of their age, the greatest that ever arose in the Christian Church. Contemporary with St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Hilary, he was, according to Mr. Mason and most of our historians, a relative of St. Martin of Tours, and certainly spent many years in that city, if not in the lifetime, at least immediately after the



death of that prelate. No man had better opportunities of knowing the doctrine of the Church than St. Martin. He was born in Pannonia, he spent many years in Italy, many years in several towns in Gaul, and being at length raised to the archiepiscopal see of Tours, appeared in the courts of emperors and the councils of the Church the object of universal admiration and love. His life by Sulpicius Severus had no sooner appeared than it became a Catholic manual. St. Paulinus of Nola made it known in Rome, and it made fortunes for the booksellers. The graphic account of its sale in the eternal city would provoke the envy of our London and Dublin publishers: "Your devoted friend Paulinus," Postumianus tells Sulpicius, (*Dial. in Mon. Orien.* xvi.) "was the first to make that book known in Rome, and then there was a run for it through the whole city. I saw the booksellers in glee, for they declared that it was the best property on their hands, that nothing went off so rapidly, and with such ample profit."\*

If then, in addition to the evidence we have already produced of the faith of St. Martin, we can point to another great light of the Church, who was the bosom friend of St. Martin, and was by him held up as the most perfect model of a true Christian, honest enquirers can form a true estimate of the principles which St. Patrick must have imbibed during his sojourn in Gaul, and established in our Irish Church.

This enquiry has special value against Mr. Mason, who, in his zeal to sever Ireland from Rome, attempts to prove from St. Patrick's letter to Coroticus that we had two churches here in the fifth century—one of Gallic, the other of Roman Christians; as if in those days there was any difference between the doctrines of Gaul and Rome. May we be allowed to ask, in the mean time, by what rule of legal evidence (to which Mr. Mason often appeals) that epistle of Coroticus can be sworn as a true witness (p. 25.) to prove the twin churches; and ordered down ignominiously, as a spurious document, (p. 174.) because it proves chrism, confirmation, and ceremonies of baptism?

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\* *Primus illum (librum) Romę urbi vir studiosissimus tui, Paulinus inexit. Deinde cum tota certatim urbe raperetur exultantes librariorum vidi, quod nihil ab his quęstuosius haberetur, nihil promptius, nihil carius venderetur.*

Mr. Mason is a doctor of laws: which no doubt explains the matter.

There lived in the fifth century a man of noble descent, who rose successively to the highest dignities in church and state. He was born at Bourdeaux, and possessed a princely property along the rich banks of the Garonne. His wife, a Spanish lady, inherited large estates in her own sunny land; and by her virtue and personal attractions crowned the cup of his earthly bliss. He was raised to some of the highest posts in the Roman empire, and still higher by his genius, which was of the first order, and had been diligently cultivated under Ausonius, the greatest master of the age. Some reverses of fortune, the death of his only son, and the pious counsels of the bishop of Bourdeaux, who had always admired his genius and virtue, inspired him with an ardent zeal for Christian perfection, and a contempt for all goods that time can take away. He sells his rich vineyards for the benefit of the poor: prudent men shake their heads and laugh at him, but he receives the congratulations of St. Augustine, (Ep. xxx. 26, 27.) St. Jerome, (Ep. xiii. 34.) and St. Ambrose, (Ep. xxx.) and is so highly venerated by the simple people that they rise unanimously in the church of Barcelona on Christmas-day, and heedless of his tears and protestations, insist that the bishop shall ordain him a priest. For some time past his beloved wife had, by mutual consent, been to him as a sister only; she now became, in the language of the canons, a “*conversa*,” bound by a vow of chastity, but, in that age at least, at liberty to live under the same roof with her husband. Leaving Spain in the year 394, he arrived in Italy, met St. Ambrose at Florence, who adopted him into his clergy, and no doubt confirmed his good resolutions. Then, passing through Rome, he took up his abode in a small town near the church of St. Felix, because from his infancy he had revered St. Felix, and by his intercession had received many favours from our Lord. (Muratori. Diss. x. p. 817.) It was his desire to live and die unknown; but that was impossible, for, during the fifteen years that he swept the floor and guarded the porch of St. Felix’s church, (Carmen. xii.) he was visited by crowds of priests and pious laics from all parts of Europe and the East; and was once more, against his will, obliged to ascend a step higher in the Church. In 409 he was consecrated bishop. During



thirty-eight years, from 393 to 431, he made it a *solemn duty* (“*juxta solemnem meam morem.*” Ep. ad Augustinum, iv.) to visit the tombs of the Apostles, and to assist at the feasts of SS. Peter and Paul, (Ep. xvii. ad Sulp. Severum.) on which solemn occasions he must have heard popes Innocent, Zozimus, Boniface, Celestine, Leo, &c., &c., preaching in St. Peter’s and explaining the prerogative of the prince of the Apostles in the following or similar terms: “The presence of my venerable brethren and fellow bishops, (consacerdotum,) in itself so desirable, and so highly appreciated by me, becomes more sacred and more religious if, in the celebration of this feast, they intend principally to honour him (St. Peter) whom they know to be the bishop, not of this see alone, but the primate of *all* bishops.” “St. Peter was chosen among the whole human race, and placed over the vocation of *all* nations, and over *all* the apostles and *all* the fathers of the Church, so that, though there are many priests and many bishops over the people of God, *all* are *really* governed by Peter who are under the sovereign government of Christ.”\* It was not in words only that he heard this supremacy. The highest praise he gives to his friend Nicetas, who had come from Dacia to the shrine of St. Felix, is,—

“Orbis in muta regione per te  
Barbari discunt resonare Christum  
Corde Romano, placidamque sarti  
Vivere pacem.”

Rome was to him a name of power, the port of salvation to the Church, “et portus salutis ecclesiæ (teste Græcia) nomen est Roma salutis.” (Ep. ad Macarium xxxvi. p. 225. Bib. Max. Pat. Tom. 6.) He must have known those decrees of the above-mentioned popes, which regulated the affairs of the most distant and the greatest Churches, and sent one of his bosom friends to the shores of the English channel, to govern the Church of

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\* Unde venerabilium quoque fratrum et consacerdotum meorum desiderata mihi et honoranda presentia, hinc sacratio est atque devotior, si pietate hujus officii, in quo adesse dignati sunt, ei, principaliter deferent, quem non solum hujus sedis Præsulem, sed et omnium Episcoporum noverunt esse Primate. S. Leo. Papa. Sermo. 2de die Ass. suæ. “et tamen de toto mundo unus Petrus eligitur, qui et *universarum* gentium vocationi, et *omnibus* Apostolis, *cunctisque* Ecclesiæ patribus præponetur? Ut quamvis in populum Dei multi sacerdotes sint, multi que pastores, *omnes* tamen *proprie* regat Petrus, quos principaliter regit et Christus.” Idem. Ser. iii.

Rouen. "I think," he writes to that friend Victricius, (of whom more hereafter,) "I think you do not forget that I once met you in Vienne with our holy father St. Martin, whom you equalled in virtue, though not in years." (Ep. i. ad Victricium.) He congratulates Rouen upon having such a bishop; "lest such a brilliant light should lie hidden under the cloud of silence, you were drawn from obscurity by the authority of the apostolic see, (apostolicæ sedis evectu,) and placed in the candelabrum;" and "when the angels have wreathed your brows before the throne of God with the gems of immortality, I hope you will remember me in your prayers." (Ep. ii. ad Victricium.) On the death of his brother, he writes to Amandus, bishop of Bourdeaux, (the bishop that consecrated St. Patrick, according to Dr. Lanigan,) and earnestly requests prayers for the repose of that brother's soul. (Ep. xxxvi. ad Amandum.) More proofs we could give of Catholic doctrine from the writings of this great saint, if the work had not been already done by a master-hand;\* and if these very writings did not incontestably prove, in the opinion of W. S. Gilly, ("Vigilantius and his Times,") that the Christian world was in the fifth century hopelessly plunged in all the abominations of popery. Suffice it to say, that this most illustrious saint, the greatest poet of his day, the greatest, perhaps, since the days of Virgil, has bequeathed to us in his correspondence with all the illustrious characters of his age—Augustus, Sulpicius Severus, Jerom, &c.—noble monuments of genius and piety combined, which gained for him the name of the "delight of Christian piety." He testifies that relics were used in the consecration of altars and churches. (Ep. xxiii. ad Severum.) He sent a chip of the holy cross, enchased in gold, to Sulpicius Severus, calling it a "great present in a little atom, a defence of our temporal and a pledge of eternal life." (Ep. xxxii. ad Severum.) He expressly defends the use of images, calling them truly the books of the ignorant. (Carmen. xxiv.) He speaks of the dignity of the priestly state and of the tremendous mysteries, in such a strain as could never have entered into the head of any but a Catholic believer: and, in fine, he devotes the loftiest flights of his muse and most tender effusions of his piety to celebrate the virtues of his patron St. Felix, and

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\* "Dublin Review," December, 1843, Ancient and Modern Catholicity.



to secure his intercession. Now this amiable saint, whom our Catholic readers know could be no other than St. Paulinus of Nola, was not only the bosom friend of St. Martin, but was by him proposed as the most perfect model of a Christian prelate. "I asked him," says Sulpicius, "whom did he (St. Martin,) most admire," and he told me that Paulinus was the most excellent model of the age, "*præstantissimum exemplum præsentium temporum, illum nobis sequendum, illum clamabat imitandum*," (Sulp. v. B. Martini,) c. xxvi. Mr. Mason, following Ussher and most of our historians, maintains that St. Patrick was St. Martin's nephew. We say that St. Patrick spent some years in Tours, either during the life of St. Martin, or immediately after his death. What must have been the nephew's religious opinions? Men who love truth, judge for yourselves.

There was another illustrious character in those times, whose name is fondly chronicled in many a time-worn Irish document. Unfortunately his was a life of action exclusively, and he has left no writings. Still we are not in the dark with regard to his faith and practice, as his life was written by a disciple and contemporary at the request of the Bishop of Lyons. (Surius, T. iv. vi. July.) Like St. Martin, he had in his youth headed armies, and by his great abilities and noble birth rose to some of the highest posts in the empire. He was the Lord Howth of his day, fond of all field sports, and no man could command a more gallant train, when the neighbouring forests were to be scoured for the wild boar or the wolf. The tree in the centre of the town square, received its regular tribute of the spoils of the chase—boars' tusks or wolfs' hides, the jovial trophies of victory. But the tree and the trophies had a Pagan meaning, they were Diana in her wane and during the night, when all was quiet, the venerable Bishop Amator felled the scandal to the ground. In the morning, all was uproar and indignation; Pagans were fanatical; sportsmen incensed; and even the sensible portion of the community were indignant at a wanton outrage on a kind, munificent governor, and resident proprietor. He too, complained, and threatened, but the good Bishop appeased and converted him. He was now to act as Paulinus or Martin. Always a Christian he now aspired to the perfection of the evangelical counsels, and under the care of his old Bishop, made so rapid an ad-

vance, that by acclamation and much against his own will, he was compelled to exchange the sword for the crozier, in the see of his departed friend. His wife, too, had become a "conversa," wedded to Christ by the pure vow. Passing over the ordinary routine of a sainted prelate's life, we find him receiving an order no longer from the head of the empire, but from the head of the Church, to go in his place, (vice sua, Prosper,) to suppress a heresy in Britain. The right to command is not questioned, though all the prelates of the Province know it has been issued. He embarks, and calms a tempest, which had baffled all human skill. (C. xxii.) He delivered Britain from heresy and from other evils also; for hearing that the Pagan Picts and Saxons were wasting the country with fire and sword, he, not having forgotten his old profession, marshalled the desponding natives, and like Cardinal Vivian against John de Courcy, in Down, but with better success, raised their drooping spirits, and gained for them a bloodless victory over their ferocious enemies. A Protestant would have quitted the shores of Britain without visiting the tomb of St. Alban, but this French Papal Legate visited that tomb to return thanks to God through St. Alban, and beg his prayers. He had once met a blind girl, the daughter of a tribune, and moved by the prayers of father and child, he raised his arms to heaven and invoked the Blessed Trinity, and putting his hand inside his vest, he drew out the reliquary case, which he always carried next his heart, and applied it with success to the girl's eyes. (C. xxiv.) From this box (capsula) of relics, containing the relics of the Apostles and many martyrs, he took some and placed them in the tomb of St. Alban, replacing them by some dust (pulvere) gathered from the grave. (C. xxv.) We trust it is useless to give more abundant proof of this holy bishop's faith—passing over the *votive masses*, and the bishop appearing by order (imperio) of Pope Sixtus, to convert Mamertinus, (Surius. T. iv. p. 432.) we come to an incident familiar to our Irish readers at least. The inhabitants of a certain house complain that they are molested at night by some unaccountable disturbance; some of them say they saw a spectre: our bishop is consulted; like St. Augustine, in an analogous case, he neither scoffs nor believes hastily, but having made diligent inquiry, and examined the house, human skeletons were found. The



bishop orders a Mass for the Dead, “*oratio intercessionis impenditur, obtinetur defunctis requies.*” (C. xvii.)

Were these doctrines the eccentricities of an obscure bishop, or mere local corruptions? how could they be such, when the bishop was a Papal Legate, once an imperial officer, and the pride not only of France but of Europe. When he was going to the imperial court at Ravenna, to plead for the revolted Bretons, he endeavoured to pass incognito through Milan, but being made known in the cathedral, was hailed with the loudest bursts of acclamation by priests and people. He was obliged to steal by night into Ravenna. The court and clergy vied to do him honour, and when he died, courtiers, bishops, and soldiers, disputed for his relics. The Empress claimed that *capsula* which he always wore next his heart. His mortal remains were received with public honours, in the cities of Italy and Gaul, through which they were conveyed to his own cathedral on the banks of the Yonne, and the innumerable lights that blazed around his bier, forcibly remind us of the traditional account of St. Patrick’s *wake*. This holy bishop was St. Germanus of Auxerre, reverently mentioned in the following strophe of the well-known hymn of Fiech, Bishop of Sletty, disciple of St. Patrick. The hymn is certainly of the sixth century, and according to some of our best critics, Protestant and Catholic, even of the fifth.

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In the isles of the Turonian  
(Tyrrhenian) sea

He (St. Patrick) dwelt, as I am  
informed;

UNDER GERMANUS HE  
READS HIS CANONS,

As we know from authentic history.

Honest men can ascertain St. Patrick’s *canons* from the principles of his teacher. At present we need not send to the isles of Lerins or the Tyrrhenian sea in quest of them.\*

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\* It is worth observing that there are some very striking analogies illustrative of our Gallican connection, in the writings of Sulpicius Severus and his correspondents. These analogies though not in doctrinal matters, may not be unacceptable to our Christian antiquaries. It is well known that St. Patrick founded many of his churches on the sites of pagan worship. St. Martin, also according to

In our extracts from the lives of St. Martin and Germanus, both of which were written by contemporaries and disciples, our design was to ascertain the *belief* of the age. For the supernatural events, many of which must appear ridiculous to men who measure the faith of saints, and the wisdom and goodness of God, by their own, we require just so much respect as the rules of moral evidence demand from an enlightened Christian, who has read, suppose Newman on Miracles, and Montalembert's Preface to the Life of St. Elizabeth. But what must we think of some Irish critics, who pronounce that certain Irish documents do not date from the fifth or sixth centuries, solely because they mention miracles and Catholic doctrines? Extend your principles, gentlemen, and tell the French

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Sulpicius, "ubi fana destruxerat, statim ibi aut ecclesias aut monasteria construxit C. x." It is a national boast, that we had no Smithfield fires in Ireland. St. Martin while at Tours, drew down upon himself the odium of many ecclesiastics, by his protests against the penal laws enforced against the Priscillianists. He implored Ithacius, "ut sanguine infelicitum abstineret; satis, superque sufficere ut Episcopali sententia hæretici, judicati, ab Ecclesia pellerentur." It is a well known fact that before the Anglo-Norman Invasion, there never was the same close legal union between Church and State in Ireland, as in other countries of Europe. St. Martin's principles on that point are well known. While he gave to Cæsar what belonged to Cæsar, he dreaded all interference of the temporal with the spiritual power. His jealous maintenance of unshackled spiritual independence, made him an exception to many of his brethren. The *bishop of a monastery* is supposed by some of our Irish scholars to be a phrase unknown except in Irish Ecclesiastical history; yet we find that in St. Martin's monastery of Marmoutiers, a bishop resided. (The very buildings in that monastery present a striking analogy to some of our primitive Irish establishments. The church and the refectory appear to be the only large buildings in our earliest establishments. Cells of wood or stone were grouped around them. So in the monastery of Marmoutiers founded by St. Martin. He lived at first in a cell (cellula) near the church in Tours, but afterwards retired to a secluded angle made by the river Loire on the south, and high hills on the north, as sweet a spot as ever solitary chose. There "ipse ex lignis contextam cellulam habebat. Multi quidem ex fratribus in eundem modum, plerique saxo superjecti montes cavato, receptacula sibi fecerant. Ars, ibi, exceptis scriptoribus, nulla habebetur. Rarus cuiquam extra cellulam egressus nisi cum ad locum orationis. Cibus una omnes post horam jejunii accipiebant." Sulp. Vita B. Mart. C. vii. The metrical paraphrase of the life by Paulinus appears to state that the "locus orationis" or oratory was of wood, and that for that reason St. Martin would not dwell in a stone cell. (St. Columbanus spent a night at the tomb of St. Martin.) Some of our most respectable archæologists appear afraid to allow to some of our churches and relics of religious art, that high antiquity which tradition and written documents assign to them. But if Sulpicius Severus could get from St. Paulinus of Nola, the plan of a new church of stone, as a substitute for his former wicker or wooden one; and if St. Patrick was as Ussher states, a "con-discipulus" of Severus under St. Martin, would it be rash to say, that the arts of Italy found a way to Ireland in the infancy of our church? Many Irish saints of the 6th century are said to have visited Tours. Perhaps many of these analogies are more plausible than Mr. Mason's. We forgot to add, that Sulpicius, like a good Catholic, had a picture of his favourite saint, Martin, over the font. St. Martin's name was in the "Communicantes, &c." of SS. Columba and Columban's Mass.



Historical Society, that St. Martin's Life was not written by Sulpicius, nor St. German's by Constant.

But in truth, Mr. Mason's objections appear to be not so much against Catholic doctrines as against their Roman origin. Unknown tongues, prayers to the saints, prayers for the dead, veneration of relics, the sign of the cross, ceremonies, pilgrimages, image worship, confession, vows of chastity, monks and nuns, penance and penitentiaries, all were tolerable in Ireland before the year 600, provided they did not come from Rome. Not their own nature, but the Pope makes them bad. But why does he not tell us from what part of the East they were introduced. Was it from Armenia, or Constantinople, or St. Thomas' Church in India, or St. Matthew's in Persia and Ethiopia, or Antioch, or Alexandria? Had he singled out one, it would be our duty to prove to him, that it did not differ from the faith of Rome, as we have proved of the faith of Gaul; but until he defines the East, at least within a few parallels of latitude, we must be content with the notorious fact, admitted by all infidel writers, by the greater number of Calvinists and Presbyterians, by the greatest men in the Established Church, that except on heresies anathematized by the Established as well as by the Catholic Church, the faith of all the Patriarchates was the same as that of Rome, when St. Patrick came to Ireland. If the faith had been introduced to Ireland from the East, would there not be some decisive proofs of that Eastern origin in our history? Ireland does not forget her friends. She would not deny to the Greek or the Armenian, or the Syrian, what she gratefully records of the seven solitary Egyptian monks, who are buried in desert Ulidh, and of the 150 holy Romans who came to Ireland with St. Abban, and of the holy Romans who came in 150 boats with St. Elias, and of many others of the same city, whose names are invoked in the Litany of Angus Ceile De, written before the year 800.

What arguments are produced against this Roman Communion, so clearly proved by the number of Romans buried in Ireland, and the number of Irishmen, venerated as the great Apostles and Patrons of almost every province in the Roman Patriarchate?

A Greek inscription of some five or six lines is found in a Latin copy of the Gospels,—therefore Ireland had its faith from Greece. Therefore Mr. Mason's Irish coat is

English, because it has a piece of English velvet on the sleeve.

There were seven great dioceses, hundreds of miles distant from each other, in Asia Minor; therefore the Irish had their faith from Asia Minor, because there are seven churches built in the little valley of Glendaloch, and seven in Clonmacnoise, on the banks of the Shannon! therefore, say we, the text of Mr. Mason, was, "*terra erat inanis et vacua*," because that was a material, and his book is a literary chaos.

The Irish had their Liturgy from the East, although it was confessedly in Latin, because it differed in some points from the Roman, as if the same Liturgy substantially, was not and is not still often different in the same country and province, in some of its rites.

If arguments of that stamp prove the Eastern origin of the Irish Church, what are we to think of the testimony of men who were eye-witnesses of what they attest, and subjects or guardians of a power which they enforce.

In a letter to Victricius of Rouen, the friend of St. Paulinus of Nola, Pope Innocent IX. writes,\* "*If majores causæ* should happen to be discussed among you, they must, as the Synod orders, be referred to the Apostolic See, after the judgment of the Bishops." S. Abbe conc. Tom. 3. p. 9. A. D. 404.

St. Athanasius tells us, in the commencement of his second Apology, that having been expelled from his Patriarchate by the Arian faction, he was restored by the judgment of Pope Julius I., to whom he appealed. Julius grounds his right on the authority of the Apostles and their successors, and the canons,† "*which had reserved all 'majores causæ' to the decision of the Holy See.*" S. Abbe. con. Tom. 3. p. 9.

Boniface I. enforces the same right, in his letter to Rufus, and other Bishops of Macedon.‡ "*The greatest Churches in the East,*" he says, "*have always sought instruction from the Roman See, 'in magnis negotiis, in*

\* "*Si autem majores causæ in medium fuerint devolutæ, ad sedem Apostolicam sicut synodus statuit, post Episcopale judicium referantur.*"

† "*Cujus (Apostolicæ sedis) dispositioni omnes majores ecclesiasticas causas, antiqua Apostolorum, eorumque successorum atque canonum auctoritas reservavit.*"

‡ "*Maximas Ecclesias orientis semper consuluisse sedem Apostolicam, in magnis negotiis, in quibus opus esset disceptatione majore.*"



quibus opus esset *disceptatione majori*,’ ” A. D. 422. Constant. Epp. R. R. P. P. col. 1042.

Pope Zozimus, to the Primate of Arles and all the Bishops of the Gauls,\* declares, “that the ancient Metropolitan of Arles, must be preserved intact—whatever cases arise must be referred to him (with the Bishops) unless ‘*magnitudo causæ*’ should require the decision of the Holy See.” S. Abbe. conc. Tom. 3. p. 410. A. D. 417.

Pope Leo I.† who, by his supreme authority, restored the great Theodoret, and Flavian, Patriarch of Antioch, to their Sees, severely rebukes Anastasius of Thessalonica, for having presumed to decide a case in which all the Bishops of his Province did not agree. It was a “*causa major*.” “For having it in your power,” writes the Pope, “to await our decision on ‘*majora negotia*,’ there was neither necessity nor reason for exceeding your authority.” Van. Espen. Jus. C. i. p. 190.

The same Pope, in his letter (89) to the Bishops of Vienne—the town where St. Martin, and St. Paulinus of Nola, and Victricius of Rouen, lived, as we have seen, happily together—writes, “Know that the Apostolic See has been consulted by priests of your Province, on innumerable cases, according to ancient custom, and that by such appeal, decisions have, in different cases, been annulled or confirmed.”

Returning to Innocent I.,‡ with whose letter to Victricius of Rouen we have commenced, we read in his letter to Rufus of Thessalonica, instructions substantially the same as those of Leo to Anastasius. “If any ‘*causa major*’ should arise, which cannot be decided by your fraternity, let a deputation be sent to us, that under the inspiration of the Lord, we may write back to you what He reveals to us; herein exercising our right to take

\* “Sane quoniam Metropolitanæ Arelatensium urbi, vetus privilegium minime derogandum est, ad quam primum ex hac sede Trophimus directus est—ad cujus notitiam si quid illic negotiorum emergerit, referri censuimus, nisi *magnitudo causæ*, etiam nostrum requirat examen.”

† “Nam cum *majora negotia* et difficiliore causarum exitus, liberum tibi esset, sub nostræ expectationis sententia expendere, nec ratio tibi nec necessitas fuit, in id quod mensuram tuam excederet deviandi.”

‡ “Si qua vero *causa major* evenerit, quæ a tua paternitate illic præside non potuerit definiri, relatio tua missa nos consulat ut revelante Domino, cujus misericordiæ profiteamur esse quod possumus, quod ipse nobis aspiraverit, rescribamus ut cognitioni nostræ pro traditione veteris instituti et deliba Apostolicæ sedi reverentia, nostro examini vindicemus,” &c. &c.

the matter into our own cognizance, as the tradition of the ancient ordinance; and the reverence due to the Apostolic See require."

We need not trace this tradition to the Apostles, nor decide whether it is to the canons of Nice or Sardica that some of those Popes appeal. Neither do we inquire, whether it was by divine right, or ecclesiastical right, or political right, or right arising from circumstances, that the popes of the fifth century, restored St. Athanasius, and St. Flavian, and St. John Chrysostom, to their Patriarchates. Whatever was the right, no man can deny the fact, that the three greatest saints and doctors of the Eastern Church, Patriarchs, were at the feet of the Pope, imploring and obtaining the restitution of rights violated by councils of Eastern bishops, and decrees of Emperors, backed, though the Emperor was in the case of St. John Chrysostom, by the clergy of one Patriarchate, and Theophilus, Patriarch of another. Whatever was the right then, there can be no doubt of the fact, that in the fifth century, when Christianity was established in Ireland, there did exist in Rome a spiritual power superior to Metropolitans, Primates, Emperors, Patriarchs—but it was not a tyrannical power, wielded at the caprice of individuals, and absorbing all inferior authority. Directly the reverse—we are not going to define its limits, but the invariable tone of all the letters cited is, keep the canons—keep them in the election of bishops, in the discipline of the clergy, in deciding the disputes of bishops and metropolitans, in the suppression of heresy, in the reformation of morals—the canons are your sure guide—arrange matters quietly among yourselves by the canons, in a council of bishops legitimately assembled, but if a "major causa" should arise, one that you and the canons cannot settle, one that requires *greater discussion*—follow the old custom—apply to the Holy See—that as the case might be, the "major causa" might be either decided by the Apostolical, or referred for a new trial to the Episcopal tribunal.

To prove that this power of the pope was believed in Ireland before the year 600, we need not prove that the bishops of Armagh had the pallium, and the Irish suffragans their bulls from the pope, if pallium or bull was not in those days essential to a true subject of the pope. Some people appear unable to understand the obvious distinction between the essence of a supreme power and the



mode and limits of its action. In politics the thing is plain. British power is now supreme in the vale of Cashmere, though Ghoolab Singh pays only six shawls and a dozen goats to the East India Company, and has neither imperial bayonets at his cross-roads, nor his country drained by absentees and embowelled by landsharks. The pope was, and is, and shall be supreme over Catholic bishops, but the form of the link that binds each bishop to him was different in different ages, and is at this day different in different Catholic countries. Neither is it required that the pope extinguished heresies, crushed schisms, redressed aggrieved bishops, restored discipline, reformed morals, decided "*causæ majores*," by bulls and and briefs in Ireland before the year 600, for perhaps there was no heresy or schism, or relaxation of discipline, or corruption of morals. Perhaps the crosier passed peaceably from hand to hand in Irish sees, according to the discipline then enforced by the popes,\* especially those we have cited.

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\* The Council of Nice decrees, "*Episcopum ab omnibus Provinciæ Episcopis ordinari*," and again, can vi. "*Quod si quis præter sententiam Metropolitanæ fuerit factus Episcopus, hunc Magna Synodus decernit non esse episcopum*." The popes enforced this discipline. "*Extra conscientiam Metropolitanæ, nullus audeat Episcopum ordinare*." Innocent I. to Victorius of Rouen, and also Boniface I. and Leo I. to Hilary bishop of Arles. The discipline in the institution of the Metropolitan, is thus expressed in a letter of the same pope Leo to Anastasius of Thessalonica. "*Metropolitano defuncto, cum in locum ejus alius fuerit subrogandus, Provinciales Episcopi ad civitatem Metropolim convenire debent, ut omnium, clericorum, atque civium voluntate discussa, ex presbyteris ejusdem ecclesiæ vel diaconis, optimus eligatur*." This was the old custom, of which proofs are found in Ireland, (according to Ware and Primate M'Mahon,) *Jus Primat*. What could the Rev. Mr. Todd mean by proving that the Irish bishops were not elected or confirmed by the popes, before the 11th century? Would he have the Irish discipline opposed to the general discipline of the Roman Catholic Church? It was only in the course of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries that the appointment to vacant sees gradually devolved, under various restrictions, to the pope, and this is called the slavery of the Church. Sensible men will judge the new discipline by its effects. If the old had been strictly observed, the new might never have supplanted it. But unhappily, it is notorious, that in the time of St. Gregory the 7th, the dignities of the Church had generally fallen into the hands of kings and powerful families, (as in the case of the see of Armagh,) who were bad judges of the merits of candidates. The pope's bull was a salutary, and in truth, the only check against this uncanonical investiture. The good working of the new discipline was soon apparent in the history of Europe. Piety flourished, learning was encouraged, the age of the great monasteries and cathedrals came on, and was soon followed by the great age of literary foundations and universities, in every country in Europe. By their closer connection with the national churches, and principal sees in Europe, the popes were enabled to combine the strength of Christendom against the Mahometan, and save Europe from being what Africa is to-day. These facts have long ago been brought out in the works of learned Protestants, Voight, Hurter, Bowden, &c., but some of us in Ireland appear to be still in the last century. On this matter, Thierry is a most treacherous guide. Blind as a bat to the civilizing influence of the Papal power, he deplores what he calls the slavery of national churches, with as much pathos as the extinction of nationalities. We should have

This you will say is too favourable a view of the Christian perfection of the primitive Irish church. Favourable no doubt it is, but not exaggerated if there be any meaning in the title "*Insula sanctorum*" given to Ireland, not by herself but by Europe; and if we can believe national documents relied on by Ussher, which state that the first age of our great saints, the golden age of Ireland, extended to the year 542, and the second to 598. To ask for bulls and briefs at such a time and in such a country, is to say the pope is what he never was—a tyrant, who exercises authority for the sake of exercising it, or to say England has been less loyal than Ireland, because there were more troubles in Ireland, and of course more extraordinary displays of royal authority. A great saint, our most illustrious doctor, who knew perfectly well the state of the Irish church before the year 600, writing in 613 to Pope Boniface, declares, "we have no doctrine here but the Evangelical and Apostolical doctrine. There has been no heretic, no Jew, no schismatic, but the Catholic faith is still held inviolate, such as it was *first* given to us by you, the successors of the Apostles." Reject this evidence of St. Columbanus, an eye witness, or admit there was but slight reason for the display of papal authority in Ireland before the year 600. We do not now speak of the opinions of Columbanus on the power of the pope, we take him merely as a witness to an historical and contemporaneous fact, that in faith and Catholic communion, there had been no change in Ireland. If there had been any, we know how the controversy would be definitively settled.

Suppose a Canadian king were enthroned in Quebec, governing his kingdom through a parliament of Canadian Lords and Commons, and transmitting his crown to his heir by a British law; suppose the fundamental laws of this Canadian kingdom should be those of Britain, and that whenever a difficult case arose, a "*causa major*," King, Lords and Commons, were bound to bring it before a British tribunal for judgment, could Canada be said with any propriety to be independent? had she the elements of

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remarked, that the rights guaranteed to the metropolitans by the old discipline, did not depend on a Pallium. St. Bernard in his life of St. Malachy remarks, that Armagh was the metropolitan see, though the use of the Pallium was unknown from the beginning. At present, and from the year 1829, the mode of providing for the succession in Irish sees, is on a more popular basis, we believe, than in any Church in Europe. May God keep it so.



independent government? was the Irish parliament independent under Poyning's law? no, unless we pervert the sense of words, nor was the Irish Church independent of the Holy See: she was and is her most faithful daughter. And this is her glory, not the sole but the great patent of her nationality; it is her glory that in her, faith has triumphed over the sword, mind over matter, heart's affection and eternal hopes over animal prudence; a great glory in the Lord it is, that Ireland who was a fervent Church, when the Sicambrian had not yet bowed to St. Remi, and when Woden reigned from the Marches of Wales to the Vistula, and from the Rhine and Danube to the Pole, has almost alone among the Northern nations braved the shock of the sixteenth century, and in spite of that trying bull of Adrian, referred her causæ majores to this hour, as she did twelve hundred years ago to the vicar of Christ.

We had a "causa major" in Ireland in 630, and we learn from an eye-witness how it was settled, on the banks of the Barrow. It regarded a case of general discipline, the proper time for celebrating Easter. It is not necessary to give a history of the different cycles, and the controversies regarding them in the East and West. The fact is enough, that at the close of the sixth century, Ireland kept Easter Sunday on a different day from the whole Eastern and Western Church. Controversy arose. The bishops, Laurentius, Mellitus and Justus, wrote to the Irish clergy on the matter in 609. Bede, L. 2. c. 4. Different expedients were suggested and plans adopted—but nothing defined until Pope Honorius I. sent a letter to the Irish clergy in 630. Bede, L. 2. c. 19. At the foot of Sliemarguy, on the banks of the Barrow, not far from that church of Sletty, where a disciple of St. Patrick had died a century ago, and where St. Lasrean governed 3,000 monks, a synod is assembled, of which we have the following account from the pen of an Irishman, whose profound erudition, not only in the ecclesiastical affairs of his own country, but in the minutest points of the Catholic discipline of the East and West, as well as in profane literature, give greater weight to his testimony. Having spoken of the excommunication with which Ireland was threatened, he says,—

"According to Deuteronomy, 'Interrogavi patres meos, ut annuntiarent mihi, majores meos ut dicerent mihi,' that is the successors

of our primitive (priorum) fathers, Bishop Ailbe, Queran of Clonmacnoise, Brendan, Nessen and Lugid, what they thought of our excommunication by the above mentioned Apostolical Sees. But they assembling together, some in person, others by their legates in Campo Lene, decreed and said: 'Our predecessors have ordered us by trustworthy witnesses, some of whom are alive and others who now sleep in peace, that we should humbly and without scruple, adopt the better and more salutary things sent to us with the approval of the fountain of our baptism and wisdom, and the successors of the Apostles of the Lord.' They then arose together, and promulged to us (in the usual mode,) that next year they should celebrate the Pasch with the Universal Church."

So far we have a declaration of the means by which the controversy was to be decided. It was not a new rule. It was handed down from the Fathers of the Irish Church, contemporaries of St. Patrick, and linked with the Fathers in this Synod, by one or two generations. Some of the contemporaries of the four fathers were then living. It was a supreme rule to be obeyed humbly and without scruple, as emanating from the fountain of their baptism,\*

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\* Mr. Mason attempts to prove against Ussher and all respectable authorities in his Church, that the Irish Church was not founded by a pope. The infancy of our Church and the life of its great founder are like all very ancient facts, embarrassed by chronological difficulties. But it is certain, that if we had bishops in Ireland before Palladius, as some appear to think, they came from Rome. All legendary and historical authorities, brought to prove their existence, are equally clear on their connexion with Rome. Palladius was sent from Rome, the *first*, or the *chief* bishop, according to the meaning we attach to the word *primus* in Prosper's chronicle, ad ann. 431. "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes, ordinatur a Papa Celestino Palladius et *primus* Episcopus mittitur." St. Patrick was sent from Rome by the same Pope Celestine, as Mr. Mason knows from the annotations of Tirechan in the book of Armagh. The annotations were written in the commencement of the 7th century. In fol. 16. p. a. col. 1. we read, "Palladius Episcopus primo mittitur, qui Patricius, alio nomine appellabatur; qui martyrium passus est apud scottos, ut tradunt Sancti antiqui. Deinde Patricius secundus ab angelo Dei, Victor nomine, et a Celestino Papa mittitur; cui Hibernia tota credidit, qui eam fere totam baptizabat." The same fact is attested in notes to Fiech's hymn, some of which must be anterior to the year 600. Add to these authorities the declaration of Columbanus, that the faith was *first* sent to Ireland from Rome, and Cumman's declaration, that Rome was the fountain of our baptism and the Mother Church. Later authorities are so numerous and well known, that it is unnecessary to refer to them. What constitution Celestine prescribed for the infant church, may be fairly inferred (if there were no other evidence) from the relations between him and the Bishop of Thessalonica, whom he established over the churches of Macedonia, or rather continued in that office. See the letters of Leo and Innocent cited above; and also the original Irish authorities for the Roman Mission in Rev. Mr. Todd's "Church of St. Patrick," p. 19. 22. 25. On this point, why may we not add the authority of the Vita Tripartita of St. Patrick, said to be by St. Evin, in the 6th century. Is that book to be cited as conclusive authority for the stone material of Irish churches in the sixth century and earlier, (Petrie's Round Towers, p. 129. 133. 154. et seq.) and not to be admitted on the most prominent fact in the life of the founder of Irish churches? All, not excepting Dr. Lanigan, admit that the life has in many places undoubted marks of the highest antiquity. It was so old that Colgan, even Colgan, could scarcely



and the successors of the Apostles. Cummanian continues,—

“But some time after a certain whitened wall arose, and on the wrong plea of keeping the tradition of the elders, did not make both one, but made a split, and partly annulled what had been agreed on; whom may the Lord visit (I pray) when He pleases.”

The former unanimous decision is now partly annulled by one influential person standing up for the cycle introduced into Ireland by his seniors, the cycle, as Ussher and Lanigan think, that was followed by St. Patrick, and in Gaul before the year 570. Here is a great difficulty. On the one hand, the former practice of the Irish Church; on the other, an admonitory letter of the Pope to abolish that practice, but a letter of whose authenticity there appeared to be some doubt; and moreover on a matter of discipline, in which, then as now, there may be national diversities, if uniformity be not enforced, under penalty of excommunication. How is the dispute to be decided?

“Then it was decreed by our seniors, according to the PRECEPT, ‘ut si diversitas exorta fuerit inter causam et causam, et variaverit iudicium inter lepram et non lepram irent ad locum quem *elegit Dominus*,’ THAT IF THERE OCCURRED ‘CAUSÆ MAJORES,’ THEY SHOULD ACCORDING TO THE SYNODICAL DECREE, BE REFERRED TO THE HEAD OF CITIES.

“We accordingly sent persons of known wisdom and humility, as sons to their mother, who, after a prosperous journey by the favour of heaven, arrived at Rome, where once seeing all things such as they had heard, but now much more certain from being seen, than from being heard, they returned to us after the lapse of three years.”

When a round tower was seen in India or on the banks of the Tigris, sensible men, inferred from analogy, that our towers were Oriental; but when Rome, the Head of Cities, the Mother Church, is declared to hold the same place (and by the same divine right) in the Christian, that Jerusalem held in the Mosaic law, when she decides not

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understand the Irish portions of it. Interpolations crept in, because the book was used as a standard authority and had marginal notes by different commentators, but after the proofs we have given, assuredly there is no reason to class the following among the interpolations: “Angelicis monitis, divinoque acquiescens mandatis, Patricius statuit, sedem Petri fidei nostræ magistram, et omnem Apostolatus fontem adire ejus que Apostolica auctoritate, suum—Apostolatam—roborare.”

as an umpire but as a judge on "*causæ majores*," which must be referred to her by a synodical decree, it is not analogy, but identity of plan that we have in our Irish and that Roman system of church government declared by Julius, Innocent, and Leo. It is not we, but our fathers of the seventh century, who say, that the everlasting arch of Roman authority was pillared in their hearts.

To this appeal no person objected. The tradition of the elders was abandoned by St. Fintan of Taghmon, and the Roman cycle adopted humbly and without scruple, through the southern half of Ireland. But to conclude with Cummian. He tells us, "their deputies to Rome had lodged in the same hotel with Greeks, Egyptians, Scythians, and Hebrews, and were present in the church of St. Peter, celebrating the Pasch on the same day, and this they declared to us in the presence of the Holy Eucharist, (*Sancta*.) 'To our certain knowledge, the whole world celebrates the Pasch in this way.' They brought with them reliques of martyrs and scriptures, in which there was the power of God, as we have had good proof. With my own eyes, I saw a young girl, who was stone blind, recovering her sight by these relics, and many devils cast out, and a paralytic walking." Strange Protestant attestation !\*

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\* Anno igitur, (ut prædixi) emenso, juxta Deuteronomium interrogavi patres meos ut annuntiarent mihi, majores meos ut dicerent mihi (successores videlicet nostrorum patrum priorum Ailbei Episcopi, Querani Coloniensis, Brendini Nesani, Lugidi) quid sentirent de excommunicatione nostra a supradictis sedibus Apostolicis facta. At illi congregati in unum alius per se, alius per legatum suum vice missum, in Campo Lene, sanxerunt et dixerunt—"Decessores nostri mandaverunt per idoneos testes, alios *viventes*, alios in pace dormientes, ut meliora et potiora probata a fonte baptismi nostri et sapientiæ et successoribus Apostolorum, delata sine scrupulo, humiliter sumeremus." Post in commune surrexerunt, et super hoc (ut moris est) nobis celebraverunt orationem, ut Pascha, cum universali Ecclesia in futuro anno, celebrarent. Sed non post multum surrexit quidam paries dealbatus, traditionem seniorum, servare se simulans qui utraque non fecit unum, sed divisit et irritum ex parte fecit *quod promissum est*: quem Dominus (ut spero) percutiet, quoque modo voluerit. Deinde—"visum est senioribus nostris—juxta mandatum," ut si diversitas est orta inter causam et causam, et variaverit judicium inter lepram et non lepram, *irent ad locum quem elegit Dominus*," (ET SI CAUSÆ FUERINT MAJORES JUXTA DECRETUM SYNODICUM, AD CAPUT URBIUM SINT REFERENDÆ. Misimus quos novimus sapientes et humiles esse, velut *natos ad matrem*, et prosperum iter in voluntate Dei habentes, et ad Roman urbem, aliqui ex eis venientes, tertio anno ad nos usque pervenerunt, et sic omnia viderunt, sicut audierunt: *sed et valde certiora* ut pote visa quam audita invenerunt, et in uno hospitio cum Græco, et Hæbreo, et Scythia, et Ægyptiaco, in Ecclesia S. Petri (in quo mense integro disjuncti sumus (fuerunt, et ante sancta sic testati sunt nobis dicentes: "per totum orbem terrarum hoc Pascha ut scimus celebratur," et nos in reliquiis Sanctorum Martyrum et Scripturis quas attulerunt probavimus inesse virtutem Dei. Vidimus oculis nostris puellam cæcam omnino, ad has reliquias oculos aperientem, et paralyticum ambulante[m] et multa Dæmonia ejecta. Sylloge Ep. Hib. pp. 33, 34.



No learned Protestant of the present day, would venture to say with Ledwich, that the Paschal controversy was on a point of faith. In all the discussions on the matter, especially by Columbanus, the distinction between discipline and faith is accurately drawn as by any modern professor of theology. He glories that his country had preserved inviolate the Catholic faith and communion, but distinctly asserts for a national church, the right of following her peculiar usages in discipline; and it was on this principle that he followed the Irish cycle, when the Roman had been introduced in Gaul, and that St. Aidan, as we learn from Bede, was still in communion with the Bishops of London and Canterbury, though adhering to his Irish computation. But though the matter regarded discipline alone, it drew out an Irish profession of the great principle—the authority of the Universal Church and the power of the Pope; but as the Roman cycle was not adopted in the North of Ireland before the year 704, nor among the Irish monks of Iona before the year 710, these facts may at first sight appear to prove that the Pope's authority was recognized in the South, but not in the North, that is, that St. Brendan, St. Lugid, St. Kieran, &c. in Leath Moga, had one final judge of controversies from St. Patrick and the successor of St. Patrick in Armagh, and the Northern Bishops, another. If a thing, in itself so highly ridiculous, were the fact, how does it happen, that a few years after the decision of the Synod of Leighlin,\* the Bishop of Armagh, and many of the Nor-

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\* Colgan, with whom Dr. Lanigan appears inclined to agree, is of opinion that the events described by Cummián in this extract, took place in two different councils. One assembled at Magh Lene in the territory of-Fearcall, (in the King's county,) the other at Campus Lene, near old Leighlin, in the county Carlow. In the former, the deputation was elected and sent to Rome; in the latter, held about three years later, the deputies announced the decision of the Church, which was universally received in the south. We have followed Ussher, whom we believe to be, as far as he goes, a better authority than Lanigan or Colgan, on *historical* points. He is not so sceptical as Lanigan, nor so credulous as Colgan, though who would have wished Colgan to have *collected* otherwise than he did. He swept like a drag net, catching facts and fable, poetry and history, and no man since his day has been able to finish his work. A striking instance of Dr. Lanigan's unjustifiable fastidiousness, occurs in his account of these very synods. Ussher, from an ancient life of St. Fintan Munna, states that this saint, who was a champion of the Irish cycle, challenged St. Laisrean to a trial of miracles, a thing, says Dr. Lanigan, which *smells* of a much later age." Now to use his own phrase, when castigating poor Colgan and sometimes Archdeacon Lynch, "*Dr. Lanigan ought to have known,*" that in the sixth general council held not many years after the synod of Leighlin, a monk who held some heretical doctrines, offered to raise the dead in presence of the bishops and was allowed to attempt it, but of course he failed. St. Laisrean declined the contest of miracles, and all the fathers of the council agreed and returned quietly to their homes."

thern Bishops, wrote to the Pope on the Paschal question? If the obligation of appealing to the Pope, so distinctly promulged and enforced in the Synod of Leighlin, and declared to be an original and fundamental law in the Irish Church, were not admitted in Armagh, who can believe that the Northern Prelates, who held out for Irish tradition on the Pasch, would have allowed without a murmur, the pregnant principle of Roman authority to be canonized as *an Irish tradition*, in the South? Would the Bishops of the North battle for the mynths and cummin, when the whole fabric was in danger; would they not disclaim the arrogant pretensions of a foreign priest to judge the Irish Church? Some of the Bishops of Ireland, and especially the Bishop of Armagh, did protest at a later period, against an invasion of the rights of the Irish Church by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but they did not, they could not protest against the power of Rome, whose rights are distinctly recognised by an Irish canon, and certainly anterior to this period, for it is evidently the same as that to which Cummian appeals: "SI QUÆ QUESTIONES IN HAC INSULA ORIANTUR, AD SEDEM APOSTOLICAM REFERANTUR."\* The principles, nay, the very words of this canon, are found in the pontifical decrees of

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\* The supposed date of this canon is 456. Ussher attempts to get rid of it by calling it a *straggling* canon; but he does not deny its authenticity. It was published by Ware (Opus. p. 41.) from a manuscript collection of canons in the Cottonian library. It expresses the discipline of the age to which it is attributed, as may be seen from the letter of Innocent, &c., to Victoricius of Rouen. When speaking of the correspondence between Paulinus of Nola and Victoricius of Rouen, we forgot to remark a singular coincidence, which perhaps proves some connexion of our apostle with Victoricius. St. Patrick states in his confession that, after having returned to his own country from Ireland, he saw in a vision a man named Victoricius, bearing many letters, on one of which was written, "The voice of the Irish." This Victoricius of the vision is by some of our saint's biographers said to be an angel, and his name is written in four different ways—Victor, (4th life, c. 25.) Victoricus, (2nd life, c. 14.) Victoricius, (Ware,) and Victoricio, (Bollandists.) The name of the bishop of Rouen is also written in the same way, as appears from the note in Constant's Epistles of the Popes, p. 746: "Nonnullis in MSS. *Victorio*, in quibusdam ut apud Merlin *Victorico*; in aliis *Victoricio*; in Regio *Victoritio*; in cæteris, *Victricio*." Victoricius was born near Boulogne; and after having converted the pagan Morini and some parts of Belgium, was appointed by Innocent I. bishop of Rouen, which see he governed during twenty-eight years, to 420, or later, (Bollandists, 7th August.) so that, whether we follow Lanigan or Ussher, Victoricius was bishop of Rouen when St. Patrick returned from his first captivity. Would it be rash to suppose, that the apostolical labours of a contemporary and a neighbour had some influence on the future destiny of St. Patrick, prompting him to do in Ireland what Victoricius did in Belgium and France? Victoricius had visited Rome. The *Angel Victor*, in Fiech's hymn, sends Patrick beyond the sea to prepare for his mission. We suppose that Dr. Rock has not answered Lanigan's proofs that St. Patrick was a Briton of that tribe which Pliny places near Boulogne-sur-mer. (Hist. Nat. l. iv. c. 31.)



Popes, contemporaries of St. Patrick, as we have seen above. We defy our adversaries to produce one disclaimer of that principle, in the Irish Church, during the protracted dispute on the Paschal question. Complaints there were against its application in that particular case, but no protest against the principle.

Unfortunately the answer from Rome to the northern bishops in 640, so far from inducing them to yield, must rather have confirmed them in their fond adherence to a national usage. Their letter directed to the pope was left unopened until after his death, which occurred a short time after its arrival. During the vacancy of the Holy See the Roman clergy opened and answered the letter, but as far as we can judge from the fragment of that answer still extant,\* it was falsely reported that the northern bishops maintained the condemned practices of the Quartodecimans. Finding themselves accused of an error which they did not hold, the bishops might have easily indulged the hope of not being obliged to conform with their brethren in the south. Different rites in the liturgy and other points of discipline being already practised in Ireland, why, the northerns might say, might not the time of celebrating Easter be different also? but on whatever grounds they justified their isolated position, there is no trace of schism between Leath Mogar and Leath Con from the year 640 to 704. The great Adamnan, who was born in 627, and died in 704, saw the paschal dispute pass through all its phases. He observed the Irish rite until within a few years of his death, but having at length embraced the Roman, his great influence established it in the north, except in the monasteries of his own order, which held out for some years. Adamnan, during his life and after his death was universally beloved in Ireland, north and south. The personal friend of Alfred, king of

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\* Doctissimis et sanctissimis Tomiano (Armagh) Columbano (Clonard) Cronano (Antrim) Dimma (Down) et Brithono (Tigh Brithin in Elphin) Episcopis; Cronano (Morille in Down) Croniano (Tory Island) Laistrano (Ardmacnasca near Down) Sullano (Armagh?) Segeno (Bangor) presbyteris, Sarano, cœterisque doctoribus, sur Abbatibus Scotis, Hilarus Archipresbyter, et servans locum sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ, &c.

(Ad) Scripta quæ perlatores ad Sanctæ memoriæ, Severinum Papam adduxerunt (hac de luce eo migrante) reciproca responsa et ad ea quæ postulata erant si luerunt. Quibus reseratis, ne diu tantæ quæstionis caligo indiscussa remaneret, reperimus quosdam provinciæ vestræ, contra orthodoxam fidem, novam in vetere hæresim renovare conantes, pascha nostrum, in quo immolatus est Christus, nebuloa caligine refutantes et *quartadecima* una cum Hæbreis celebrare nitentes.—Ussher.

Northumbria, and many of the Saxon clergy, even after the synod of Whitby, 664, he is in several places lauded in the warmest terms by Venerable Bede, (L. 5. c. xxi. 15, 16, 17.) and thus links in his own person, in the bonds of Roman communion, Ireland, North and South, and both with the Anglo-Saxon Church, which, we presume, was at that period a fervent believer in the supremacy of Rome.

If the authority of Adamnan is not sufficient, we must appeal to Mr. Mason's admission, that "the Papal supremacy was formally acknowledged in the synod of Whitby," (p. 140.) principally, he says, through the exertion of that uncompromising advocate of Rome, St. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York. St. Wilfrid could not compromise; he who fought for Roman rites and discipline, would not compromise Roman faith and communion, nor solemnly attest the purity of Irish faith, in the presence of a Roman council and the Pope, had he believed that the Northern Irish and the monks of Hy were rebels to the pope; yet he, "Wilfrid Bishop of York, (did in a Roman council and before the pope,) confess the true and Catholic faith on behalf of the Northern parts of Britain, and the islands of Ireland which are inhabited by the English the Britons, as well as Scots and Picts, and attest that faith by his signature,"\* and this in the year 681, when according to our Doctor, Iona was in arms against the pope. No, had the Irish been schismatic, Wilfrid would have made Rome ring with his denunciations; but he knew "that though the Irish celebrated the Pasch by a rite different from that of the Catholic church, they never were at any time cut off by excommunication from the Apostolic See. For though their error was serious, being so often condemned by the Church, yet as it regarded a rite and not a dogma of Catholic faith, it was tolerated by the Apostolic See, until they were better instructed. Their error was venial (venialis) down to the year 715, because it arose neither from contumacy nor schism, but from pardonable ignorance; since (as Bede says,) living so far out of the world, they did not know the decrees of the Paschal observance, and therefore the Catholic church has not expunged from

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\* Wilfridus Episcopus Eboracensis, pro omni Aquilonari parte Britanniae et Hiberniae insulis, quae ab Anglorum et Britonum, necnon Scotorum et Pictorum gentibus incoluntur, veram et Catholicam fidem confessus est, et conscriptione sua munivit.—Bede. lib. i.



the calendar of her saints, the Irishmen who were eminent for sanctity and miracles before the year 716.” This is Bede’s view of the matter, in the words of Baronius. Ann. 634. 664.

Great virtues are akin to great vices. In the 16th century loyalty degenerated into slavishness, and made a great nation change her faith five times in fifty years, at the nod of tyrants and lordlings; while, in this Irish affair, constancy degenerates into obstinacy, and sets a part of Ireland for some fifty years in apparent opposition to a Roman rite, not enforced by excommunication and bulls of deposition against the royal nonconformists. The eloquent author of the Life of St. Wilfrid appears to forget his position and ours. Some truth, no doubt, there is in his invective against our Irish obstinacy in the paschal question, for we know from the writings of some of our most eminent Irishmen that, whether from national feeling, or too high an opinion of the Irish Church, which had already converted Scotland, Northumbria, and pagan nations on the continent, or from the fact of Ireland never having been under the imperial sway of Rome, some of the Irish of the 6th and 7th centuries wished to have their Church as national as was consistent with Roman Catholic faith and communion. Thus St. Columbanus grounds his adherence to the Irish cycle on the exemption of Ireland from the ecclesiastical laws of the Roman empire;\* and roundly asserts, in a letter to pope Boniface, that the authority of Rome in Ireland was not founded on any prestige of the imperial mistress of the world, nor on the laws of emperors, but on much higher grounds. “Rome was great and renowned in Ireland, only on account of the Apostolic See, and the authority conferred by Christ on St. Peter and successors. Disciples of all the Disciples, the Irish were bound to the chair of St. Peter, from which they had first received the faith. The Pope was the pastor of pastors, the head of all the churches of Europe,

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\* St. Columbanus, in his letter to pope Gregory the Great, requests that he may not be annoyed by the Gallican clergy on account of his peculiar observance of Easter, and requests to be allowed to follow the traditions of his elders, IF IT BE NOT CONTRARY TO FAITH. “We ask,” he says, “for peace and ecclesiastical unity, such as that which St. Polycarp maintained with pope Anicetus, and for permission to observe our own laws, according to the regulation made by the 150 Fathers of the Council of Constantinople.” The words of the canon are, “Quas autem in barbaris sunt gentibus Dei ecclesias, administrare oportet, secundum patrum, quæ servata est consuetudinem.” The *capitals* are ours; the words Mr. Mason’s. (p. 113, 114.)

and of the churches of the world.\* His power extended where no Roman soldier ever fought.” But while Columbanus thus plainly professes his belief in the supremacy of the Pope, as that article is believed in the Catholic Church, he cannot be cited as a witness of the ultramontane opinion, of the Pope’s infallibility. On that subject he appears to speak like Bossuet and Fleury, a fact which an ultramontane might perhaps explain by that dangerous principle of nationalism in religion, which was the life and soul of Gallicanism, and of which some traces are discernible in the letter of Columbanus on the three chapters. But why did our great saint use hard language to Pope Boniface, on the affair of those three chapters? He erroneously believed, with many others, that the condemnation of the three chapters, was opposed to the general synod of Chalcedon. St. Columbanus defended that synod of Chalcedon, in which the Bishops of the East and West exclaimed, “*Petrus per Leonem locutus est*,” “Peter has spoken by the mouth of Pope Leo,” and deposed Dioscurus, Patriarch of Alexandria, for having among other crimes, dared to hold a synod without the authority of the Pope, a thing which never was, and never may lawfully be done, ὅτι ἠδέποτε γέγονεν, ἠδὲ ἐξόν γενέσθαι.†

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\* Nos enim ut ante dixi, devincti sumus Cathedræ Petri, licet enim Roma, magna est et vulgata, per istam Cathedram *tantum*, apud nos est magna et clara—propter Christi geminos Apostolos vos prope cælestes estis, et Roma orbis terrarum caput est Ecclesiarum. Again he calls Rome, “Fidei orthodoxæ sedem principalem.” Vide Dr. Rock—Letter to Lord John Manners.

† The charge of Columbanus against the pope is, “Dicunt enim Eutychem, Nestorianum, Dioscorum, antiquos ut scimus hæreticos, a Vigilio, in synodo, nescio, quam in quinta, receptos fuisse. Ecce causam, totius, ut aiunt scandali;” and again, “Vigila, ne forte non vigilavit Vigilius.” From these and similar expressions a late author (Todd, Church of St. Patrick, p. 135.) very disingenuously deduces the following conclusions, which we will examine in detail. The first, third, and fourth conclusions are substantially the same; though enumerated as distinct for the sake of a rhetorical flourish—namely, that in the opinion of Columbanus the pope was not infallible; that it *was* asserted Vigilius erred, though he, Columbanus, did not believe the rumour. The second, fifth, sixth, and seventh are the same—namely, that it might sometimes be the duty of the Church to resist the pope. Now, suppose that this is a true statement of the opinions of Columbanus, which Mr. Todd declares no Catholic dare hold, compare it with the following extract from a very common book, Bailly’s Tractatus de Ecclesia. “Asseremus 2do post illustrissimum Bossuetium, ejus nomen encomium est. Sedem Apostolicam, seu Pontificium esse indefectibilem, adeo ut error contra Cathedram Petri non possit prævalere, et fides *quæ a serie, seu collectione Pontificum* predicatur, semper sit vera Christi doctrina. Itaque licet Pontifex aliquis per breve temporis intervallum errare possit, fides Petri tamen, nunquam deficiet, fides Petri inquam moraliter sumpti, quia statim succedet alter Pontifex Catholice docens, et quia series Pontificum veram fidem semper prædicabit.” (De Infal. Rom. Pont.) We believe that Bailly and Bossuet and Columbanus (if he held their opinions) were wrong, but we dare not



This principle of obedience to the Church, with the Pope at its head, is so emphatically announced by Cumman and Columbanus, that in their eyes the Reformation must be a rebellion. "What can be more intolerable," asks Cumman, "than that the whole Church should be wrong, and Ireland alone right?" Substitute for Ireland, the rebel monk of Wittemberg and his tavern theologians, protesting against the Church, East and West; try them by the test of tradition and church authority, to which Cumman appeals, and this at a time, when the doctrines against which Luther protested, were universally received in the Church; and what must we think of

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affirm with Mr. Todd that Bossuet was a Protestant. There is this difference between Columbanus and Bossuet, that the latter expressly teaches that Vigilius erred, which the former did not believe—"quod absit, credi verum fuisse, esse, vel fore." Let Mr. Todd produce, if he can, a declaration of Columbanus, that a succession of popes could teach error, for, without such a declaration, we say that, at worst, St. Columbanus held the opinion of Bossuet. But if we believe our friend, the infallibility of the pope is now an article of faith, because the present pope taught that opinion in a work published before he was made pope!" Catholic theologians stand deeply indebted to Mr. Todd for this new test of articles of Catholic faith, and also for his equally novel information "that Catholics believe the pope to be the *sole* bishop of the West." (p. 8.) Mr. Todd's eighth conclusion "that, according to Columbanus, not from divine appointment, but on account of the sacred memories of St. Peter and St. Paul, Rome is the head of all the Churches of the world," is false on the evidence of Mr. Todd himself. It is not simply on account of the memories of the apostles that Rome was great in the opinion of Columbanus; but because it was St. Peter's chair, which is a very different thing from St. Peter's tomb—"per istam cathedram tantum apud nos Roma est magna et clara;" (p. 148.) and because "Salvator noster, S. Petro regni cœlorum contulit claves." (p. 149.) Pray, was not that act of our Lord a *divine appointment*? But Columbanus adds that Rome was the head of the Churches of the world, "saving the singular prerogative of the place of our Lord's resurrection," which, in the opinion of Mr. Todd, gives the primacy to Jerusalem. This is a theory equally new to Protestants and Catholics, for while all admit that the place of our Lord's resurrection has a singular prerogative, no person dreamed of deducing from that prerogative the supremacy of Jerusalem. The same writer endeavours to prove that Ireland did not believe the supremacy of the pope, because it cannot be proved that Irish missionaries had their authority directly from the pope. The *mode* of acquiring jurisdiction is a matter of discipline. Innocent I., in his Epistle to Decentius, truly declares that all the great missions in the West had originated with the pope; but Thomassinus, a Catholic author, is not censured for the assertion—"On entasse un grand nombre d'exemples pour montrer que les eveques se sont toujours maintenus dans la possession de precher aux infideles de leur voisinage." Pars ii, L. i. c. x. No. 6. Some of his examples are Irish. Again, Mr. Todd proves that Celsus did not believe in the supremacy of Rome, because he erected a metropolitan see without recurring to Rome. But, suppose that Cashel or Ernlly was not, what many think it was, in the beginning a metropolitan see, Mr. Todd ought to have known that many Catholics maintain the right of erecting a metropolitan see was not always the exclusive prerogative of the pope. One word with Mr. Todd before we part. The Church established in Ireland has £800,000. a-year, and not 800,000 believers; yet, with his pockets full of these old Catholic guineas, Mr. Todd has no gentler name for his Catholic countrymen than *Romanists*. Give them their own name, Mr. Todd; how would *you* like to be called *Toddy*? Our readers must not confound this Mr. Todd with the Librarian of Trinity College.

the German exotic, transplanted to Ireland in the sixteenth century? Does Mr. Mason really believe, that the man who quotes largely from St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, on the unity and authority of the Church; who cries out with St. Jerome, "talk not to me of the Church of Christ, as being different from the Church of Rome;" and who urges those principles not as new but as well known in Ireland, could approve Luther's revolt against the Church of Christ? On the article of transubstantiation, could he say, Alexandria is wrong, Jerusalem is wrong, Antioch is wrong, Rome is wrong, Luther alone is right? The notion of a fallible church could no more enter into his head, than into St. Gregory's, "who was universally revered by the Irish Church, and who, though he wrote later than St. Cyprian, Augustine, and Jerome, was in her opinion, superior to all." "*Gregorii a nobis in commune suscepti qui etsi post omnes scripsit, tamen est merito omnibus præferendus.*" (Sylloge. Ep. Hib. p. 31.) If St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory, were Protestant on the authority of the Church and the power of the Pope, Ireland was Protestant on the same points before the year 600. Her faith was theirs.

The communion of Ireland with Rome, before the year 600, could be proved by another argument familiar to any Irish scholar, and dear to all who feel a lawful pride in the glory of their country. It is well known that long before St. Columbanus rose, as Baronius says, by a great benefit of God, and like another Elias, rekindled the flame of piety and learning in Italy, Germany, and France, we had besides the Apostles of Scotland and Northumbria, other great Irish saints, especially in the Western parts of France, who were even the founders and patrons of some of her monasteries and episcopal sees. Had those saints held Mr. Mason's opinions on the Pope, what must they have thought of those Papal Bulls, which we have seen enforcing Roman jurisdiction in every part of France?

The year 600 has been often mentioned by us in the course of this paper, because it is there Mr. Mason took his stand. It is unnecessary, and indeed impossible to develop the proofs of Roman communion from 600 to 1172. It would require a volume, for it should be a history



not only of Ireland, but of a large portion of Europe.\* There was a brigade of Irish heroes in modern times, who made Irish valour and Irish faith household words in all the courts and camps of Europe; from 600 to 1172, there was another Irish brigade, but of a higher order—apostles, martyrs, confessors, doctors, men and women, whose images are yet over the Catholic altars of Germany, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, and France. But, alas, they lived after the year 600. For them Mr. Mason has no sympathy. Rome is to him Anti-Christian Babylon, and Catholic Irish are idolatrous slaves, who should never have been emancipated. Though his Cromwellian tower is crumbling about his ears, he turns his blinking orbs from the sweet and glorious light of Irish mediæval piety and learning, and moans anathema on all who lived after 600. Surveying the labours of Irishmen, from St. Cathaldus of Tarentum, to the twenty-four Apostles of Iceland, and from Bobbio and St. Gall, to Lindisfarne and Iona, including Eringena, who was the first that taught in the University of Oxford, and Clement, who founded the University of Pavia, and John and Albinus, who were the first to teach in the University of Paris, and Petrus Hibernus, first professor of philosophy in the University of Naples, and preceptor of the great St. Thomas of Aquin—running along the Rhine from the spires of St. Rumold in Mechlin, and St. Dymrna in Antwerp, to the old Cologne, the city of Dun-Scotus—the rival of St. Thomas—on still through Mayence, Strasburg, and Constance, all of which had either Irish bishops or Irish patrons, descending to details, and finding in one short page of one of our hagiologists, not less than 200 Irish patrons of continental sees or cities; with this bright host before him, Mr. Mason,

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\* "Sur les bords de la rivière qu'aucune pont ne traversait encore, dans la vallée profonde ou le voyageur pouvait être surpris par la nuit, sur le sommet de la montagne, ou le repos et des aliments sont indispensables, la bienfaisance avait établi de bonne heure des maisons, ou le pelerin qui passait d'un pays à l'autre était sur de trouver un refuge. Des maisons de prières en toutes les semaines, un certain nombre de pauvres etiant nourris, naîtraient déjà dans le huitieme siecle. Des moines Irlandais en erigerent plusieurs de ce genre en France, et qui d'ordinaire etaient desservées par un petit nombre de Religieux." Hurter, *Moyen Age*, vol. ii. p. 493. French Trans. "ex Hibernia in exteras regiones, quasi inundatione facta sanctorum examina, se effuderunt." St. Bernard.

"Scotis, consuetudinem peregrinandi in naturam conversam esse." Walafridus Strabo.

"Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totam cum grege Philosophorum ad nostra littora migrantem." Eric of Auxerre.

Bede and Harpsfield testify the same for England and Germany.

like another Balac, tells us to curse the bright army of the Lord. But how can we curse those whom the Lord has blessed? How can we curse those whom Roman Churches have canonized, if we love virtue, or learning, or national glory? And this at the beck of a man, who prefers Ledwich and Ryves to Ware and Ussher, and their worthy successors.

For the next edition of his book, we recommend a conjecture, which in his ingenious hands, may be turned to some account. He has heard of the Litany of Ængus Ceile De, written before the year 800, from which it appears that while Irishmen flocked to other countries, thousands of Gauls and Romans came to Ireland, and left their bones amongst us. Might it not be from the tyranny of the Pope they were flying? they said it was to find virtue and learning, but what matter—Cummian and Columbanus say, Rome was the mother church; Mr. Mason says, she was not. Cummian says, the Irish were bound by a synodical decree to consult Rome in *causæ majores*, and that Rome “*was the place which the Lord hath chosen.*” Mr. Mason says, foolish monk! Ireland was independent. Cummian gives the *petalon* to St. John and the *keys* to St. Peter. Mr. Mason says, the Apostles were equal. Fortunately, Mr. Mason’s extreme views are by no means general among the members of his Church, many of whom are every day making rich contributions to our stock of Irish ecclesiastical literature, in a spirit worthy of the happiest hours of Ware or Ussher. Fortunate indeed it is, that in an age, when the foundations are laid rich and deep of an Irish literature, young, chaste, and vigorous, not an import from strange lands, but the creation of Irish genius on Irish subjects, for an Irish public; the men who are editing our original records are more ambitious of the laurels of history, than of controversy. Much remains to be done. But if all the Irish documents which have lain for three hundred years, rotting on the shelves of Trinity College Library, were now made public; if some Franciscan arose among us to immortalize his own order by continuing the labours of Colgan and Wadding; if we had a Dominican to rival the labours of Dr. Burke; an Irish Jesuit to continue the work of Stephen White and Fitzimon, or an Irish secular who should envy the fame of Dr. Lombard, or Dr. Rothe, or Archdeacon Lynch; if May-



nooth had, what it has not, originals or transcripts of the original documents of our ecclesiastical history, no new discovery can throw the slightest doubt on the fact, that the Irish Church was founded by a Pope, and that St. Patrick's prayer has to this hour been fulfilled. "May my Lord grant, that I may never lose His people, which He has acquired in the ends of the earth." "Quapropter non continget mihi a Domino meo ut unquam amittam plebem suam, quam acquisivit in ultimis terræ." (Confes. C. v. 23.) God has heard him. The flame enkindled by St. Patrick, glows bright and pure. Enkindled in that glorious age, when Augustine, and Jerome, and Leo, and Paulinus, and Martin, rose serene and brilliant over the ruins of the Roman world, to enlighten all time; it has burned, unflickering in Irish hearts, when, alas! the glory of Hippo, and Carthage, and Alexandria, and Antioch, and Canterbury, (to be revived, we hope,) shine only in history. Well may Irish students sing heartily as they do after a solemn ceremony, "Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia ejus, et veritas Domini manet in æternum."

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ART. X.—*The Rite of Administration of Holy Orders in the Catholic Church.* In English and Latin. Extracted from the Roman Pontifical. Published by lawful authority. Derby: Richardson and Son.

PRECIOUS to Catholic eyes, and dear to Catholic hearts, should be that glorious and time-honoured series, of which this rich contribution is but the fragment of a specimen; the Office-books of our holy Church! The "Breviarium," with its ever-varying round of social and commemorative devotions, the bond of charity and intercommunion among the Saints; the "Missale," with its rite of ineffable mystery, the centre and cardinal point of all; the "Rituale," with its more private, personal, domestic solemnities, hallowing our Christian pilgrimage

from the cradle to the tomb; and, not least, the “Pontificale,” wherein the Church seems to speak as from her throne, clad in her glorious apparel, and wielding the ensigns of her royal power, but none the less the Mother, because “every inch the Queen”—what a repository is it, of holy words and august traditions, the records of saintly experience, the remnants of Apostolic testimony, the offerings, rich beyond the wealth “of Ormus and of Ind,” which the tide of centuries has deposited on the shores of our favoured Mother-land, and those centuries, “the ages of faith!” And when from the amazement which follows on so vast an idea, we pass to a closer, yet withal reverent and loving, scrutiny of the contents of this richly furnished casket, that we may not rather say, this priceless reliquary; what thoughts must not the search suggest, of wondering delight, and deep entranced devotion! In the Lections, what treasures of heavenly wisdom; in the Antiphons, what a sounding of the depths of inspired Writ: in the very Rubrics, what shrinking awe, what anxious forethought, what affectionate punctiliousness! Nay, even before any examination of details, is there not something significant and impressive in the very material bulk of this wonderful series? reaching as it does to nine or ten goodly volumes, and this without taking accessories into the account, in the shape of “Gradualia,” “Antiphonaria,” “Cæremonialia,” and all those numerous adjuncts, hardly less authoritative than the office-books themselves, which illustrate in subordination to them, the mind of the Church, or embody her interpretative counsels. It is in facts like these, more than even in the arguments of theologians, or the attestations of history, that some minds find the most persuasive answer to Protestant cavils. It is here that they recognize the fulfilment of those promises of stability by which the Church stands guaranteed against the shocks of time, and the gates of hell. In the rites of divine worship it is that the creed, from a mere form of profession, becomes a breathing reality; in them the great dogmatic system of the Church is no longer a record or a document, but lives in action. Hence it is, that they who wished to strike a deadly blow at the Faith were, in their generation, wise enough to remodel the offices of worship according to the rule of what they speciously termed “the simplicity of primitive usage.” But Catholics, on the contrary, discern, in the multiplicity of



ceremonial provisions, one of the most impregnable defences of the Faith, the evidence of their Church's greatness, the secret of her strength, the pledge of her indefectibility. The creation of Nature is not, like the work of the mis-called "Reformers," loose and slovenly; majestically simple indeed is it in its results, calm and orderly in its movements; but in its structure most curiously exact, most elaborately complicated. Philosophers and naturalists count it not below their dignity to write dissertations upon the circulation of the juices in a flower, or of the blood in an insect. Yet, as is the natural universe, such also is the world of grace and truth; sublime in its order, but complex in its machinery; and in both cases alike it is this wondrous intricacy which bespeaks a mystery, and seems to baffle the hope of substantial change or lasting impression. We may devastate districts, but we cannot annihilate countries; we may lop branches, or even fell woods, but they grow again; or at any rate we destroy individuals without making any approach to the dissolution of the species. "*Uno avulso non deficit alter Aureus*," is perhaps the most serviceable of all trite quotations for the observer of Nature; but no less familiar is it to the student of Church history and the eye-witness of Catholic life. Some Christians solace themselves in passing moments of despondency, or fortify themselves against popular objections, with the remembrance of the Church's triumphs, or the survey of her dominion; with the memorials of her age, or the tokens of her youth; ("*jam senior, sed cruda Tibi, viridisque senectus*;" ) some delight to think of her conquests among the heathen, some glory in her subjugation of the pride of kings; the heart of one beats high at the annals of her missions; the flame of another's devotion is fanned by the examples of her saints; and all these alike find in such congenial contemplations, among other and more directly spiritual effects, their answer to the sophistries of the age, or their solution of the perplexities of the moment. We, on the other hand, should be for recommending to those who might be tempted to doubt about the Church's fixedness, the study of *Gavanti* or *Merati*, or of the Acts of the Congregation of Sacred Rites; and we can only say that, if our patient, after submitting faithfully to such prescription, should still retain any fears or any hopes, of the eventual triumph of Protestantism, we must set him down for either a very

determined hypochondriac, a very desperate enthusiast, or a very shallow reasoner. He will conclude very differently from ourselves, if he think it either maintainable in philosophy, or consistent with experience, that the same Church should be at once tenacious of a gesture, and negligent of a dogma.

The publication which has given rise to these reflections is, we believe, the first instance of an attempt to familiarise the less educated of the Catholic laity with some of the magnificent offices of the Pontifical. We hail it, not merely for its own sake, but as it may be taken as the harbinger of bright and palmy days for the Church in England. Sanctioned as it is by the "imprimatur" of our ecclesiastical superiors, it seems to betoken the prospect of a time when the celebration of those wonderful and soul-stirring rites which it discloses to English eyes, shall be no longer limited, as heretofore, to our collegiate chapels, where it is of course comparatively private, but introduced also, on fitting occasions and with suitable accompaniments, into some of those large and beautiful edifices, worthy of the name of cathedrals, which have arisen, or are arising, in the different districts of the island, St. Chad's, or St. Barnabas', or St. George's. It will be a happy day for our poor country, when large bodies of devout persons, (and we should be far from desiring to exclude from the number *reverent and inquiring* Protestants,) shall have the opportunity of witnessing the magnificent and touching solemnities by which the Catholic Church first admits within her sanctuary, and then raises step by step to her chief dignities, those whom she counts worthy of such her posts of honour. It is surely meet that the people "whose servants they are for Christ's sake," should know under what solemn circumstances their clergy contract those high obligations which are in a most real and momentous sense, for their benefit; and we are glad to think that, awaiting the time when it shall seem fit to our bishops to hold their ordinations in some of the larger churches, the publication which we have now the pleasure of announcing, will furnish to all the means of that valuable knowledge.

In the mean time we do not forget, and we are far from wishing to underrate, the advantages which, in their turn, must accrue from the celebration of the rites of ordination within the precincts of our ecclesiastical colleges: advan-



tages which, as we quite feel, are of a very rare and special kind. We refer, of course, to the edification of the younger students. Those indeed who have never enjoyed the real pleasure of assisting at this solemnity, at least with their prayers, in one of our college chapels, can form but an indistinct conception, we do not say merely how solemn, but how beautiful and affecting it is. These communities, as is well known, consist of those whom our bishops regard as in a peculiar manner the lambs of their flock and the children of their family—"filii sicut novellæ olivarum." They consist of youths of all ages, from eleven or twelve, perhaps, to two or three and twenty. A considerable, in some cases even the greater portion, of this interesting charge is destined for the especial service of the altar; and even those who are to be called to secular duties have an interest in the Church, of which ordinary Protestants can form no idea whatever, and even the more religious members of the Establishment but a very faint one. To take such humble part as may be allowed them in the offices of God's beautiful House, to help at the decoration of the altar on some high festival, or to strew the path of the blessed Sacrament on the solemnity of its anniversary with the fresh flowers of early summer, or to bear the bishop's train, or serve the priest at Mass: these, and the like, are the choice "treats" of a Catholic boy—the promise of which lights up his eyes, and the prospect of which mingles itself with his dreams; how different from the subjects which engross the thoughts of his Protestant coeval—the new pony, or the new shooting-jacket! Not that we mean to question our young Catholic's interest in such terrestrial pastimes as befit his age; for who so light-hearted as he at recreation time? who so nimble and adroit at hand-ball or cricket, at "cat" or bandy? But *his* highest, as well as purest, pleasures have their sphere in the sanctuary of God: "Domine dilexi decorem domûs tuæ," is the language of a Catholic heart even from childhood upwards—how often checked by the rude shocks of the world, or marred by the defects of education, it is not for us to say; but still native to him, so far forth as he is a child of Holy Church, and under the systems of instruction with which we happen to be conversant in England, encouraged to the utmost by the wise conduct of superiors, the sympathy of associates, and the "genius loci." In the Catholic Church it is that

the words come home, "*Mellem esse abjectus in domo Domini, quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum.*" But if the prevalence of this spirit in the minds of our youth in general be a guarantee for their deep, breathless interest in all the holy functions of the Church, what shall we say of the effects of an ordination upon those who behold in it the consummation of all their religious hopes, the best reward of their studious exertions, the crisis by far the most absorbing and eventful of their holy and happy career? How different the estimate which a Catholic youth forms of that solemn ceremony, or rather series of ceremonies, which is to plant him on the topmost step of the altar, from the idea which "ordination" commonly suggests to a student at one of our Protestant universities! With *his* most awful, and yet in one sense most consoling, anticipations, there are blended no fond dreams of earthly rest and bright domestic joy. For him are no visions of pleasant dwelling-places, sunny landscapes, and social circles; the poorly furnished attic, the simple and often solitary meal, the "burden and heat of the day," the quiet of the evening, and even the repose of the night, not secured against the visit of the penitent, or the summons to the bed of death—such are the concomitants of the Catholic priesthood, to which the college life of our students is the road, and the sacrament of Holy Orders the gate. These associations it is which shed so awful a beauty around the path of the Catholic priest: and the preparation is in keeping with the end. While the future guide of souls in the communion which usurps our titles, has despoiled us of our rights, and still enjoys the largest share of popular consideration in this island, is spending the first precious years of his life at a public school, or at one of the universities, distinguished from the candidates for a secular profession by no peculiar strictness of habits, simplicity of living, severity of dress, sacredness of study, or religiousness of occupation; encompassed by snares at the most critical of ages, without certain shelter and ordained safeguard; the companion of the wealthy, at least in their sports, possibly even in their debaucheries, and this from first to last; at school, at "the private tutor's," as the under-graduate, as the "resident bachelor," and so on almost up to the very eve of his initiation into responsibilities, the very thought of which makes serious men tremble: the Catholic priest, on the other hand, has his



course chalked out in definite lines from the moment when aptness of disposition, or habits of devotion, or any other special token of "vocation" shall point him out to the eyes of his director as one whom his Saviour delights to honour. This crisis may be earlier or later in life; it is seldom so late as to leave fewer than four or five years for direct training, and for the most part it is so early as to allow even twice that number of years for the work of holy preparation. During this interval, how many and how powerful are the aids which this sworn liegeman of the cross enjoys towards the due cultivation of what divines call the "ecclesiastical spirit;" a phrase which to the ears of a thoughtful Catholic imports whatever is high in aim, reverent in temper, chaste in affection, or devoted in action! For instance, between one and two hours of every morning of his collegiate life are consecrated to religious acts in common: prayers, meditations, and the holy Sacrifice, with the regular opportunity of communion, of which all those in training for the Church are found to avail themselves, not only on Sundays and feasts of obligation, but on feasts of devotion, feasts of patron saints, all feasts of our Lord and His blessed Mother, all days and anniversaries of domestic interest, amounting, as a general rule, to more than one besides the Sunday in every week, (and in some of the colleges the average is still greater;) besides this, the frequent use of the holy communion implies, of course, a corresponding recourse to the sacrament of penance. Nor is it easy, again, to appreciate the effect arising from daily and constant access to the house of God at other times than those of stated prayer; more especially of visits to the adorable Sacrament, a devotion which is found, along with that of which our blessed Lady is the object, to lay extraordinary hold of the pure and affectionate mind of youth. When to this sum of regular, and, as it may be called, ostensible religion, we add exercises of a more private kind; when we recollect, also, that acts of study are usually preceded by prayer, and again, that the most anxious pains are taken on the part of superiors to regulate the amusements, and fill up the vacant time, of the students, as well as to block up every avenue of sin, and forestal every dangerous occasion—shall we not be supposed to have been rather sketching all the while an ideal picture of a right godly education, than describing facts of which every Englishman may be

come cognizant, who will be at the trouble of a visit to our chief collegiate institutions?

Such, then, is the moral training of a Catholic priest; and, as he approaches the goal of his ecclesiastical course, he becomes more and more intimately involved in the direct ministrations of the choir and the sanctuary. His first introduction to the awful vicinity of the altar is in the capacity of a server of the Mass, an office anciently and properly confined to clerics of the order of acolyte, but now by general custom extended also to towardly, well-conducted, and "handy" boys. Our young ecclesiastic, again, will have been already initiated into his future ministrations by some experience in the duties of "ceroferrarius" and "thurifer," offices which are sufficiently explained by their names. In colleges, too, where the bishop is a resident, or even, as must always be the case, a frequent visitor, one or more of the boys will be selected for immediate attendance upon his sacred person. Those of them, moreover, who have musical capacities and tastes (which are extraordinarily rife in the Catholic colleges,) will be in request for the service of the choir. The older students will become eligible, in their turn, to the responsible posts of sacristan and master of ceremonies. The care of the sacristy is an especial object of youthful ambition. It involves the contiguity, though not always the contact, of those various treasures, often of most costly material and elaborate design, but deriving, of course, their principal value from their relation in various degrees to the altar on which our Blessed Redeemer vouchsafes to repose in the august Sacrament; the richly-wrought vestments, the linen, of finest texture, and often curious work, and, more than all, the vessels, differing in sacredness according to their proximity to the Adorable. Those articles, whether of linen or plate, which come in contact with the blessed Sacrament, cannot be directly touched, except as matter of necessity, or through express permission, by any who are not in sacred orders. It is the privilege of the subdeacon to brighten the chalice, and wash the linen which is used in the more solemn parts of the Mass. The moral effect of such provisions upon the minds of those who are brought under their influence, can hardly be appreciated without experience. Those alone, whose high privilege it is to be conversant with the *routine* of a Catholic college, (for an



occasional visit could convey no just impression of facts,) can attest how deep and instinctive a sense of reverence for holy things is cherished in the minds of our youth by their subjection (O yoke of sweetness! O bondage more blessed than empire!) to this gracious and subduing rule. Who that has witnessed it, can forget the gentle and loving care with which our students discharge these pious ministries? The light and noiseless step—so full of recollection, so significant of tenderness, cautious as in the chamber of death, yet cheerful as in the company of angels; the easy yet guarded gait, staid without stiffness, solemn without effort, free without negligence; the orderly movement, the delicate touch, the unstraying eye, the leisurely genuflection:—to suggest such images, is to give the opportunity of filling up a picture in the mind, to which every well-regulated place of Catholic education will furnish the original; and if natives perchance do not recognize its correctness so vividly as strangers, the reason is, we suspect, to be found in their greater interior devotion, which leaves them less opportunity, as well as less need, to look out in church for exterior incentives to edification.

The glimpse we have thus given, transient and superficial as it is, into the interior of one of our colleges, is almost necessary to the understanding of the offices of which we are about to present a brief analysis, for the sake of those, whether members of the Church, or others, who may never have enjoyed the opportunity of witnessing their celebration, and have regarded them as exclusively the property and concern of ecclesiastics.

The first of these rites is that of conferring the Tonsure, or creating a cleric. The Tonsure, as the Council of Trent rules it, is not an order, but a state, preparatory and disposing to orders. It is said to have been instituted by St. Peter; at any rate it is very ancient, and has its name from the cutting of the hair in the form of a crown, as a symbol of the “royal” dignity of such as have their lot cast them in that fair territory, the Church of God. Others connect it with the crown of thorns, as though the Church would repair the indignities offered to her Lord, by converting the memorial of His Passion into a badge of honour. In Catholic countries the wearing of the tonsure and of the clerical habit, entails the privilege of exemption from the jurisdiction of the lay courts. The cleric acquires likewise the privilege of the Canon; so that the act of

striking him with malice is excommunication, ipso facto. The tonsure also confers the power of holding a benefice at the proper age. In our own country, it is hardly necessary to say, these privileges are in abeyance; and although the form of giving the tonsure is always, under pain of suspension, observed, the badge has not been habitually assumed since the Church was under persecution.

The same rite which reclaims the youthful soldier of the Cross from the service of the world, by imprinting Christ's seal upon him, introduces him into the sanctuary by investing him with the robe of virginal purity, the symbol of the "new man" regenerated after Christ's image. It is true indeed, that by entering the ecclesiastical state, and even by receiving the minor orders, the return to a secular life is not absolutely precluded; but the Church presumes of every one who voluntarily offers himself to her service, that he has a deliberate intention of persevering in it, although as yet she does not bind him by any irrevocable engagements.

It is a short but exquisitely sweet and touching office, that, by which our holy Mother consecrates the purposes of such as would devote themselves to her ministries, and obtain part in that choice promise: "Beati qui habitant in domo Tua, Domine; in sæcula sæculorum laudabunt Te." The sweet tones of the sweetest of psalmists are never heard more touchingly than in this initiatory rite, and the Church furnishes, as usual, a clue to the "intention" in which she employs them by the annexation of an antiphon. The psalms chosen are those two beautiful ones, the 15th and the 23rd; and wondrously does each of them shroud, in that soft graceful disguise which the words of an earlier dispensation throw over the truths of a later, what may perhaps be called without affectation, the "sentiment" of the peculiar occasion. The 15th psalm, which comes first, appears to be said in the person of the candidate; it immediately precedes the act of giving the tonsure; and embodies a prayer for help, and a pledge of fidelity. "Preserve me, O Lord, for I have put my trust in Thee. I have said to Thee, Thou art my God, for Thou hast no need of my goods." And then, of the wicked, (that is, of the children of this world whose society he forswears,) "I will not gather together their meetings for blood-offerings," (the sacrifice of their goods to the gods of their idolatry,)



“neither will I be mindful,” (or make mention) “of their names with my lips;” words, which the Christian eye seems to *recover* (like some precious vein of metal for a time overlaid,) in the exhortation of the Apostle to the Ephesians, “Let not” (wicked men and their works) “be so *much as named among you*, as becometh saints;” even those “saints who are in His land,” as the same psalm proceeds; “to whom God has made wonderful all His desires.”

The key-note of this psalm, as used by the Church, is found in the verse taken from a later portion of it; “The Lord is the portion of my inheritance and of my chalice; it is Thou that wilt restore my inheritance to me.”\* These loving words the candidate repeats, at the dictation of the bishop, while the tonsure is being given, as if prolonging the strain of the psalm which has gone before, and harping upon a favourite note; “Tu es Qui restitues hæreditatem meam mihi.” With what especial force must these sweet words strike on the hearts of those, our lately reconciled brethren, whom the Church, if she so please, may now or hereafter call into her service! Exiles from their true home, nay “outcasts of the synagogue,” their Lord has taken them up, “pater meus et mater mea dereliquerunt me, Dominus autem assumpsit me;” “Dominus pars hæreditatis mei et calicis mei; Tu es qui restitues hæreditatem meam mihi!”

After a short prayer that he, “the hair of whose head” through (*pro*; for the sake of) “divine love, has been laid aside, may remain always in the love of God, and without spot for ever;” the choir begins the antiphon of the following psalm, in which the Church, now in her own person, pronounces her words of maternal benediction upon the child whom she has thus adopted into her closer embrace, and reminds him into what kind of privilege she has elected him. “The earth is the Lord’s, &c. . . . who shall ascend into the mountain of the Lord, or who shall stand in His holy place? *The innocent in hands and clean of heart* . . . He shall receive a blessing from the Lord and mercy from God His Saviour,” (these are the words of the antiphon,) . . . Nor is the

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\* We quote in English, because we are engaged with a translation; but we owe the reader an apology for depriving him of the original, the spirit of which so evaporates in the best English rendering.

concluding portion of that triumphant psalm less appropriate ; where the angels in parted companies, like the two sides of a choir, discourse with one another in notes of jubilation, upon the entrance of the King of glory within the heavenly portals. For the Church on earth is the mirror, however dim, of the Church in heaven; and our Lord, who vouchsafes to be represented by the weakest of his members, is imaged (and all such images have a most momentous reality) in His entrance into His glory, by the admission within the sanctuary, which is the terrestrial court of heaven, of each one to whom the Church opens her sacred gates. What a marvel is this Book of Psalms ! How rich in its resources, how manifold in its provisions ! No event is there, apparently, in the incalculable order of Divine Providence, no event ecclesiastical, national, domestic, personal, for which it is not possible to find a “ proper psalm.” In joy and in sorrow, in thanksgiving and in fear, in war and in peace, in times of refreshing and in times of dearth, in life, at the hour of death, and even after death—here is the treasury of the rich things of God, the quiver of piercing shafts, the mirror of the Church and of the soul, in which the Christian seems to find his own case anticipated, his own needs expressed, the unknown depths of his heart fathomed, his scattered thoughts brought into shape, his stammering lips gifted with utterance.

The 23rd psalm ended, the bishop proceeds to invest the candidate with the garment of his estate. In practice, the use of the surplice is not absolutely restricted to ecclesiastics ; it is often worn by boys not yet tonsured, and by those who take part in the duties of the choir in parish churches. But such things are rather forced on us by our necessities than consistent with the strictest views of ecclesiastical propriety. At any rate, ecclesiastics alone wear the surplice *of right*; in the case of others, it is matter of toleration and indulgence.

The words in which the bishop confers the surplice, present one of those instances of the vivid application of Scripture for which our offices are so remarkable. “ Induat te Dominus novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in justitia et sanctitate veritatis.” A fitting introduction, indeed, to that state which may be truly called the paradise of the Church, as the Church is the paradise of the world !



We have scarcely left ourselves the space for going, as could be wished, into the sequel of this wonderful series. We need hardly acquaint the reader, certainly not if he be a Catholic, that there are four minor, and three sacred, orders in the Church : the Tonsure, as we have said, being not an order, but a state; and the Episcopate, although in one point of view a distinct order, as involving distinct powers, yet being, in this enumeration, regarded merely as the plenitude of the priesthood. How many of the orders are to be accounted sacramental is one of the *vexatæ quæstiones* of theology ; that the priesthood is so, is “ of faith ;” that the Diaconate is so, is certain, though not of faith ; and again it is certain that, in one sense, all the seven orders are sacramental, as making up one sacrament, the “ *Sacramentum Ordinis*,” represented in the priesthood to which they all conspire. Thus the office of the Ostiary, or Door-keeper, is to guard the sanctuary from irreverent intrusion; the symbol of his function being the keys of the church, by which he is to admit the faithful and exclude the heretic and excommunicate. Here, again, we are reminded of the decay of discipline ; but the very existence of such offices amongst us, is a solemn lesson and a venerable memento ! Again, the Lector, or Reader, who comes the next in order, may instruct the catechumen for the sacraments, a power involved in that which is conveyed to him at his ordination, of reading the sacred Scriptures and other religious books in the church. The relation, again, of the Exorcist to the priest is derived from his office of releasing the possessed, and thus qualifying them for the reception of the Holy Communion, from which it is the great object of the evil spirits to debar them. And here, again, we are recalled to the early ages of Christianity, when the accursed agency of evil spirits was, of course, most busy ; though reason enough is there to rejoice in the preservation of such a remedy throughout all ages. Practically, indeed, the work of the exorcist is merged in that of the higher orders ; in the priesthood and diaconate, to which is attached the office of baptizing. The exorcist can only discharge his proper functions by the express delegation of authority. As we ascend in the scale, the bearing of the orders upon the priesthood becomes still more evident. The acolyte, who comes next to the exorcist, and immediately before the sub-deacon, obtains, at his ordination, the right of handling instruments and vessels which are used in the

Holy Sacrifice, (although not those which come in immediate contact with the Adorable Sacrament,) viz. the candlestick, which bears the light of Christ, and the cruets, which contain the wine and water before consecration. These last however are delivered to him empty, that he may understand his especial duty to be that of filling them. It is properly the sub-deacon who ministers them, when filled, through the deacon, to the priest.

The first of the *sacred* orders is the sub-diaconate. The Church marks the transition from the sanctuary to the first step of the altar by circumstances of increased solemnity in the rite. At the opening of it, she reminds the candidate that he is on the point of surrendering his liberty, and bids him take heed to the seriousness of the action. She calls upon him to observe that the engagements he is about to contract are final and irrevocable; and that they involve the sacrifice of all, even the closest and most sacred of human ties. "*Hactenus liber es,*" are her solemn words of admonition, "*liceatque tibi pro arbitrio ad sæcularia vota transire; quod si hunc Ordinem suscipis, amplius non licebit à proposito resilire; sed Deo, cui servire regnare est, perpetuo famulari, et castitatem, Illo adjuvante, servare oportebit . . . Perinde, dum tempus est, cogitate.*" What consequences to individuals and to the Church of God are wrapped up in that next onward step! What arts may not the Enemy be expected to employ with the view of diverting that steady eye and causing that devoted heart to fail! But more powerful than all his crafty seductions is the memory of the words "*Omnis qui reliquerit domum, vel fratres, aut sorores, aut patrem, aut matrem, aut uxorem, aut filios, aut agros propter nomen Meum, cantuplum accipiet, et vitam æternam possidebit.*"

Angels who have been witnesses of the conflict, are now heralds of the victory. The court of heaven has ratified the choice; meanwhile the Church on earth is calling on all her glorified fellow-citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem to mingle their prayers with her own, that "He who has begun a good work, may carry it on" to perfection. "Then when they come up, the archdeacon places them in order. Those to be ordained deacons, he puts on the epistle side; those to be ordained priests before the middle of the altar with their faces turned towards it; which done, the bishop kneels down against the faldstool, and all that are to be ordained prostrate themselves on the ground. The as-



sistants and others standing by kneel down, and the Cantors begin the Litany, the choir answering, "Kyrie eleïson," &c. Just before the close of the petitions in the Litany, "the bishop rises with his mitre, and turning himself to those to be ordained, and holding in his left hand his pastoral staff, while they remain prostrate, says, 'Ut hos electos benedicere digneris; Te rogamus audi nos.' " He repeats this prayer thrice, adding, the second time, "sanctificare," and the third, "consecrare." The sacred vessels which are given to the sub-deacons to be touched, are the chalice and paten, empty, and the cruets filled. The cruets, having been delivered (empty) at the ordination of acolyte, are now re-delivered without any form of words. In the words used on giving the chalice and paten, there is an exquisite touch of reverence. When the symbols of the *inferior* orders were given, their names were expressed at the time of the delivery. "Accipe urceolos," "Accipe ceroferarium," &c. The names of the vessels, however, which are to be consecrated by the sacramental Presence, are suppressed, as if through awe; and in lieu of any more definite specification, there are these words: "See Whereof the ministry is delivered unto you; therefore I admonish you, that you so demean yourselves as to please God." Or as it is, still more awfully, in the sacred language of the Church; "Videte Cujus ministerium vobis traditur; ideo vos admoneo, ut ita vos exhibeatis, ut Deo placere possitis."

The ordination of deacon differs less from that of sub-deacon than the latter from the minor orders, and than all from the priesthood. The sub-deacon (so far like the cleric,) enters upon a new state; but while the cleric contracts no more than contingent, he binds himself by irrevocable, obligations. The priesthood is only more than his order in that it is the highest grade, and in that it conveys that Power over the Real, and over the Mystical Body of our Lord to which the other orders are, though in different degrees, but introductory and subservient. But even the sub-deacon acquires, by anticipation, some of the privileges, and enters upon some of the duties, of the highest among the sacred orders. He first bears, of right, the title of "Reverend;" he is bound, under pain of sin, to recite the Divine Office; more than all, he becomes irrevocably pledged to the state of continency. What more than all this is the deacon? 1. He is the immediate assistant of

the priest at the Holy Sacrifice. 2. He has the plenitude of the Lectors, as well as of the Acolyte's office; he can sing the Holy Gospel. 3. He acquires the power of preaching by the express permission of the bishop. 4. Also, under a similar condition, of baptizing. 5. In parts of the Church where the chalice is allowed to the laity, it is his office to dispense it. Moreover, unlike the sub-deacon, he receives his commission by the imposition of hands, and the conveyance of the Holy Spirit. Hence the order is unquestionably, although not "*de fide*," sacramental. The badge of the Diaconate is the Stole, worn across the left shoulder; his proper vestment, the Dalmatic. He receives the volume of the Gospels with power to read them "in the Church of God, as well for the living as for the dead."

But it is in conferring the priesthood that the Church comes forth in the plenitude of her greatness. What earthly power shall presume to vie with that which St. John Chrysostom rates above the dignity of angels? The angels indeed see their Lord face to face, but to them is not given, as to the priest, the controul of His Very Body. He vouchsafes, of His abundant condescension, to obey the bidding of His creatures; to descend, at their word, upon our altars; to contract Himself within the limits of space. He, the Incomprehensible and Infinite, to be handled by human hands, and to dispense Himself among His people. This is the climax of His charity, the lowest depth of His humiliation. In the Incarnation He veiled His Deity; "*at hic latet*," as the hymn hath it, "*simul et Humanitas*." And as if it were not enough to disrobe Himself of power and of beauty, and all for love of us; as if it were a small thing to repose so meekly upon our altars, it is in this Sacrament more than in any other part of His dispensation to mankind, that He sustains an almost ceaseless infliction of affront and blasphemy. The sufferings of the Cross are perpetuated from age to age in the mystery which gives to men the proof and relish of its blessedness. But, no! there is still a difference. When the cross was endured, no man stood with the Redeemer to comfort Him; none was there to sympathise with His sorrows, but Blessed Mary His Mother, and faithful John His friend, and loving Magdalene His disciple; and even they were debarred the privilege of ministering to Him, and soothing His griefs. It is not so in what He suffers now. The Blessed Sacrament, though it be the provoca-



tive of the keenest insults, is also the incentive to the tenderest affection that awe permits. Has it not been thus from the first? Was not St. Ignatius the contemporary of Luther and Cranmer? and where has the Blessed Eucharist found a more faithful testimony, and a more loving devotion—where have its glories been more signally avenged against the blasphemous heresies of modern days, than by that illustrious Order which venerates St. Ignatius as its human Founder, though it bear no human name? If then it be *here*, in His act of sovereign pity, that our Redeemer suffers the greatest indignities, *here* also it is, that those injuries are most extensively compensated by the devotion of His Church. O, why will not those humble and affectionate spirits, (for such there are,) whom an envious schism still keeps apart from us, why will they not break their chains and disengage themselves from the ranks of our Lord's enemies, and help us to praise and to serve Him with a fuller acclamation, and a more copious love!

The Church then would impress on us her sense of the majesty of those functions with which her priests are charged, by the character of the rite through which she conveys them. It is the longest of all the ordination offices, the most varied in its features, the most arresting in its tone, and the most awful in its accompaniments.

“It appertaineth to the office of a priest to offer sacrifice, to bless, to preside, to preach, and to baptize. With great fear then is so high a dignity to be approached, and care must be taken that those who are chosen thereunto, should be recommended by divine wisdom, irreproachable morals, and a long continuance in well-doing.”

Such are the words in which the candidates are addressed by the chief pastor; and the whole rite is constructed upon this high and mysterious view of the sacerdotal dignity. It differs from the others, 1st. in the double, or rather triple, imposition of hands, that is to say, once when he imposes his hands in silence: then, when he extends his hand, together with the Priests who are present, saying, at the same time an appointed prayer: and lastly, in the bestowal of the Power of the Keys at the end: 2nd. in the consecration of the hands: 3rd. in the delivery of the sacred vessels duly prepared for the Holy Sacrifice: 4th. in the investiture with the stole and chasuble: 5th. in the profession of faith: 6th. in the promise of obedience: 7th. in the act of concelebration with the Bishop.

This is but a dry and technical enumeration of privileges so vast and wonderful; but in such a case minute criticism might seem almost to savour of irreverence. Shall we transgress the bounds of this due religious decorum, in drawing attention to one or two of those "exquisite touches," as we have already called them, of graceful and tender devotion, which are so characteristic of the rites of our Holy Religion? Such then appear to us to be the following. 1. When to the Bishop's inquiry at the opening, "*Scis illos dignos esse?*" the Archdeacon answers, "*Quantum humana fragilitas nosse sinit, et scio et testificor;*" &c., the Bishop rejoins, "*Deo gratias.*" 2. When he places the stole round the neck, it is with these words, "*Accipe jugum Domini; jugum enim Ejus suave est, et onus Ejus leve.*" 3. After the new Priests have been ordained, and have received communion at the hands of the Bishop, he begins the following Responsory, which is continued by the choir. "*Now shall I no longer call you servants, but friends, since ye know what I have wrought in you.*" (St. John xv. 15.)......"*Ye are my friends if ye will do what I command you. Alleluia.*" 4. "Then the Bishop shall say to each priest kneeling before him, while holding his hands, 'Dost thou promise me and my successors, reverence and obedience?' And he shall answer, 'I do.' *Then the Bishop holding the hands of each between his own, kisses him, saying, 'The peace of our Lord be ever with thee.'*" And he shall reply, "Amen."

And such were the rites of religion, upon which kings and parliaments have felt themselves at liberty to lay their rude and sacrilegious hands!

But in truth it is much more than grace and sweetness and vividness and unction, which our offices have lost in the course of their transmutation into the barren and lifeless forms, which Protestantism has substituted for them. Into the question of Anglican ordinations, indeed, we have no present wish to enter; yet one or two considerations there are, arising immediately out of the subject before us, to which we may be allowed to bespeak regard without venturing too far on the province of controversy.

The Ordination-service of the Anglican Church contains not one syllable from beginning to end about the power and duty of *sacrifice* as an integral part of the priestly functions. We do not determinè whether this



omission be in itself fatal ; most serious it undoubtedly is, and a very significant evidence of the intentions of the Church of England ; a proof that, whether or not she means, or ever did mean, to give power over the “ *Corpus Reale* ” at ordination, (a question which we have no difficulty in determining in the negative,) at least she is, as one may say, ashamed of any such intention. Let us, then, contrast with this most suspicious reserve the fulness and richness of the Catholic rite. Let us remark how repeatedly in the course of it the Church insists upon the power of sacrifice, as the very “ *differentia* ” of the priestly office. First, in the address of the bishop to the newly-ordained, the Church says, in so many words, “ *Sacerdotem oportet offerre.* ” Next, in the Proper Preface, there is the following allusion to the priesthood under the law : “ *Sic et in Eleazarum et Ithamarum filios Aaron paternæ plenitudinis abundantiam transfudisti, ut ad hostias salutares, et frequentioris officii Sacramenta, ministerium sufficeret sacerdotum.* ” The words on giving the sacred vessels are : “ *Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo.* ” And, lastly, in the final benediction, the bishop says : “ *Ut sitis benedicti in ordine Sacerdotali, et offeratis placabiles Hostias pro peccatis atque offensionibus populi omnipotenti Deo.* ”

The only power which the Church of England explicitly and specifically gives to her priests, is that over the “ *corpus mysticum*, ” or in other words, the power of absolution. Now, it is very remarkable that, in the Catholic Church, this power is not given till the very last ; and *subsequently* to the exercise of the priestly gifts of consecration and sacrifice which have already been performed by the new priest in conjunction with the bishop. It is also a fact, not a little curious, that the form of words in which the Anglican Church ordains her priests, did not come into use in the Church till the 11th century, and so constitutes a signal witness against her of the *falsehood of her* profession of exclusive deference to the earlier centuries.

The *third* imposition of hands, by which is given the power of absolution, in a form common to the Church of England with ourselves, is not we, believe, by any divines considered to be more than supplemental. Some few make the matter of the sacrament to consist in the delivery of the sacred vessels with the accompanying authority to offer sacrifice ; but the majority lay the stress upon the *second*

imposition of hands, on the ground, that of the various ecclesiastical ceremonies in ordination, the imposition of hands alone is directly named in scripture; and that moreover, neither the “*traditio instrumentorum*,” nor the third, or supplementary imposition of hands, has ever found a place in the Greek Church. In truth, it is often a marvel to us, that men who attach so just an importance to the right administration of the sacrament as many of those who still cling to the Anglican Church, should feel, or seem to feel, at ease on ground so obviously and almost avowedly precarious as that which they occupy. They rest, we believe, on the single plea of the Apostolical Succession; a claim which we might concede them for the sake of the argument, without so much as approximating to a settlement of the whole question at issue. There still remains against the pretensions of the Anglican Church, the serious fact, that the present Ordinal, defective as it is, is the successor to one more defective still, which was yet in use long enough to vitiate the orders of a whole generation; a fact which, when added to the heretical intentions of the framers and users, and to undoubted negligences in the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, might surely go the length of raising at least a *doubt* upon matters relating to the essentials of salvation. Yet the great moral divine of later times has ruled, we know, that “in points of faith and eternal salvation, not merely is it unlawful to follow the less probable of two opinions, but even the more, nay even the most probable. For in such cases we are obliged to embrace the course of *safety*, and, by consequence, that religion, which puts men into a condition of safety, namely, the Catholic; for all other religions being false, howbeit *some of them may have better warrant of probability than others*, must needs deprive their subjects of the sacraments and other means necessary to salvation; and thus involve, in the case of each individual” (not protected by the plea of *invincible* ignorance,) “the wanton risk of his own everlasting happiness.”\*

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\* St. Alphons. Homo. Ap. Tr. 1. c. 3.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*The Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, M. P.* Edited by his Son JOHN O'CONNELL, M. P. Author of "an Argument for Ireland," &c. 8vo. vol. 1. Dublin: 1846.

IT is now about two years, since we took the liberty of suggesting to Mr. John O'Connell,\* the propriety, and indeed the duty, of collecting and editing in an authentic form, the Speeches of his illustrious father. It was impossible not to feel that he possessed opportunities to which no other editor could aspire; and we believed that, if he neglected to avail himself of these opportunities, he would leave a blank in the Library of Irish Eloquence, which no future hand could hope to supply.

The volume before us is a first instalment of this labour of filial love, and one for which the Irish public will be deeply grateful. It is but part of what promises to be a prolonged, and, in the end, a voluminous series; for it professes to combine a memoir of Mr. O'Connell's life, with the collected edition of his most important and interesting speeches, the present volume only reaching to the year 1813. But the comparatively moderate price at which it is issued, will place it within the reach of many readers, for whom an equally voluminous biography from the press of a fashionable London publisher, would be a sealed book, in the strictest sense of the word.

Gladly, however, as we welcome any work from Mr. John O'Connell's pen, and especially a work which tends to illustrate the genius and the labours of one to whom Ireland owes so deep a debt of gratitude, still we cannot help regretting that he has resolved on combining the Memoir with the Speeches of his father. Not only should we, for our own part, have infinitely preferred a separate Memoir and a separate collection of the speeches, but we very much doubt whether, on the present plan, it will be possible to do justice to either branch of the subject, unless by carrying the publication to such a length as will prove an effectual bar to its circulation, (even at the moderate price of the present volume,) among those who have the best and most natural claim to its contents. In the case of an obscure individual, or even of one who had enjoyed a moderate share of celebrity, a combination of the "Life and Works" may be possible and is often desirable; but the

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\* *Dublin Review*, vol. xvii. p. 30.

life of one who has lived so long (literally) before the world, will itself demand a comprehensive and voluminous work; and we shall never be satisfied till we shall see an independent and authentic collection of the great speeches of this last of classic Irish orators, to range with the remains of the great masters of that generation, among whom his youthful genius received its earliest inspirations.

We feel, however, that in considering a work which gives us so many interesting particulars of a life whose every detail is fraught with interest, and which collects and preserves so many of the noblest monuments of Irish eloquence, it is neither fair nor generous to indulge in these (perhaps fastidious) regrets. Nor would we have referred to the subject at all, were it not that in our judgment the interest of some of the speeches is materially weakened, and the charm of their historical character broken by the interpolation of passages of the memoir, and by the introduction of observations and discussions from the pen of the editor, for the most part bearing upon the topics of the present day. And this will hereafter be still more a subject of regret, if, as we are led to hope from an expression which occurs in the introductory pages, Mr. O'Connell shall at some future day draw up a detailed history of his own life.

But instead of discussing further what *might* have been best, we shall rather express our gratification at obtaining so valuable an accession to the materials for illustrating the character of the most remarkable man of his generation. We had contemplated, and in part prepared, a very full notice of Mr. John O'Connell's volume. But the length at which we have entered upon former occasions\* into a review of the general characteristics of O'Connell's oratory, induces us to suspend, till the work shall have made further progress, our intended examination of his great speeches at the bar and in the senate, and to content ourselves with culling a few anecdotes from the early biography, which is written in a very affectionate and at the same time manly spirit.

For those who have known O'Connell only in the days of his literary and political greatness, it may require an effort of imagination to realize the following picture—*Daniel O'Connell learning his alphabet.*

"A poor hedge schoolmaster, by name David Mahony, may be given to fame as the first person who taught Daniel O'Connell his letters, and the story of his achievement is not without a moral to those who have the instruction of children. Happening in one of his rounds in quest of charitable assistance, to visit Carhen-House, (the residence of Mr. O'Connell's father,) he had taken young Dan, then four years old, upon his lap, and was playing with him, when perceiving that the

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\* See ante vol. vi. p. 140, et seq. Also vol. xv. Art. O'Connell and Brougham, and vol. xvii. pp. 1—32. We must be allowed to regret the republication of some of the speeches in this volume. There is one particularly which we are sure Mr. O'Connell himself now regrets, and which should not have been reproduced.



child's hair, which was long, had got much tangled from exercise, he took out a box-comb and combed it thoroughly, without hurting the child, as the rough country maids scarcely ever failed to do. In gratitude for exemption from his usual torture, the child readily consented to learn his letters from the old man, and in the short space of an hour and a half learned the whole alphabet thoroughly and completely."—*p. 6.*

The account of his later school-boy days is very interesting, and illustrates the condition of Catholic education in Ireland at the time.

"At the age of thirteen Mr. O'Connell and his brother Maurice, a year younger than himself, were sent to the school of the Rev. Mr. Harrington, a Catholic clergyman, at a place called Redington, in the Long Island, two miles from Cove—the first school publicly opened and held by a Catholic priest, since the penal laws. At the expiration of a year, the two brothers were removed from this school by their uncle Maurice, in order to be sent to the continent, to pursue their studies at greater advantage. For this purpose they were embarked in a brig bound to London, the captain of which was to land them at Dover, whence they were to take the packet to Ostend. The tide being out at Dover when the vessel arrived, those passengers who were in haste to land, had to do so through the surf on the open beach, and Mr. O'Connell's first acquaintance with England, was marked by a ducking in the surf, the boat having capsized through some mismanagement in beaching her. An opportunity offering in a few days, the party proceeded to Ostend, and thence to Liege, where however a disappointment awaited them. Mr. O'Connell was found to have passed the age when boys could be admitted as students, and they had to retrace their steps as far as Louvain, there to await new instructions from home. The difference in disposition between the two boys was here strikingly shown; Maurice the younger, naturally enough, availed himself of his six weeks unexpected holidays, (the interchange of communications between their then abiding place and the remote shores of Kerry requiring that interval,) to indulge in all a boy's vacation amusements, while on the other hand, his brother, feeling no relish for idleness, attended class in one of the halls of Louvain as a volunteer, and with such assiduity, that ere the arrival of letters from home, he had risen to a high place in a class of 120 boys. Their uncle's new orders were that they should go to St. Omer's, whither accordingly they proceeded and remained a year, viz. from early in the year 1791 till a similar period in the year 1792, when they were removed to the English College of Douay for some months. Mr. O'Connell soon rose to the first place in all the classes at St. Omer's. His two close pressing rivals have since, each of them, reached the highest grade of their respective professions. One of them became a Catholic priest, and has been for many years the Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, the respected Catholic bishop of the Midland district in England. The other, his beloved friend and relative, lately deceased, Christopher Fagan, went into the service of the East India Company, in which he rose to the rank of general, and filled that most important office—especially important in India—Judge-Advocate-General of the Indian forces."—*p. 6.*

We cannot refrain from inserting the following letter of the principal of St. Omer's, dated January 1792, and containing his report upon the two boys then under his care. It is addressed to their uncle Maurice.

"I begin with the younger Maurice; his manner and demeanour are quite satisfactory, he is gentlemanly in his conduct, and much loved by his fellow-students; he is not deficient in abilities, but he is idle and fond of amusement. I do not think he will answer for any laborious profession; but I will answer for it, that he never will be guilty of anything discreditable. At least such is my firm belief.

"With respect to the other, Daniel, I have but one sentence to write about him, and that is, I never was so much mistaken in my life as I shall be, unless he be destined to make a remarkable figure in society."

We would fain hope, that for the great majority of our readers, it will not be necessary to proceed farther with our extracts. The work is one which we are sure has already found its way into most of the home-steads of Ireland, and we shall reserve till a future occasion, our purpose of entering with that detail which its magnitude demands, into the great subject of this and the coming volumes—the Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell.

II.—*America: its Realities and Resources; comprising important details connected with the present Social, Political, Agricultural, Commercial, and Financial State of the Country, together with a Review of the Policy of the United States that led to the War of 1812 and the Peace of 1814; the Right of Search, the Texas and Oregon Questions, &c., &c.* By FRANCIS WYSE, Esq. 8vo. 3 vols. London, 1846.

PERHAPS there is no country in the world regarding which it is so difficult to procure precise and accurate information as America; at least, if we consider how much has been written, and how much is still written every year, both on the country generally and on all the great questions connected with its moral, social, and intellectual condition. Of the great majority of publications regarding America, which make their way among the reading public in this country, it is scarcely too much to say, that they are superficial in the worst sense of the word. Many are written with no higher object than to provoke a laugh at the expense of "Brother Jonathan;" many, more serious in their purpose, profess upon their very title a predisposition to depreciate the character of the people and institutions of the new country; while a third class, on the contrary, is so evidently apologetic as to defeat by the very tone which it adopts the writer's effort to place those institutions in the most favourable point of view which they are capable of presenting. Even the solid and accurate accounts which have, from time to time, made their appearance, soon become, in a community so new, so fluctuating, and so essentially progressive as that of America, antiquated, and out of date, and comparatively valueless, at least as regards many minor, perhaps, but yet most practical and important details of every-day life.

It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that we welcome the careful and interesting volumes of our countryman, Mr. Wyse. We regret very much that the crowded state of our pages places it beyond our power to do more than call attention to its general character, and its great merit as a minute and accurate repertory of all that information, which is at once most useful, and most difficult to be procured elsewhere. For the newly-arrived Irish emigrant, and for those who are pondering upon the expediency of such a step, the work is full of interest, because it abounds with those practical details to which, above all others, the attention of an



emigrant is directed—details not only of the condition of the nation generally, but of almost every state of the Union ; or at least of all those to which emigrants most commonly resort. If Mr. Wyse's book had no other value than this, we should regard it as a most important accession to our stock of transatlantic reading.

It is divided into three volumes, and runs through the whole circle of social and political life in America. The opening chapters of the first volume are devoted to an examination of all those questions which are calculated to interest an emigrant, and which may guide him either in considering the propriety of taking such a step, or in determining how it may be taken with most security and advantage. Though, indeed, it is wrong to assign this character as specially belonging to the opening chapters, for the work is filled throughout with details of the utmost interest to persons of this class ; and in every instance the author's statements are supported by official reports, and by authentic statistical returns. Among the chapters which a stranger will find it his interest to study, we must specially notice those upon the administration of the civil law, on the relations of debtor and creditor, and on bankruptcy and insolvency ; and those on the currency, on banking, discounting, interest, and the other details of public and private finance. The condition of the new country as regards all these particulars is so different from all to which the British or Irish emigrant has been accustomed, that some safe and experienced guide is indispensable, and such a guide will be found in Mr. Wyse's pages. The work, too, is filled with most useful practical hints to those who contemplate the purchase of land, who are thinking of embarking in commerce, or who seek employment in some dependent capacity, as clerks, shopmen, tradesmen of various kinds, or even as labourers, whether in the towns or in the country.

However, we should convey a very false impression of the character of this work, did we leave it to be supposed that it is confined to details such as these. On the great social and political questions it will be found to contain much valuable information ; on the question of slavery, and on the great political questions which are now agitated between America and the mother country. The second volume is almost entirely devoted to these interesting subjects.

The third volume treats in detail the several States of the Union, their history, their present condition, and their capabilities and resources. The information contained in this volume is extremely varied, and it has this additional value, that it is scarcely to be found in a collected form in any of the works accessible to the mass of readers in this country.

There is but one drawback to the gratification which we have derived from the perusal of these volumes : and we feel it

the more sensibly, because we fear it is likely to prove a bar to the popularity of the work among those for whom it would be most beneficial. We allude to the unnecessary expression of his opinions upon Irish politics—opinions, of course, which every man is free to hold if it so please him; but which we think it was uncalled for and impolitic to introduce into a work with whose main subject they have so little necessary connexion. It is right, however, to add that this observation applies but to a single chapter, and that the most valuable portion of the book is entirely free from such objections; nor should we allude to it at all, were it not for the purpose of suggesting that in a future and more popular edition, it may with great advantage be modified or withdrawn.

III.—*The Illustrated Catholic Family Bible*, 4to., Parts 1—4. Glasgow: 1846.

THIS spirited publication is an attempt to supply a want which has long been severely felt. The text and notes selected for this Family Bible, are those of Haydock's Bible; and the edition is under the supervision of the Rev. W. Gordon of Glasgow.

The Illustrations, though not of the very highest order of excellence, are extremely respectable; and the general style of the typography is such as may justly entitle the edition to the warm support of the Catholic public.

IV.—*Mores Catholici or Ages of Faith*, Parts 17—19. London: 1846.

WE need but register the progress of this invaluable repository of all that is interesting in Catholic history, biography, and asceticism. A little longer, and it will place within the reach of every reader, what a few months since was an intellectual luxury, which only a favoured few were permitted to enjoy.

V.—1. *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*. By J. C. L. SISMONDI DE SISMONDI. Translated from the Original with Notes and a Life of the Author, by THOMAS ROSCOE. Second Edition, 12mo., 2 vols. (Bohn's Standard Library.) London: 1846.

2.—*The Life of Lorenzo de Medici, called the Magnificent*. By WILLIAM ROSCOE. Eighth Edition. Revised by his Son Thomas Roscoe. (Bohn's Standard Library.) London: 1846.

HAD there been some far-seeing commercial prophet in the days of the olden "autocrats of the Row," to foretell that the lordly



quartos in which they so much delighted, would, within a few brief years, be cut down to the dimensions of a thick and inelegant duodecimo; and that the price thereof would suffer a proportionate diminution, so that the purchaser should have for a few paltry shillings, what in the good old times would have cost him nearly as many guineas; we question whether the shock would not have created a general bankruptcy. At all events we are certain that if the volumes now upon our tables, with the prices marked upon them had been set before one of those amiable gentlemen, he would have run imminent risk of dying from the fright.

Certainly we could not ourselves, though our prepossessions are all in favour of cheap literature, have anticipated such a prodigy of cheapness as the Literature of Southern Europe. Indeed we could hardly have imagined it possible to compress into two volumes of type so perfectly readable as that employed in this publication, the voluminous work of Sismondi; and even though we were satisfied of the possibility of effecting this, we could hardly anticipate so large a sale as would cover the immense expense of such an undertaking.

There is, however, one means and only one of securing success—to select for publication such works only, as, from their established reputation, need but be placed within reach of every student, however humble his means, in order to secure his becoming a purchaser. We shall not be expected to express unqualified approval of the works which stand at the head of this notice. On the contrary, with all his learning, there is a great deal in Sismondi which we would gladly expunge before we would place it in the hands of a young student for whose principles we were interested; and we consider the *Lorenzo de Medici*, as falling far short in candour and good feeling of Roscoe's later and more celebrated, though far from faultless *Life of Leo X.* But take them as samples of the current Literature, they are both works of the very highest order; and if we advert to their defects at all, it is only to stimulate the growing literary enterprise of our own body, and to urge the fact of the immense circulation which these books, with all their errors, are certain to attain, as a motive to induce us to endeavour to counteract their influence by publications of a contrary tendency—by treading once more the ground which they have trodden, but under the influence of a more Catholic spirit.

VI.—*Goliath Beheaded with his own Sword, or the Archdeacon's Errors Refuted from his own Bible.* By the REV. WILLIAM SHEEHY, M. A.

A SHORT but spirited and well reasoned letter addressed to the Rev. William Digby, on occasion of the publication of a series of "Letters on the Confessional," which embrace all the ordinary topics of Anti-catholic declamation.

The writer of this timely reply is already favourably known to our readers, by his interesting volumes, "Reminiscences of Rome."

VII.—*Sketches from Flemish Life*; In three Tales, translated from the Flemish of HENDRICK CONSCIENCE. London: 1846.

WE had prepared a notice of these very pretty and instructive Tales, but the press of matter compels us to reserve it for a future number. Meanwhile we cordially recommend them to all our young readers, and indeed to all who would learn what the middle life is among the Catholic people of Belgium.

VIII.—*The History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times till the Conquest by the Arabs, A. D. 640.* By SAMUEL SHARPE. A New Edition. London: 1846.

THE lateness of the period at which we have received this volume, renders it impossible for us to say more than that it is a new edition, upon which no trouble and no expense seems to have been spared. It is executed with great elegance and care, and furnished abundantly with all those appliances which a student who is chary of his time most prizes, as indexes, tables of contents, marginal summaries, dates, &c. It is an excellent Library Edition.

IX.—*Authentic Account of the Occupation of Carlisle in 1745.* By PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART. Edited by George Gill Mounsey. London, 1846.

THIS interesting and stirring narrative will well repay the reader. The late period at which it reaches us, precludes us, for the present at least, from doing more than call attention to it.

X.—*The Lives of the Saints.* By the REV. ALBAN BUTLER. Vol. X. Richardson and Son, London and Derby, 1846.

THIS edition, a prodigy of cheapness and accurate typography, is rapidly progressing towards completion. Every day proves more clearly that it is by such works, rather than by learned controversy, the hearts of "those who are without," can be most effectually gained; and certainly if ever there was an auspicious time for the dissemination of solidly useful Catholic works, it is the present.



XI.—*The Fourfold Difficulty of Anglicanism, or the Church of England tested by the Nicene Creed. In a series of Letters.* By J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE, M. A., late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London : Richardson and Son, 1846.

THE author of this pamphlet is one of that band of illustrious converts who have sacrificed so much for the truth, and are now seeking with zeal and talent to advance her holy cause ; the originality of their views is as remarkable as the variety of their talents ; but we think none of their publications are likely to be more generally useful than the one now before us. Mr. Northcote addresses a representative of a large class, those “not extensively acquainted with patristic, mediæval, or even modern theology,” who have “held what are called High Church principles,” and have been taught further to consider them “as the surest, if not the only safeguard against the corruptions of popery,” and from these he requires but one admission as a common ground or basis for their argument.

“I shall only assume that you believe in the sacramental character of the Christian Church, i. e. that you believe in the existence of a visible body upon earth, the one appointed channel whereby grace is conveyed for the restoration of fallen man, and from which it is therefore wicked and dangerous presumption either wilfully to separate, or wilfully to continue separate.”—P. 5.

Mr. Northcote speaks of this position, as one so undeniably forming a “common ground” between him and his opponent, as to leave him no doubt of its concession ; we remember the time when this idea of the proper function and character of a Church, was precisely that which amongst Protestants in general it was most difficult to meet with,—when it was impossible to make any use of this first stepping-stone in the argument, so loose, so shifting, so contradictory, and often totally absurd, were the notions (we will not say belief) of Protestants upon this subject. If the Oxford controversy has indeed settled this point, and dispersed the thousand illusions which had taken the place in men’s minds, of this true notion of a Christian Church, it will have done good, and advanced the happy time of England’s conversion, beyond any calculation. For this point once assumed, the consequences follow in the most straightforward and irresistible manner ; the four grand and ineffaceable characters of the Church of Christ, One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic, are texts from whence flow naturally every defensive and offensive argument ; and most powerfully are they used by the author of this pamphlet, than which we could recommend nothing better to any one wishing to arrest and awaken the attention of a Protestant friend, by an argument which should be concise as well as luminous, rather close than profound, strong and yet condensed. From such an argument, it is not easy to disconnect passages, yet as a sample of the author’s style and mode of reasoning, we will

give his answer to the attempts most commonly made to retaliate upon us the charge of want of "unity."

"There are only two pleas, which I can at all anticipate, as likely to be urged in reply to this statement: first, that, however it may be now, unity of faith has not always been a characteristic of the Church of Rome; that, in former days, there were disputes and divisions upon Christian doctrine between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, fierce struggles between various religious orders, &c. And secondly, that, even now, she tolerates differences on matters of faith, as between the Gallicans and Ultra-montanes. In answer to the first of these objections, I would say, it is undoubtedly true that there was considerable disagreement on Christian doctrine between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, just as there was between the different parties in the Homoöusian disputes of the fourth century, or in the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies of the fifth. And as long as these dissensions lasted, so long the unity of faith was to a certain degree impaired, or, to speak more accurately, was, for a while, obscured; but, by and bye, in all these instances alike, the Church uttered her voice, and the false doctrines gradually withered and died, or, if it still lived, it was no longer within her pale."—*Pp.* 30, 31.

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"Such has been the ordinary law of progress and decay in all heresies; and future ecclesiastical historians will doubtless have to give the same account of Jansenism. Jansenius sought to revive a heresy which had been already anathematized; and though he brought it forward wrapt in a subtle disguise, yet the divine instinct of the Church detected, and once more condemned it. Since that time, none have dared publicly to enunciate any of the propositions which were thus rejected; or when at any time such an attempt has been made, it has at once been visited by the same censures; and even if traces of the spirit in which these errors originated, or which they called into being, may perhaps at times have been found lurking in quarters, where, nevertheless, there was no outward disobedience to the Church, still this would be no more than one would naturally expect to follow upon the public agitation and decision of any doctrinal question whatever—no more, in fact, than we know from history did follow after the condemnation of the Arian heresy; just as when the sudden fall of some fragment of rock has troubled the course of a mountain stream, though the obstacle may be presently and effectually removed, yet some time must elapse before the turbid waters are restored to purity. However, if I may judge from my own experience, I can safely aver that nothing is ever brought before the ordinary Catholic in the course of his religious training, which is not blessedly distinct in doctrine, and stamped with the undoubted seal of the Church's authority. Can you then, in honesty, bring forward a dispute, which has thus died away without leaving a single practical hindrance in the path of Catholic believers, as in any way parallel to the divisions in the English Church? These are as rife now as they were at the beginning, and on the very same points. Although the two systems of doctrine struggling within her are absolutely antagonist, and therefore, if she have a distinct creed, one of them must needs be hostile to it; yet no authoritative voice has denounced either as heresy: and if, as you contend, the puritan system is the alien, it is so far from being subdued, that (spite of the experience of the 17th century, and the recent movement in the Catholic direction,) we are told by persons well qualified to give an opinion, that, even at this moment, there is nothing to prevent puritanism again getting the upper hand, and re-modelling the Church of England.\* Can it be said, in the same way, of Jansenism, Lutheranism, or any other heresy that has been once condemned, that there is danger of its overrunning the Church of Rome? Surely not."—*Pp.* 32—34.

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\* Mr. Gresley's "Real Danger of the Church of England," pp. 29, 34. &c.



XII.—*Algeria and Tunis in 1845.* By CAPTAIN J. CLARKE KENNEDY, 18th (Royal Irish) Regiment. *An Account of a Journey made through the two Regencies.* By VISCOUNT FEILDING and CAPTAIN KENNEDY. London: Henry Colburn, 1846.

THIS is a most amusing work, exactly the unprejudiced, hopeful, lively account we are glad to have of Algeria, under its new conquerors; we have been so disgusted and horror-struck by the desolating warfare carried on by the French, varied by acts of savage atrocity, that we were beginning to lose sight of the great blessings we have a right to expect, and which eventually must surely arise, from the establishment of a Christian nation in the stronghold of Mahomedanism. Certainly in many respects Captain Kennedy gives us a pleasing picture of the prosperity of Algeria; in spite of the “razzias” which we read of day after day, he can still describe such scenes as these within a few miles of Algiers—at Deli Ibrahim:

“The soil in the neighbourhood is excellent, producing the grain, fruits, and vegetables of Europe of a quality equal, and often superior. The extent of land at present under tillage is not great, owing partly to the scarcity of labour, and partly to the unsettled state of the country until within the last two or three years, during which period the agricultural colonists have made more progress than in the preceding ten. Comfortable farm-houses, with stables and offices, have been erected, gardens and fields enclosed, and roads made, connecting the farms with the highway: European ploughs and implements are seen in the fields, with carts and waggons, made after the national pattern of the French, German, or Spanish proprietor. Herds of cattle, and numerous flocks of sheep, grazing on the hill-sides, are pleasing evidences of present prosperity.

“Were it not for an occasional party of Arabs going to market with the country produce, or returning from the city, it would be difficult to imagine from the surrounding scene, that you are travelling in another quarter of the globe; the languages of Europe are heard on every side, at each turn familiar faces meet the eye, the peasant of the Midi, the discharged soldier, the clumsy Alsatian, and the unmistakable air of the Parisian *badaud*, the Spaniard, at home so idle and lazy, here an industrious colonist, who, in leaving his native land, has seemingly shaken off the hereditary sloth which forms so prominent a feature in the Spanish character, the Maltese, travelling from village to village with his little stock of merchandize, the Pole, and the Italian, are each known at once; and who is there that would not recognize at a glance the group at the door of yonder farm? the mother, stout, homely, and neatly dressed, knitting in the doorway, every now and then restoring order with a sharp word, accompanied by a smile, that almost cancels it, among a happy noisy crowd of little ones, whose flaxen hair, light blue eyes, and round fair cheeks, so delicately white, would teach you to despise the power of an African sun, were it not for a second look at the bronzed features of the mother.”—*Pp.* 44—46.

There are many such descriptions, many such indications that the colony will eventually flourish, steeped as its infancy has been in blood; but it is a drawback upon our hopes for the inhabitants of this most unhappy continent, that wherever these occur, we find also that the natives are disappearing and ceding the territory to their European masters. The French have certainly much to learn, even in their attempts to profit by our experience; thus the well-devised project for raising a body of native troops seems likely to

fail, from want of tact in understanding the national character and position in respect to their conquerors.

"The Zouaves were intended by Marshal Clausel, who raised the corps in 1830, to act the same part in Africa that our Sepoys play in Asia, and were accordingly at first composed entirely of natives, taking their name from a war-like tribe in the vicinity of Constantine. In a short time, however, the enlistment of Frenchmen into the force was encouraged, and at the present time there are but few natives, and their numbers are reducing every year."—*Pp.* 49, 50.

But it was by no means our intention in so brief a notice as this, to enter upon any serious subject; we wished our readers to share in the pleasure we received from the bright and pleasing view Captain Kennedy has given us of this celebrated land, and in many respects of its inhabitants; take for instance the following trait in the character of the people of Tunis:

"During the morning the sooks are densely crowded; for in addition to the aristocracy of the bazaars, who occupy the dens on either side, smaller traders erect temporary stalls, and the space is filled with a throng of men, women, and children—buyers, sellers, and idlers. A boy driving a laden donkey, or a horseman forcing a passage through the crowd, shouting "*balek, balek*," at the top of his voice, to clear the way, creates a momentary commotion; but, with this exception, the people are remarkably orderly, and, what is more, they are honest; robberies from the person, or from the open shops, are almost unknown, notwithstanding the apparent facilities, and the absence of any sort of police. Inside the shops there is a much more tempting collection of merchandize than in those of Algiers. Silk shawls, scarfs, and handkerchiefs, of rich and tastefully arranged patterns, of brilliant colours, interwoven with gold; bernous, haicks, and shawls, from the Jereed and the island of Gerbeh, of unrivalled texture and softness, some entirely of wool, and others with an admixture of silk; weapons of all kinds, showily ornamented with silver, coral, and ivory, but of a very inferior description; the "*shasheahs*," or red caps, for which Tunis is famous through the Turkish empire, and the ottos of rose, jasmine, and other essential oils, which are prepared here, although very expensive, are of the best quality."—*Pp.* 13, 14.

"Great spirit is given to the sooks by the itinerant salesmen who wander up and down through the crowd, selling a most miscellaneous collection of goods by a species of auction, bawling out the articles they may have to dispose of, and mentioning the last price that has been offered by any of the lookers on—a most enticing method of sale, as things you do not want, and would never go into a shop to ask for, are thus brought under notice, and you are seduced into bidding because they seem to be going for a trifle. One man we stopped had in his hands a pair of antique burners for perfumes, a silk scarf over one arm, and a second-hand Turkish carpet under the other. When the sale is effected, they receive a small per-centage from their employer; and among this class dishonesty is almost unknown, notwithstanding the many temptations thrown in their way to falsify the sale, or run off with the valuable property often entrusted to their care. More than once we saw a shabby ragged fellow walking about the streets, offering valuable jewellery for sale among the crowd, half a dozen chains around his neck, a ring on each finger, and his arms hung with bracelets, massive rings for the ancles, and various female ornaments; any bystander was at liberty to handle and examine them, and the idea of theft seemed as far away from the minds of those who stood about him, as from that of the man himself, who pushed with his precious burden unconcernedly through the mob."—*Pp.* 15, 16.

These people seem also to be most susceptible of kindness, capable of generous confidence and of unquestionable bravery;—a more humane and civilized method of dealing with them, might abate the ferocity they have hitherto shown, and open their hearts to the



blessings of Christianity,—the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, will show in how many instances this happy result has followed from the gentleness of our missionaries; may it please heaven to increase their numbers and success. Captain Kennedy and his fellow traveller seem to have been much influenced by the fear of giving offence to the French inhabitants, by whom they were often entertained with courteous hospitality; but the book is perhaps all the more amusing; for it is full of Eastern customs, lively scenes and pleasant descriptions, and we can most sincerely recommend it.

XIII.—*An Outline of Ecclesiastical and Civil History, exhibiting in opposite pages and under corresponding dates, the principal Events which have occurred since the Death of Christ.* By the REV. EDMUND WINSTANLEY. Vol. 1. London: T. Jones, 1846.

THIS work, which was originally undertaken, as the author tells us, for the immediate service of the English College of Lisbon, and is now printed under ecclesiastical authority, is, so far as a cursory examination will enable us to pronounce, very accurate. The first volume embraces the first three centuries, and is arranged on an excellent plan, the utility of which will, at a glance on the title page, be appreciated by every student of history. We think this work deserving of the attention of our Catholic colleges, where, we know, the students have been obliged to have recourse to Protestant works of this nature, though of inferior merit.

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We are requested by Mr. Robertson, to call attention to an error in the Advertisement to the second edition of his translation of Schlegel's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, page vii. line 9 from top—for “Windischmann, a papist, and others,” read “Windischmann, Papst, and others.”

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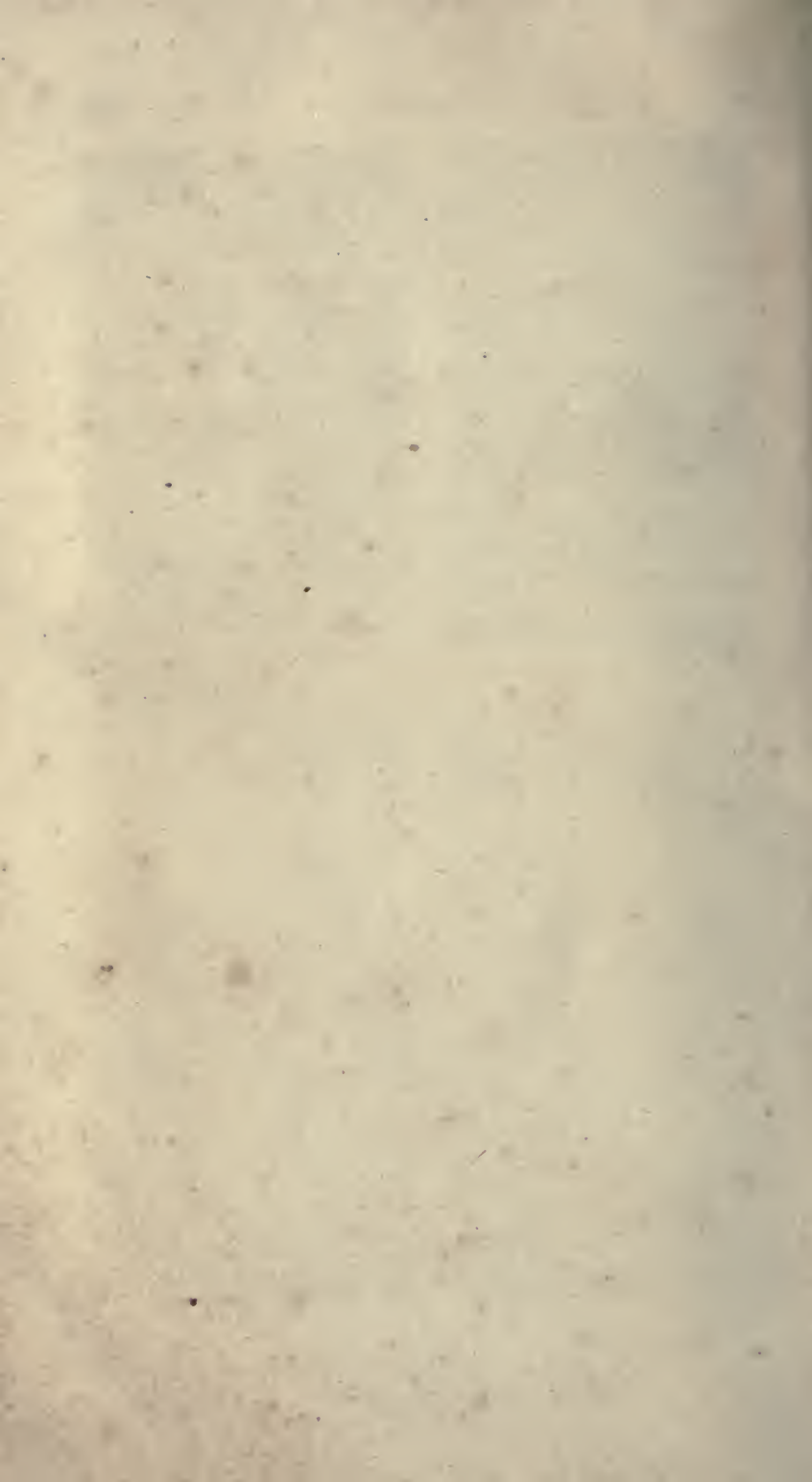
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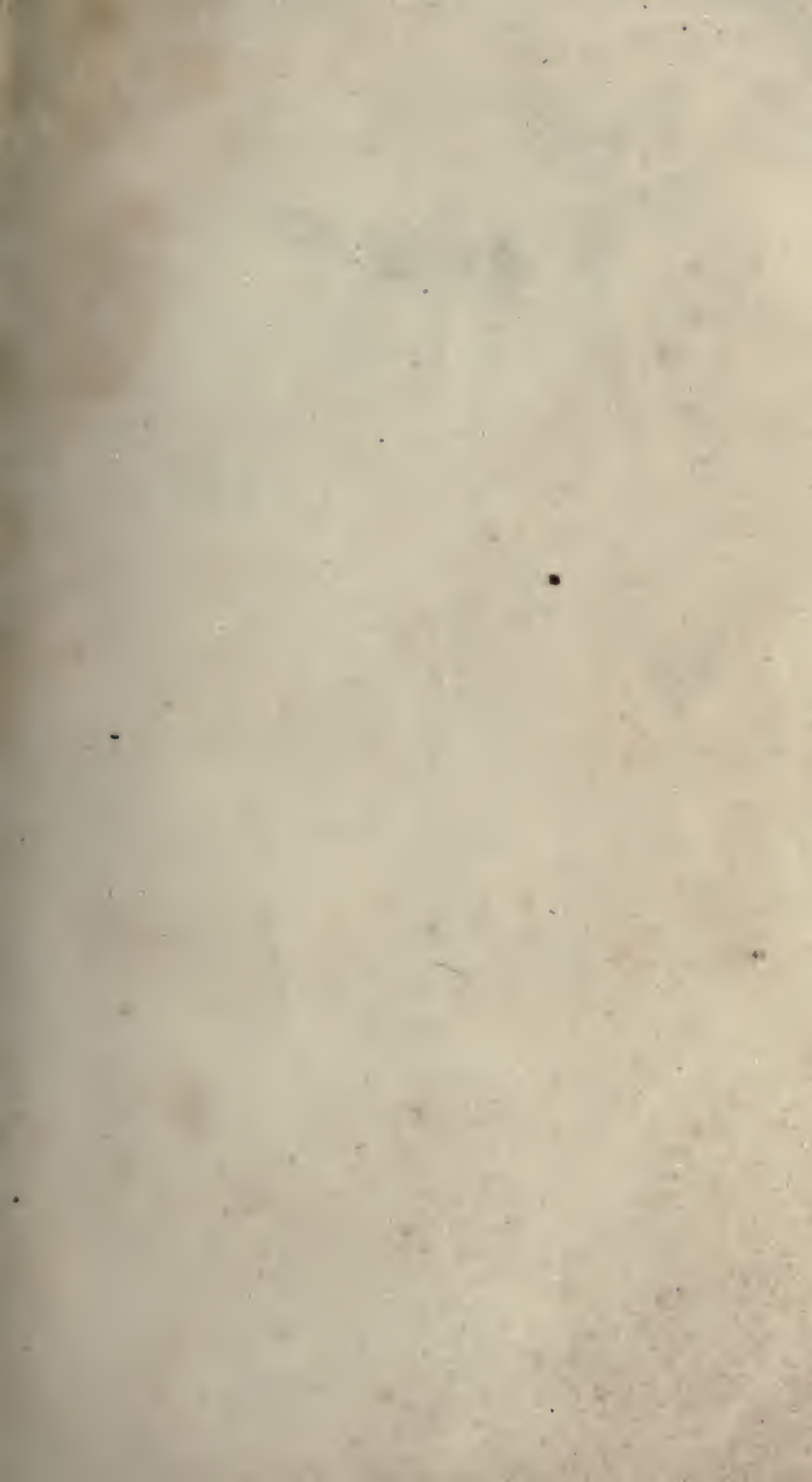


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